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EDITED BY

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ERRATA IN VOL. XVII.

p. 3, Table II., opposite Chitrā, in the last column,
for 183 28 10, read 184 28 10.

p. 120, Text line 1, for Hiraṇya read Hiraṇya-.

„ „ line 16, for bhuvanānta , read
bhuvanānta-.

p. 146 a, last line; for preceding, read following.

p. 157 b, lines 24, 25, read 10000 — (1860 + 200
+ 9939) = 10000 — 1939 = 8061.

p. 160 a, line 29, for 66277·5055, read 66277·5002.

And, as the result of this, in lines 31
to 41 read, Hence the increase in 1000
years is 13255·5000; in 100 years,
1325·5500; and in 59·75 days, 2·1684.
And b for 5000 years is 499·8; for 1000
years, 500·0; and for 100 years, 450·0.

Therefore, as above:—

b.

A. D. 1899..... 581·8

5000 years..... 499·8

59·79 days..... 168·4

Kaliyuga 0 ... 250·0

Accordingly b. for A. D. 1899 is
581·8; or, the fraction being larger
than $\frac{1}{2}$, in round numbers 582.

„ b, line 11, for 1204, read 120·4.

„ b, note 17; cancel this note.

p. 163, Table 5, and p. 164, Table 6. As we have
seen under the correction notified
above for p. 160 a, line 29 b. for
A. D. 1899 is in round numbers 582;
whereas in Table 5 it is given as 587.
Following the same process, all the
figures in Table 5, col. b, should,
strictly speaking, be decreased by
5; when they would be in accordance
with the revolutions of the moon's
apsis as given in the text of the
Sūrya-Siddhānta. Three or four
hundred years ago, however, the Hindu
astronomers applied to the elements of
the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* a correction,
technically called *bīja*, which from
that time has been generally adopted
in calculations. In Table 5, col. b,
the figures, all through, as they stand,
are correct for the elements of the
Sūrya-Siddhānta as modified by this
bīja. And, as the Table is for the
nineteenth century A. D., when the
bīja has to be applied, the inclusion of
the *bīja* in it is proper and correct.

The *bīja*, however, has to be rejected
for the centuries anterior to the time
of its introduction; and this is to be
effected by a modification of Table 6.
Here again (Table 6), in col. b, the
figures, all through, as they stand,
include the *bīja*. In the case of the
centuries marked 15 to J. 3, in which
the *bīja* is not to be applied, in col. b,
correct the numbers from 185 to 785,
inclusive, by substituting 0 for the last
figure; thus, for 185, read 180; for
484, read 480; and for 785, read 780.
Then, with Table 5 as it stands, and
with Table 6 thus corrected, the final
results will be in accordance with the
text of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* without
the *bīja*. For the centuries marked
G. 1 and G. 2, the application of the
bīja is proper and necessary; and the
figures 972 and 486 are correct, as they
stand.

p. 167, Table 7, opposite 2nd August (common
year), for b 720, read 730. Opposite
13th August read b 129 for 126, and
opposite 14th August read b 166 for
169.

p. 168, Table 7, opposite 12th October (common
year) for d 630, read 639.

p. 172, Table 10, opposite the argument 950, for
equation 76, read 80.

„ Table 11, opposite the argument 200, for
equation 4·10, read 14·10.

p. 219, note 16, line 5, for *Ārdra*, read *Ārdra*;
and line 11, omit the word March.

p. 239 b, line 46, for trayō, read trayō-.

p. 240 b, last line, omit the comma at the end of
the line.

p. 248 b, line 7, for Which, read which.

p. 250 a, line 20, for ithau, read tithau.

„ b, line 11, for punarvasu-, read punarvasu-.

p. 251 b, last line, read (No. 17 instead of No. 9).

p. 252 a, line 6, omit the comma after *tithi*.

p. 270, in the column for the Tithi-suddhi,
opposite 720, for 1 9, read 1 9·0; and
opposite 740, for 1 6, read 1 6·0.

p. 271, in the column for the Tithi-Kēndra,
opposite 1040, for 1 45, read 1 48.

p. 315 b, last line, for Varāhi-, read Varāha-.

p. 336 b, line 7 from the bottom, for māna —
vijaya-rājyē, read māna-vijaya-rājyē.



THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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VOLUME XVIII.—1889.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY É. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from Vol. XVII., p. 307.)

THIRD EDICT.

Prinsep, *l.c.* p. 584; Burnouf, *l.c.*, pp. 669 and ff.

TEXT.

- 17 Dēvānampiyē Piyadasi lāja hēvaṃ ahā [...] kayānaṃ ēva dēkhati¹ iyaṃ mē
 18 kayānē kaṭēti nō mina² pāpaṃ dēkhati iyaṃ mē pāpē kaṭēti iyaṃ vā
 āsinavē
 19 nāmāti [...] dupaṭivēkhē³ chu khō ēsa hēvaṃ chu khō ēsa dēkhiyē imāni
 20 āsinavagāmini⁴ nāma atha chaṇḍiyē niṭhūliyē kōḍhē mānē [...] isyā
 21 kālanēna va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ēsa bāḍha dēkhiyē⁵ iyaṃ mē
 22 hidatikāyē iyaṃ ma namē pālatikāyē [...]

NOTES.

1. It matters little whether we should read here, and lower down, *dēkhati* or *dēkhamti*. The subject is indefinite: 'one sees,' 'they see.' And we must consider the form *dakhati* or *dēkhati* as certainly the present and not the future (*cf.* Kern, *J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xii. 389, *note*). See lower down the future participle *dēkhiya*. It is unnecessary to remark that the regular orthography would be *kayānaṃ* (or *°nam*) *ēva*.
2. The syllables *nō mina* are embarrassing, and the more so because the agreement of all the versions compels the greatest caution in making conjectures. Burnouf analyzed it into *nō imind*, 'not by this,' but I confess that I do not see clearly the sense which he proposes to draw from it, and perceive still less any meaning which would be usefully drawn from such an analysis. One thing is certain, that a negative is wanting. It may be contained in the first syllable, *nō*; but it may also be in the last syllable, *na*. Dr. Kern apparently, 'so far agreeing with Burnouf, adopts the first explanation when he incidentally quotes this member of the sentence (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., xii. 389, *note*), and transcribes it as *na punaḥ*: *mina* would therefore represent *punaḥ*. Perhaps the same could be found again in the form *mana* at the end of this edict: *iyaṃ mana mē*. However, as will be seen in a subsequent note, *punaḥ*, in this latter sentence, is not needed by the necessities of the sense,—quite the contrary. This analogy would

not therefore be decisive in favour of an identification which presents so many difficulties. We have met this adverb on several occasions in our inscriptions, but always under the form *puna* or *pana* (*panē*). The change of an initial *p* into *m* is anything but frequent; when, in *Prākṛit*, we meet with *mīa*, *mīva*, for *pī va* (*apī va*), it is only after a nasal (cf. Weber, *Hāla*, index, s.v.). Besides this we should have to explain the change of *u* into *i*, a change peculiarly unexpected after a labial. This transcription, therefore, ingenious as it may be, appears to me to be extremely hypothetical. I think it preferable to take refuge in a conjecture, and to read *nāmā* (for *nāma*) *na*. *Nāma* would be placed exactly as it occurs at the end of the sentence, after *āsinavē*; nothing could be more natural, for the two phrases are in antithesis. I may add that, at the end of the edict, I can see no more plausible expedient than to correct *manamē* into *mē nāma*. Burnouf supposed an accidental repetition of the syllable *mē* (*ma*), but we cannot adhere to this explanation; we shall, indeed, see that there is no reason for admitting the presence of the negative for which Burnouf sought. Nor can I follow him further in his translation of the latter portion of this sentence. He commences a new proposition at *iyam vā āsinavē*, which he translates, 'Et c'est là ce qu'on appelle la corruption du mal.' I scarcely see, in what precedes, to what this observation can refer; *āsinava* is, on the contrary, defined a little lower down. Besides, the *vā* and the final *ti* necessarily range this proposition in order with that which precedes it. We shall establish a perfectly natural and connected sense if we translate: "One does not say 'I have committed such and such a fault, or such and such an action is a sin.'" There is here no tautology. The first proposition deals with the material fact of the bad action which one does not feel bound to confess, the second deals with the exact appreciation of the value of those actions which one abstains from dwelling upon. Indeed, the remainder of the edict has for its object: 1st, to inculcate the necessity of self-examination; 2nd, to enlighten the conscience by definition, such as it is, of sin. With regard to *āsinava*, see the preceding edict.

3. The irregular orthography of *°paṭivēkkhē* for *°paṭiyavēkkhē* will be remarked. This anomaly occurs again, e.g. in *paṭivēkkhāmi*, vi. 4, and also in *anuvēkkhamāna*, viii. 2. The root *prati-ava-ikkh* is consecrated in Buddhist terminology to the sense of 'examination of the conscience,' 'self-examination.' See, for example, a passage of the *Visuddhimagga*, quoted by Childers (s.v. *pachchavēkkhanāṇ*), which, among five subjects of self-examination, distinguishes those regarding the passions which have been destroyed and those regarding the passions which are yet to be destroyed. These are exactly the two classes of self-examination of which the king speaks here. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the two words *chu khō* mark a double reservation. The first depends on the preceding phrase: One does not render an account of the evil which one commits; it is true that this self-examination is difficult. The second depends on this phrase itself: this self-examination is difficult, yet still it is necessary to examine oneself. Then follows the tenour of this examination.

4. *Āsinavagāminī* does not mean 'the vices which come from *āsrava*, but 'the actions which come under the category of *āsrava* or of sin.' This is the only translation which agrees at once with the customary use of *gāmin* and with the general sense of the passage. The *hēvaṇ* of the preceding phrase gives us notice that we are about to have an explanation of the self-examination which the king demands. As a matter of fact, the sentence commences with *imāni*, which is in exact parallelism with the *iyam* of the preceding propositions. Moreover, and this is altogether decisive in the matter, the versions of Radhiah and of Mathiah mark off this beginning of the sentence with an *iti*, which emphasises its real purport. The continuation, *yatha*, &c., is an explanatory development, a kind of summary definition intended to explain the nature of *āsrava*, and in what sin consists. *Chāṇḍiya*, the equivalent of the abstract noun *chāṇḍiya*, does not appear to have been used in the classical language.

5. Hitherto this last sentence of the edict has not been understood. Neither the phrases nor even the words have been properly separated. The new copies, which supply us clearly with the reading *kālanēna*, can leave no doubt as to the construction. On the other hand, as most of the versions give *palibhasayisaṇ* (i.e. *palibhāsayisaṇ*) *ēsa*, it is clear that the *ti*

inserted between the two words by two of the versions represents *itī*. It hence follows that this phrase is put in the mouth of a third person, *i.e.* of the sinner, and that it defines that which it is necessary to watch carefully, with energy (*bādhañ dēkhiyē*). Numerous passages (*e.g.* K. viii., 2; Kh. xii., 32; Sahasāram, I.; *infra*, viii., 1, &c.) leave no doubt as to the force of *bādhañ*, which is that of a kind of superlative. The phrase *isyākālanēna*, &c., by itself offers no serious difficulty. *Palibhāsati* in Pāli means to decry, 'to calumniate,' 'to defame.' This is the meaning which we have here, whether the causal should have its full force, 'to cause to calumniate,' or whether, as appears to me more likely, it only conveys the meaning of the simple root. We have already met the form *hākañ* as equivalent to *ahañ*, and we shall subsequently meet it still oftener. That, therefore, which it is necessary to watch against with care, is the tendency to spread calumnies by reason of, *i.e.* under the inspiration of, envy. The versions of Radhiā and of Mathiā complete the sentence with a final *itī*, thus clearly shewing that the last phrase, *iyāñ mē*, &c., is also comprised amongst the things which are to be made a subject of consideration. We thus arrive at this perfectly natural interpretation: 'it is necessary to say to oneself, "that (this watchfulness in avoiding calumny and envy) will be to my benefit in this world, that will be to my benefit in the other life."' It is plain that we cannot admit the negative for which Burnouf sought in *manamē*. The king never separates, and above all, never opposes present advantage and future (or, more properly, religious) advantage; and, in any case, if he ever did, the opposition would here be unintelligible. It cannot be supposed that the king should consider watchfulness in avoiding calumny as without effect on one's future destiny. Regarding my conjecture expressed above, according to which I read *iyāñ mē nāma*, I would point out that the correction of 18 to 18 is particularly easy. As for *punañ*, supposing for a moment that it can be represented by a form *mana*, it cannot easily be explained here, where nothing calls for an antithesis.

I therefore translate this edict in the following manner:—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—A man only seeth his good deeds; he saith unto himself, "I have done such and such a good deed." But, on the other hand, he seeth not the evil which he doth commit. He saith not unto himself, "I have done such and such an evil deed; such and such a deed is a sin."

True it is that this self-examination is painful; yet still should a man watch over himself, and say unto himself, "such and such deeds, such as rage, cruelty, anger and pride, constitute sins." A man must watch himself with care, and say, "I will not yield to envy, nor will I speak evil of anyone; that will be for my great good here below, and that verily will be for my great good in the world to come."

FOURTH EDICT.

Prinsep, p. 585 and ff.; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* II. p. 258, n. 2; p. 272, n. 1; p. 274, n. 1; Burnouf, p. 740 and ff.; Kern, *Laartelling der zuydelijke Buddhisten*, p. 94 and ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dēvānāmpiyō Piyadasi lāja hēvañ āhā [...] saḍḍisativasa
- 2 abhisitēna mē iyāñ dhammalipi likhāpitā [...] lajūkā mē
- 3 bahūsu pānasatasahasēsu janasi āyatā¹ tēsañ yē abhihālē va
- 4 daṃḍē vā atapatiyē mē kaṭṭē² kiṃti lajūkā asvatha abhitā
- 5 kaṃmāni pavatayēvū janasa jānapadasā hitasukhaṃ upadāhēvū
- 6 anugahinēvu chā³ [...] sukhīyanadukhīyanam jānisamti dhammayutēna cha
- 7 viyōvadisamti⁴ janam jāpelaṃ kiṃti hidatāṃ cha pālatāṃ cha
- 8 ālādhayēvū ti [...] lajūkā pi laghamti⁵ paṭichalitavē mañ pulisāni pi mē
- 9 chhadamāni paṭichalisamti tēpi cha kāni viyōvadisamti yēna mañ lajūkā

- 10 chaghamti ālādhayitavē [...] athā hi pajam viyatāyē dhātīyē nisijitu
 11 asvathē hōti viyatadhāti chaghati mē pajam sukham palihatavē⁶
 12 hēvam mamā lajūkā kaṭā jānapadasa hitasukhāyē [...] yēna ētē abhīta
 13 asvatha samtaṁ⁷ avimanā kaṁmāni pavatayēvūti ētēna mē lajūkānaṁ
 14 abhīhālē va daṁḍē vā atapatiyē kaṭē [...] ichhītavīyē hi ēsā kimti⁸
 15 viyōhālasamatā cha siya daṁḍasamatā chā [...] ava itē pi cha mē āvuti⁹
 16 bāṁdhanabadhānaṁ munisānaṁ tīlita¹⁰daṁḍānaṁ¹⁰ patavadhānaṁ timni divasāni mē
 17 yōtē dimnē nātikāvakāni nijhapayisānti jivitāyē tānaṁ [...]
 18 nāsaṁtaṁ vā nijhapayitā dānaṁ dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ va kachhamti [...]
 19 ichhā hi mē hēvam niludhasi pi kālasi¹¹ pālataṁ ālādhayēvūti janasa cha
 20 vaḍhati¹² vividhē dhammachalanē samyamē dānasavibhāgē ti [...]

NOTES.

1. If there is no doubt as to the meaning there is at least some regarding the original form of the word which is here written *āyatā*. Dr. Kern corrects to *āyutā*, Sanskrit *āyuktāh*) both the form and meaning of which are satisfactory. It is nevertheless remarkable that lower down (D. viii, 1), in an expression exactly agreeing with that of the present sentence, we again find the same reading, *āyatā*, in which here all the versions are unanimous. It is the same in the third passage in which the word appears (Dhauī, 1st detached Edict, l. 4). On the other hand, when we have certainly before us the substantive *āyukti* (Dh., detached Edict I. 11; II. 8; and also in line 15 of the present edict) the *u*, so far from being omitted, has acted on the *y* which precedes it, and has changed it into *v*,—*āvuti*. I doubt, however, whether we should go back to the analysis proposed by Lassen and adopted by Burnouf (*āyattāh*). Even if we call in the aid of the analogy of *samāyatta*, the meaning does not exactly suit. I only see in the orthography here used the trace of some confusion which may have arisen in popular usage between the two participles, in themselves quite distinct, *āyutta*, and *āyatta*.

Lajūka is the ordinary spelling, beside which we have also *lājuka* with the *ā* lengthened in compensation. This confirms the opinion of Dr. Jacobi (*Kalpasūtra*, p. 113, and *Gloss.*, s. v. that the etymological form is *rajjūka*. He justly compares the word *rajjū* of the Jaina text which is explained as equivalent to *lēkhaka*, 'scribe.' I shall elsewhere deal with these officers, Suffice it to say, at present, that they appear to me to have been men specially invested with a religious character and constituted into colleges of some kind of sacerdotal description.

2. The meaning of *abhīhāla* is not defined exactly by the ordinary use of the word. The meaning 'offering,' which is that commonly met with in Pāli, does not suit the present passage, 'Confiscation,' adopted by Burnouf, and doubtless derived by him from the signification of 'taking,' 'theft,' attested by classical Sanskrit, is very arbitrary. Further on (l. 14-15) we shall see a direct parallelism between *abhīhāla* and *daṁḍa* on the one side, and *vīyōhālasamatā* and *daṁḍasamatā* on the other. It follows that here *abhīhāla* should have a value very nearly akin to that of *vīyōhāla*. *Vyavahāra* points to a judicial action. I think, therefore, that we cannot do better than agree with Dr. Kern in deducing, for *abhīhāra*, after the analogy of *abhiyōga*, the meaning of 'pursuit,' 'prosecution' in general, derived from the signification *attack*, of which evidence exists.

Similarly, with regard to *atapatiyē*, I agree with Dr. Kern in analyzing it as *ātma-pati*, but I am compelled, by the general sense of the edict to give an altogether different meaning to the word. The sentence is repeated a little lower down, and we cannot separate the explanations of the two passages. In both instances we see that the measures taken by the king have for their end the giving to the *rajjūkas* a feeling of complete security, and the enabling them to attend without fear to the duties of their mission. But the second passage specifies another aim also of the king. The measures taken have their origin in a desire of securing 'uniformity (or equality) in the prosecutions, and uniformity in the punishments.' How could the king secure such a result while abandoning to his officials the arbitrary and uncontrolled right of deciding as to whether prosecutions were to be instituted or not, and as to the nature or

extent of the punishments to be inflicted? This, it must be observed, is the meaning to which the translation of the learned Leyden professor leads. All is explained if we take *ātman* as referring to the king himself, and, in this agreeing with Burnouf, the prosecutions and the punishments as concerning, not the persons committed to the charge of the *rajjūkas*, but these functionaries themselves. 'I reserve to myself, personally,' says the king, 'the institution of prosecutions against, and the awarding of punishments upon, them.' It is manifest that this is an excellent method for establishing a perfect uniformity in the legal responsibilities of these officers; and it is at the same time a weighty guarantee on behalf of those most interested. They could fulfil their duties without inquietude, knowing that they were responsible to the king alone, and that therefore they escaped the possible intrigues and enmities of any official superiors. I deem it useless to insist on the reasons which render inadmissible the interpretation which Burnouf, misled by a false analysis of *atapatiyē*, proposed for this sentence.

3. There can, I think, be no doubt as to these last words, regarding which the reading *°eachā*, instead of *°vu chā*, has hitherto misled interpreters. *Anugahinēvu* is nothing but the optative of *anugrihāti*, derived and spelled according to all the analogies of Prākṛit, and in particular of the dialect of our inscriptions. The *vu* is for *yu*, as in *upadahēvu*, and in many other instances to which attention either has been or will be drawn. The translation is quite simple. The aim of the king is that the *rajjūkas* "should provide for, and favour the welfare and the happiness of, the populations." We have previously shown how familiar the word *anugraha* is to the language of the king. It has almost the appearance of a technical term.

4. In order to understand this member of the sentence, it is indispensable to compare with it the expression of the viiith Col. Ed., l. 2, which refers to it and sums it up. There the king expresses the mission given to *rajjūkas* as follows: *hēvaṇ cha hēvaṇ cha paliyāvadūtha janaṇ dhaṇmayutaṇ*. This comparison appears to me to condemn the translation proposed by Dr. Kern (cf. again J. R. A. S., N. S., xii. pp. 392 and 393, note). *°vadati* has in Buddhist language the exact and ascertained meaning of 'to exhort,' 'to preach.' We have already explained this in discussing the VIth edict. *Viyōvadati* has the same signification, except for the shade of diffusion which, marked here by the prefix *vi*, is in the circular edict given by the prefix *pari*. We have a direct proof of this in Dhauli, vi. ii; *viyōvaditā[re]* corresponding to *°vaditaviyaṇ* of the other versions. This meaning is also the only one which suits the following sentence.

On the other hand, the same comparison prevents our taking *yuta* in *dhaṇmayutēna* as a neuter, and translating, with Burnouf, 'conformably to law.' I have on a former occasion (I. 78) had occasion to remark that throughout our inscriptions *dhaṇmayuta*, or its equivalent, *yuta*, whether in the singular or in the plural, has always the same meaning, and designates the faithful people, the co-religionists of the king. So it is in the xiiith edict, in which the king enjoins his officials to confirm them by their exhortations in their good sentiments; so it is also here. We have, in fact, a very simple means of putting the present passage in complete agreement with the former one: it is to take the instrumental in its meaning, so common and well known, of association. We accordingly translate, 'and with the faithful (at the same time as the faithful) they will exhort all the people.'

We are now in a position to restore all its regularity to the rest of the sentence. We can only, if we follow the usual style of these edicts, refer *ālādhaṇēvu* to the people, to those who are set under authority, as the subject. *Kiṇṭi*, in short, always announces the intention attributed to the subject of the proposition; here, to the subject of *viyōvadisanti*, i.e. to the *rajjūkas*. As we enter, with *kiṇṭi* and *ti*, into the direct style, it would be necessary, if the verb applied to these officials, that it should be in the first person and not in the third. The idea of the king is therefore incontestably this:—'the *rajjūkas* shall preach the gospel to my subjects, in order to provide for their welfare in this world and in the world to come.'

5. There can be little doubt here about the restoration of *laghaṇṭi* to *chaghaṇṭi*. The difference between *ḥ* and *ḍ* is very slight, and the evidence of the other versions seems to be decisive. As to this form, no one has as yet noted its parallel use in Prākṛit, or has determined

its prototype in Sanskrit. Dr. Kern compares the Hindustānī *chāhnā*, the meaning of which, 'to desire,' 'to wish,' would be sufficiently suitable. But to explain directly, and without any intermediate form, an expression of the time of Aśōka by Hindustānī, is in itself so desperate an expedient, that it appears to me necessary to search once more in a less distant region. I have only a conjecture to offer. I should propose to take *chagghati* as an alteration of *jāgrati* like *paṭi-jaggati*, which is so continually employed in the Buddhist language in the meaning of 'to take care,' 'to watch.' Pāli presents more than one example of the hardening of a medial into a tenuis (cf. E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik*, p. 40; Trenckner, *Pāli Miscellany*, 161 and ff.), and the other Prakṛits have even more instances. There are several in our inscriptions; I mention only one,—*kubhā* = *guhā*.

Paṭichalati should be taken purely and simply as an equivalent of *paricharati*, only used in the classical language in the meaning, here very suitable, of 'to serve,' 'to obey.' Examples of the substitution of *prati* for *pari* are not wanting in the Prakṛit dialects. I cite only the Pāli *paṭipāṭi* for *paripāṭi*; and the Buddhist Sanskrit *parijāgrati*, beside the Pāli *paṭijaggati* (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. 435; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 396).

Dr. Kern, as well as Burnouf, corrects *pulisāni* into *pulisānān*, and makes it a genitive dependent on the substantive *chhandadanāni*. The unanimity of the versions prohibits our considering a correction which is not so easy as it would seem at first, the regular form being *pulisānān* (𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓) and not *pulisānān* (𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓). It only remains for us to take *pulisāni* as a nominative plural. So great is the confusion amongst the genders in all our texts, and the analogies in the history of the popular languages (I refer above all to Buddhist Sanskrit) are so numerous, that the use of a neuter termination with a masculine noun need not stop us for a moment. It is clear that the sense thus obtained is in every way satisfactory. Throughout the entire edict, the first thought of the king is visibly to connect all his officials directly with his personal action,—to cause *his* orders, *his* wishes, to reign everywhere and immediately. So it is here: 'The *rajjukas* shall apply themselves to serve *me*, and (under their influence) the officials (designated generally under the term "men of the king") will follow *my* wishes and *my* orders.'

The parallel versions establish the true reading beyond a doubt to be *chhandadanāni*, and not *chhandanāni*. There is therefore no need of thinking of a secondary derivative, equivalent in meaning to *chhanda*. Burnouf had already thought of taking *pulisāni* as the masculine, and of analysing *chhandadanāni* into *chhandājña*, but he would have made the two words accusatives and the second an epithet of the former. All this construction is irreconcilable with the meaning of *paṭichalisanti*. It is, on the contrary, very simple to recognise *chhandadanāni* as a Dvandva, compounded of *chhanda* and *ājñā*, 'will and order,' in the accusative case, dependent on *paṭichalati*.

There are, however, three syllables, the analysis of which it is necessary to correct. Hitherto *chakāni* has been considered as one word, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *chakrāni*, (or, after correction, *chakrānām*) and attempts have in turn been made to translate it as 'a body of troops' and as 'a province.' I have already (I. 161) had occasion to indicate that it is necessary to divide it into *cha kani*. I have shown the existence of an adverb *kani* in the language of Piyadasi; it depends on the evidence of the passages in the viith. (l. 6) and viith. (l. 18) edicts, where *kani* is not as in our other examples, preceded by *cha*. As regards the meaning it remains somewhat undetermined, as indeed might be expected from its origin. The example of the viith. edict (l. 9) might suggest our attributing to it the meaning of 'in general,' 'in a general way'; but it seems to me to be, on the whole, safer, for the reasons given in the passage above referred to, to consider *kani* as almost equivalent to *khalu*, and the phrase *cha kani* to the phrase *cha khu* so commonly met with in this style.

Yēna, in the twelfth line, means 'in order that,' but this is not the only meaning which the word can have: that of 'because' is not less common. If we adopt this latter meaning here (l. 9), and refer *tē*, as would be natural, to the '*pulisas*,' we get a satisfactory explanation of the whole sentence. 'Let the *rajjukas* conform to my views, and all my officers carry out my wishes. They also (the officers) will spread my religious teaching far and wide, if

the *rajjukas* take pains to satisfy me.' In other words, the king entrusts the *rajjukas* with a mission of superintendence over his officers in general, which, if properly conducted, should ensure their joint action in helping forward his religious intentions.

6. It is unnecessary to discuss again infinitive forms like *parihaṭavé* for *parihartavé*. The meaning of *pariharati* is quite fixed by the custom of Buddhist language, in which it signifies 'to busy oneself,' 'to take care of,' (cf. e.g. *Mahāvastu*, I. 403). All the rest of the sentence has been ingeniously explained by Burnouf. Dr. Kern has improved his analysis with regard to the word *viyata*, which he transcribes, not by *vyāpta*, but by *vyakta*.

7. With Dr. Kern, I consider *saṃtaṃ* as not equivalent to *śāntaṃ*, but as representing the nominative plural *saṃtaḥ*. I have already (K. xiii. 11) drawn attention to the nominative *ayaḥ* for *ayanḥ*; and this would be the exact converse, if the final *o* were not transformed into *é* in this dialect; but the frequent changes in it of nominatives neuter (*aṃ*) into nominatives masculine (*é*) would furnish a ready foundation for a confusion of this nature. *Sāntaṃ* in this position will not construe. Regarding the rest of this sentence, see note 2. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the close correlation which the words *yéna*, *éténa*, 'in order that,' 'for this purpose,' establish between the two members of the sentence. With a form slightly different, the sense is exactly the same as in lines 3-5.

8. I cannot agree with previous commentators in taking *kiṃti* as = *kṛtiḥ*. It must be the particle *kiṃti*, so common in our inscriptions. The termination of *ichhitaviyé*, which is the same in all versions, and above all a comparison with Bhabra, l. 6, and with Dh., detached edict i, 3, 9-11, &c., appear to me to be absolutely decisive. *Éśā*, as happens elsewhere (e.g. l. 19 of the preceding edict), and *ichhitaviyé*, represent neuters.

I have already stated the meaning in which I take *saṃatā*. I know of no authority, either in Sanskrit or Buddhistic usage, for turning the word from its proper signification, which is not 'impartiality' (Burnouf), or 'equity' (the *æquitas* of Dr. Kern), but 'equality' or 'uniformity.' It is this last meaning, too, which leads us to a correct understanding of the whole idea.

9. The transcription of *āṇṛitti* (Burnouf's *āṇṛiti* is an obvious misprint) for *āṇṛiti* is admissible; but the meaning 'change of resolution' is unexpected, and entirely arbitrary. I have intimated above (note 1) that I transcribe it as *dyukti*. The change of *y* to *v* under such conditions is so common that it need not cause us to hesitate for a moment. This transcription is moreover the only possible one in the *désāvatiké* of the 2nd detached edict of Dhauli (l. 8), as Dr. Kern has already recognised. So also in *anāvutiṇḍā* (1st detached edict, l. 11), as we shall see later on. The meaning suits exactly, 'from henceforth, this is my injunction, my decision.'

10. I have already (I. 158) had occasion to fix the true signification of *tlita* (*tlrita*). *Tlrēti* refers especially to the completion, to the judgment of a case, and *tlitadamaḥa* signifies 'those men whose sentence of punishment has been delivered.' *Yōtē* appears to me to have been perfectly explained by Dr. Kern, through its connection with the Sanskrit *yautaka*, and gives the sense, first suggested by Burnouf, of 'respite.'

The revision of the different versions of the Corpus confirms the original reading *jivitāyē tānaṃ* throughout. It is on this (and not on *tiṇṇam*) that our interpretation must be founded, Dr. Kern's conjecture (*jivitāyēti nānāsāṅgaṃ*, &c.) must be condemned by one fact alone, that in our text *tānaṃ* ends a line; and that hence, to judge from the constant practice of the texts which avoid the division of a word between two lines, the syllable *naṃ* could not be separated from the syllable which precedes it, to be joined to those which follow. *Tānaṃ* suits the sense admirably. It is simply the well-known genitive plural of the pronoun *tā*. It can clearly only apply to the condemned persons who have just been named. It is also certain that these same persons are the subjects of the verbs which follow, *dāhaṃti* and *kachhaṃti*; and from this I draw several conclusions. First, that *tānaṃ* belongs to the sentence of which the verb is *nijhapayisaṃti*. It must, moreover, be the last word of that sentence, for *as* cannot

commence a new one, and *nijhapayitā* requires an object. It further follows that the condemned, under consideration, cannot be the subject of *nijhapayisanāti*. This is the more important, as this verb has much puzzled interpreters, and no satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered for it. *Jhap* has been derived from *kshap*, the causal of *kshi*, and from a phonetic point of view, no objection can be taken to this. But, putting out of the question the fact that this verb is used nowhere else with the particle *ni*, this analysis leads to most complicated and unsatisfactory constructions. We find in Pāli the verb *nijjhāpēti* (cf. Childers, s. v.), the regular causal of the Sanskrit *ni-dhyai*, with the perfectly legitimate meaning of 'to cause to know,' 'to turn the attention towards.' We have here, it is true, the shortened form, *nijhapēti*; but this occurs under the same influences as those which have produced *thapēti* from *sthāpayati* and other similar examples. Nothing, therefore, prevents us from identifying this verb as occurring here. The subject of the verb must necessarily either be indefinite, as often happens in our inscriptions (cf. *dēkhaṇti* above in the 1st edict), or, which will come to the same thing, the officials, these *puruṣas* and *vajjūkas*, of whom mention has just been made.

A very easy explanation now unfolds itself for the phrase which commences with *nātikā-rakāni*. I grant, says the king, a respite of three days to those condemned to death before the execution of their punishment; 'they will bring them face to face with neither more nor less,' or in other words, they will explain to them that a space of three days and no more is all the delay accorded to them to live. This translation agrees exactly with the *nijhapayitā* of the following sentence. Hitherto a participle absolute has been sought for in this word; but in that case the use of the form *nijjītu*, a few lines above, would have led us to expect *nijhapayitu*. It is really a plural participle with which we are dealing, *°payitā* being for *°pitā*, just as we find *vēdayitam* in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and *sukhayita* below (viii. 3). Burnouf, I may add, took the word as a participle, although he analysed the root in an altogether different manner. The meaning is therefore, 'he who has had his attention drawn to,' 'who is warned of.' The object can only be *nāsantāṇ*, which, as Lassen suggests, can well be referred back to *nāsantāṇ*, 'the term' or 'limit of their execution.'

Vā is *vai*, or rather, as we so often meet it, *eva*.

It is unnecessary to refer again to the adjective *pālātika*, or to the futures *dāhanāti* and *kachhanāti*.

11. The phrase *niludhasi kālasi* is the last in this inscription which offers any difficulty. Both Burnouf and Dr. Kern suggest a reading *niludhasāpi kālasi*, 'during the time of their imprisonment.' If this translation is to be retained, the correction is indispensable. It would nevertheless, in the face of the agreement of all the facsimiles and versions, be better to avoid it if possible. To this consideration must be added others which are, I admit, less decisive. In the first place, we should have rather expected *nilōdhasa*, as both Burnouf and Dr. Kern have perceived. In the second, the use of *kāla* to denote the time which elapses, or 'period,' does not appear to me to be in accord with the custom of the language. I propose to avoid these various difficulties by taking *kālasi* as the locative of *kārā*, 'prison.' The change of gender need not surprise us after so many analogous examples: at any rate, it is not so astonishing to meet the masculine locative *kārasi* of *kārā*, as to meet a feminine locative *kālāyaṇ* of *kālā*, at Rūpnāth (l. 2). *Niludhasi* would then appear in its proper position as a participle, and the locative would mean, 'even in a closed dungeon'; 'even when shut up in a dungeon.' This interpretation appears to me to render more striking, at least in form, the evidently intentional antithesis between this phrase and *pālataṇ*.

12. This last portion represents, as indicated by the final *iti*, either a wish or an intention of the king. It appears as if a potential were needed. Perhaps we have here, if we take *radhati* as being for *radhāti*, one of those traces of the subjunctive to which we have more than once drawn attention both in Pāli and in Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. 499, &c.).

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas :—In the twenty-seventh year of my coronation, I have had this edict engraved. Amongst many hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, have I set over the people *rajjūkas*. I have kept in my own hands the ordering of all prosecutions against and of all punishments upon them, in order that these *rajjūkas* may attend to their duties in security and without fear, and that they may establish and develop the happiness and prosperity of the population of my dominions. They will make themselves acquainted with their good and evil plight, and, together with the Faithful, they will exhort the (entire) population of my dominions so as to secure their welfare both in this world and in the world to come. The *rajjūkas* will set themselves to obey me, and so will my *purushas* also obey my wishes and my orders. They will exhort far and wide, if the *rajjūkas* set themselves to satisfy me. Just as, after confiding a child to a skilful nurse, a man feels secure, saying to himself, "a skilful nurse sets herself to take care of my child," so have I appointed these *rajjūkas* for the happiness and prosperity of my subjects. In order that they may attend to their duties in security and free from disturbing thoughts, I have kept in my own hands the ordering of prosecutions against, and of all punishments upon, them. For it is desirable that uniformity should exist, both in the prosecutions and in the punishments. From this day (I pass the following) rule :—To prisoners who have been judged and have been condemned to death, I grant a respite of three days (before execution). (My officers) will warn them that they have neither more nor less to live. Warned thus as to the limit of their existence, they may give alms in view of their future life, or may give themselves up to fasting. I desire that even those who are shut in the prisonhouse may secure (their happiness in) the world to come, and I wish to see developing the various practices of the Religion, the bringing of the senses under subjection, and the distribution of alms.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.L.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first two of these inscriptions, at Mr. Fleet's request, from excellent ink-impressions made and supplied to me by him. My notice of the third is also from his ink-impression; but in this instance, owing to the condition of the original plate, the impression is not suitable for editing in full. And my account of the fourth inscription is from imperfect rubbings which were received through Sir A. Cunningham.

A.—Copper-Plate Grant of Chandradēva and Madanapālādēva.
The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription has been previously edited, with a translation, by Dr. F. E. Hall, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVII. pp. 220-241. It is on a copper-plate which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. No information is available as to where the plate was discovered.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 9" by 1' 2". The edges of it were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims, to protect the writing. Portions of the plate are somewhat worn, especially on the proper right side, from line 8 to about line 15; but there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription, with the exception of the first three *aksharas* of line 13, which are almost completely obliterated by the incrustation of rust, so that only very faint traces of them are visible in the impression. The plate is thick and substantial; so that the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is bold and excellent; but, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool.—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there passes a ring about $\frac{9}{16}$ " thick and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in

diameter. This ring had been cut before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice; but there is no reason for supposing that the present ring and seal are not the ones properly belonging to this plate. On the ring there slides a bell-shaped seal, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high from top to bottom; it fits on to the ring by a circular opening, about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter, in the lower end of it. The surface of the seal is circular, about $2\frac{1}{10}$ " in diameter. In relief on a slightly countersunk surface, it has, at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling half front and half to the proper right, but with the face turned quite round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the legend *śrī-Madanapālādēvaḥ* 1; and at the bottom, a *śiṅkha* or conch-shell.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī.—The language is Sanskrit, with nothing remarkable about it, except that in lines 15 and 16 there occurs the unusual phrase *ā padma-sadmanō hūhūkāntaḥ yāvat*, in place of the ordinary *ā-chandrārkaḥ*.¹—As regards orthography, *ḥ* is throughout written by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is 39 times employed for the palatal sibilant (e.g. in *asītadyuti*, line 1, *Yasōvighraha* and *yasaḥ*, line 2, *samit-āsēsha*, line 3, &c.), and the palatal sibilant for the dental sibilant in *śva-dattāṁ*, line 20, and *sahasrāṇi*, line 21; and the dental *n* is used instead of the *anuvāra* in *vanśa*, line 1. A few other mistakes will be pointed out and corrected in the transcript of the text.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Madanapālādēva* (or, as he calls himself in line 23, *Madanadēva*), of *Kanyakubja* (or Kanauj), who records that his father, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Chandradēva*, when at Benares, granted the village of *Ahuāma*, in the *Dhanēsaramaṇa pattalā*, to the Brāhmaṇ *Vāmanasvāmīśarma*, a student of the *Sāmaveda*. And the date on which this grant was made by *Chandradēva*,² is stated (in lines 11 and 12), both in words and in figures, to have been **Monday**, the third lunar day of the bright half of the month *Māgha* of the year 1154, *uttarāyana-saṁkrāntau*.

That there is something remarkable about this date, or that, at any rate, the term *uttarāyana-saṁkrāntau* cannot have here its ordinary and well-known meaning "on the sun's entrance upon its northern course," is evident from the date itself. For the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*, which introduces the solar month *Māgha*, must necessarily precede the new-moon which introduces the bright half of the lunar *Māgha*, and it therefore cannot possibly take place on the third day of the bright half of the lunar *Māgha*. It is, of course, possible that the grant may have been actually made on the occasion of the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*, and recorded on a subsequent date; but there is nothing to show that such was really the case. And I would rather confess that there is something here which, at present, I do not understand; and I can only draw attention to the date given *ante*, Vol. X. p. 188, in which the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* apparently is similarly coupled with the fifth of the bright half of *Māgha*; and to two other dates, quoted *ante*, Vol. VIII. pp. 191 and 192, in which it has been coupled with certain days of the months *Phālguna* and *Chaitra*, when the sun can never enter upon its northern course.³—Omitting the reference to the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*, I find that the third day of the bright half of *Māgha* of the northern or southern *Vikrama* year 1154, current, corresponds to 19 January, A.D. 1097, which was a **Monday**, as required (and was the 27th day of the solar *Māgha*); for, on that day, the third *tithi* of the bright half ended about 10 hours after mean sunrise (for *Ujjain*). And the third day of the bright half of *Māgha* of the

¹ See below, note 40.

² Dr. Hall took the date to refer to the time when the deed was ordered to be drawn up by *Chandradēva's* son *Madanapālādēva*, solely because, in Dr. Hall's opinion, one would expect to read, in line 12, *śrīdēva* instead of *śrīdēva*, if the date were meant to refer to *Chandradēva's* original grant. But *śrīdēva* has undoubtedly to be referred to *Chandradēva's* original grant, and its use is perfectly correct, because the agent of *śrīdēva* must be the same as the agent of *pradattāḥ* (in *śrīdēva-ṛitya pradattā iti*) in line 16.

³ In the numerous dates before me which mention an *uttarāyana*-or *makara-saṁkrānti*, that *Saṁkrānti* is generally coupled with a day of the bright or dark half of *Pausha*; and I can at present recall only two dates where, in a northern year, the same *Saṁkrānti* is (rightly) coupled with a day of the dark half of *Māgha*. The whole subject apparently is too intricate to be treated here incidentally.

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northern or southern year 1154, expired, corresponds to Friday, 8 January, A.D. 1098; while the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* had taken place on Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1097, which was the third day of the dark half of Māgha, by the *pūrṇimānta*, or of Pausa, by the *amānta* reckoning.

The village granted, and the *pattalā* in which it was situated, I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

TEXT.*

- 1 Ōm^a svasti || Akuṇṭhōtkanṭha^a-Vaikuṇṭha-kanṭhapīṭha-loṭhat-karaḥ | saṁrambhah
surat-ārambbhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasā^a=stu vaḥ || Āsīd^a=Asi(śi)tadyuti-vanśa(mśa)-
jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālāsu divaḥ=gatāsu | sākshād=Vi-
- 2 vasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmā nāmā Yasō(śō)vigraha ity=udārah || Tat^a-sutō=bhūn=
Mahāchandra^a=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nijam | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyā-
pāritam yasa(sa)ḥ || Tasy^a=ābhūt=tanayō nay-nika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvi-
- 3 shan-maṇḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-dhīra¹⁰-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-Chandradēvō nripaḥ | yēn=
ōdāratara-pratāpa-sa(sa)mit-āsē(śē)sha-praj-ōpadravam śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirā-
jyam=asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēṇ=ārjijitām || Tirthāni¹¹ Kāsi(śi)-Ku-
- 4 si(śi)k-Ōttarakōsa(sa)l-Ēndrasthānīyakāni paripīlayat=ābhi¹²gamyā | hēm=ātma-tu-
lyam=anisa(sa)ṁ dadatā dvijēbbhyō yēn=āukitā vasumatī sa(sa)tasa(sa)s-
talābhiḥ || Tasy=ātmajō Madanapāla iti kṣhitindra-chū-
- 5 dīmaṇir=vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | yasy=ibhishēka-kalas-ōllasitāḥ payōbbhiḥ
prakṣhālitaṁ kali-rajah sakalam dharitryāḥ || Yasy¹³=āsīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-
samayē tuṅgāchal-ōchechais-chala-
- 6 n-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhrasyan-mahī-maṇḍalō | chūḍiratna-vibhinna-
tālu-galita-styān-āsrig-udbhāsitaḥ Sē(śō)shaḥ¹⁴ pēsha-vasā(śā)d=iva kṣhaṇam=asau
krōḍē nilin-ānanaḥ || Sō=yam samasta-rā-
- 7 ja-chakra-saṁśēvita-charapaḥ ||¹⁵ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra
paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-nijabhujōpārjita-śrīKanyakuvjā(bjā)dhīpatya-śrīChandra-
dēva-pādānudhyāta-pa-
- 8 ramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrīman-Madana-
pālādēvō vijayī ||¹⁶ chha ||¹⁶ Dha¹⁷ṇēsaramaṇa-pattalāyām=Ahuṇa-grāma-
nivāsinō
- 9 nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnā-
pati-bhāṇḍīgārik-ākṣhapāṭalika-bhishak(g)-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapa-
- 10 ttanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān samājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīsa(sa)ti cha |
Viditam=astu bhavatām ||¹⁸ yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-
lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-
- 11 madhūka-chūta-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gōchāra-paryantaḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ s-ōrddhv-
ādhaḥ=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śa)ddhaḥ [sva]-sīmā-paryantaḥ chatuḥpa(shpa)mcha-
sa(sa)d-adhika-sa(sa)taikādasā(sa)-samvatsarō Māghē mā-
- 12 si su(su)kla-pakṣhō tritīyāyām Sōma-dinē Vārāṇasyām uttarāyana(na)-¹⁹
saṁkrāntau ankataḥ samvat 1154 Māgha su di 3 Sōmē Vārāṇasyām
dēva-śrī-Trilōchana-ghaṭṭō Gaṅgāyām snātvā śrīma-

* From the impression.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Metre, Ślōka (Anuśtubh).

^a Metre, Indravajrā.

^a Metre, Ślōka (Anuśtubh).

^a Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

¹⁰ This is distinctly dhīra, and not dhīra.

¹¹ Metre, Vasantatilakā; and in the next verse.

¹² This akṣhara, bhi, is quite distinct here.

¹³ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

¹⁴ This sign of visarga had originally been omitted.—I believe the right reading to be *śīshaḥ śīsha-vaśīd-iva*; see ante, Vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

¹⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁶ These signs of punctuation are superfluous. On the sign, resembling chha, which stands between them, see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 45.

¹⁷ The consonant, dh, of this akṣhara is quite distinct, but the whole akṣhara may possibly be dhā.

¹⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁹ The actual reading of the text is *uttarāyana*.—*Uttarāyana* for *uttarāyana* we also find ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 22.

- 13 [n-mahār ? ²⁰] āja-śrī-Chandradēvēna vidhivan=mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāms=tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pātana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushnarōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipati-sa(śa)kala-sē(śē)kharam samabhyarchchya
- 14 [tri]bhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛddhayē Kausi(sī)ka-gōtrāya Visvā(śvā)mitra-Audalya-Dēvarāta²¹-tripravārā-
- 15 ya Chchhamlōga-sā(śā)khinē vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Dēvasvāmi-pautrāya vrā(brā)hmaṇa-śrī-Vārāhasvāmi-putrāya vrā(brā)hmaṇa-śrī-Vāmanasvāmisa(śa)rmmaṇē gōkarṇa-kusa(śa)latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvam=ā padmasadmanō hū-
- 16 hūkāntām yāvach=chhāsanikṛitya pradatta iti jñātvā asmābhiḥ pitri-dāna-sā(śā)sana-prakāsa(śa)nārtham nija-nām-āukita-mandrayā tāmra²²-paṭṭakē nidhāya pradattō²³ matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāgabho-
- 17 ga[ka]ra-hiraṇya-prabhṛiti-samast-ādīyān=ājñā-vidhēyibhūya dāsyā[tha] || chha || Bhavanti ch-ātra ślōkāḥ || Bhūmim²⁴ yaḥ pratigrihṇā(hṇā)ti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmaṇau ni-
- 18 yatau svargga-gāminau || Sa(śa)mkham bhadr-āsanam chchhatram²⁵ var-āsvā(śvā)vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihṇāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || Sarvvān=²⁶ ētān=bhāvinah pāthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-
- 19 mahadrah || (i) sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇā[m] kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ || Va(ba)hubhir²⁷=vvasuddhā(dhā) bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
- 20 phalam || Suvarṇam=ēkam gām=ēkim bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgula[m] | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-ābhūtasaṁplavam || Śva(sva)-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharam | sa viśthāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha
- 21 majjati || Shashṭim varsha-sahasrā(śrī)ṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tany=ēva narakam(kē) vasēt || Yān=²⁸ iha dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni va(dha)rmma-ārtha-yasa(śa)skaraṇi | nirmma-
- 22 lya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar-ādadita || Vāt=²⁹ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpātamitra-madhurā viśay-ōyapabhōgāḥ³⁰ | prāṇas=trīṇāgra-jalavimdu-samā na-
- 23 rāṇām dharmmah sakhā param=ahō paralōka-yānē || Śrīman=³¹Madanadēvēna pitri-dāna-prakāsa(śa)kaḥ | sā(śā)sanasya niya(ba)ndhō=yam kāritali sviya-mudrayā | (ii) Likhitam karaṇika-ṭhakkura-
- 24 śrī-Sahadēvēna | Si(śi)vam=a[stu] || Maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Om !

May it be well !

(Line 1).—May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikunṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness !

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (*personage*) Yaśovigraha by name, (*who*) by his plentiful splendour (*was*) as it were the sun incarnate.

²⁰ I am doubtful about these three aksharas, of which only faint traces are visible in the impression. The aksharas were certainly not *drōjādhitā*.

²¹ According to the *Alvalāyana-Brautasūtra*, Calcutta Ed., p. 883, the three names are *Vaidāmītra-Dēvarāta-Audala*.

²² Read *āmra*.

²³ Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next verse.

²⁴ Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next three verses.

²⁵ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

²⁶ One expects *pradatta iti mated*.

²⁷ Read *chhatram*.

²⁸ Metro, Śālini.

²⁹ Metro, Indravajrā.

³⁰ Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

(L. 2.)—His son was **Mahichandra**, who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (even) to the boundary of the ocean.

His son was the king, the illustrious **Chandradēva**, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (and) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (the moon does the) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious **Gādhīpura**,²² when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of **Kāśī**, **Kusika**, **Uttarakōśalā**, and the city of **Indra**,²³ after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in weight) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).

(L. 4.)—Victorious is his son, **Madanapāla**, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars all²⁴ impurity of the **Kali-age** has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold,²⁵ **Sēsha**, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

(L. 6.)—He who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all **Rājās**, the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of (Śiva) **Mahēśvara**, the illustrious **Madanapālādēva**,—who meditates on the feet of the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, the **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of (Śiva) **Mahēśvara**, the illustrious **Chandradēva**, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious **Kanyakubja**,—

(L. 8.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of **Ahuāma** in the **Dhanēsaramaus pattalā**, and also to the **Rājās**, **Rājās**, **Yuvarājās**, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *sthānas* and *gōkulas*,²⁶—(as follows):—

(L. 10.)—Be it known to you that the illustrious **Mahārāja** (?), the illustrious **Chandradēva**,—after having bathed in the Ganges at the *ghaṭ* of the divine holy **Trilōchana** at Benares, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,²⁷ saints, men, beings, and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, after having performed adoration of **Vāsudēva**, the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—at Benares, in the year eleven hundred increased by fifty-four, in the month **Māgha** in the bright half, on the third (lunar day), on a **Monday**, on the sun's entrance upon its northern course, in figures, in the year 1154, su. di. 3 of **Māgha**, on Monday,—has given, in order to increase the merit and fame of his parents and himself, the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with its ravines and saline wastes, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, to the **Brāhmaṇ** the illustrious **Vāmanasvāmīśarmaṇ**, son of the **Brāhmaṇ** the illustrious **Vārāhasvāmīn**, son's son of the **Brāhmaṇ** **Dēvasvāmīn**, of the **Kauśika gōtra**, (and) whose three *pravaras* are **Viśvāmītra**, **Audalya** and **Dēvarāta**, a student of the **Chhandōga śākhā**,²⁸—(confirming his gift) with (the pouring out)

²² 'Gādhī's town' is **Kanyakubja**.

²³ i. e. Benares, **Kanyakubja**, **Ayōdhya**, and probably **Indraprastha** (or ancient **Delhi**); see ante, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 46.

²⁴ Other grants have *-rajaḥ-paṭalam* 'the coating of impurity.'

²⁵ See ib. p. 9, note 54.

²⁶ See ib. p. 10, note 55.

²⁷ See ante, Vol. XV. p. 12, note 97.

²⁸ viz. of the **Sāmaveda**.

from the palm of his hand (of) water purified with *kusa* grass³⁹ (and) ordaining (that it should be his) as long as sun and moon⁴⁰ (endure);—

(L. 16.)—(And) that, knowing this (to be so), to make known (our) father's order of (this) donation, we have set it forth on (this) copperplate, furnished with a seal marked with our own name, and have (thereby on our part) given (the above-written village). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over (to the donees) every kind of income, the due share of the produce, money-rent, and so forth.

(L. 17.)—And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses:—[Here follow nine of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 23.)—This deed, making known (his) father's donation, has been ordered to be drawn up by the illustrious **Madanadēva**, (and it is furnished) with his own seal.

Written by the writer of legal documents, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious **Sahadēva**.

May it be auspicious ! (May) bliss (and) good fortune (attend) !

B.—Copper-Plate Grant of **Madanapāla** and **Góvindahandradēva**.

The (Vikrama) year 1186.

This inscription has been previously edited by Babu Durgaram Basu, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLV., Part I. Proceedings, pp. 131-135. It is on another copper-plate which belongs to the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and was presented by Mr. J. Growse, of Mathurā. It was discovered, in 1869, at a place called 'Rāhan' in the 'Ētāwah' District in the North-West Provinces, by a person who was digging in a field.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 7½" by 1' 1". The front of the plate is quite smooth; but on the back of it the edges were both fashioned thicker and raised into rims all round, as if to protect an inscription that was, or was intended to be, written there; there are, however, no indications of this grant being a quasi-palimpsest through the obliteration of an inscription on the back and the engraving of a new one on the front of it. The writing is well preserved throughout; and, excepting one or two *aksharas*, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The plate is substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the tool.—In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole, through which there fits tightly a copper rivet, secured at the front with an eleven-leaved water-lily. At the back this rivet secures a copper-band, about ⅜" and 1¼" broad, with a cross-line pattern on the outer side of it, the projecting part of which is folded over so as to give an inside circular diameter of about ⅜". Through this there slides, quite loosely, a ring about ⅜" thick and 2½" in diameter; it had been cut, before the time when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, and probably before the time when it was obtained by Mr. Growse; and the seal belonging to it is not forthcoming.—The average size of the letters is about ¼".—The characters are Nāgarī.—The language is Sanskrit. In line 23 we have the Prākṛit word *puppha*, for *pushpa*; in line 16 the term *śrā*, probably denoting a measure of land; and in line 21 several rare revenue-terms, the exact meaning of which is not apparent. As regards orthography, the sign of the *upadhāntya* has been employed in *ṭaiḥ-payōbbhiḥ*, line 6, and *antahpurika*, line 13; *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is 11 times used for the palatal sibilant (e.g. in *vanṣa*, lines 1 and 2, *asasha* for *asēsha*, i.e. *aśēsha*, line 4, &c.), and the palatal sibilant 9 times for the dental sibilant (e.g. in *śārya*, line 2, *vaśumatī*,

³⁹ See ante, Vol. XV. p. 10, note 57.

⁴⁰ In the original, the words *ā padmasadmanō hāhākāntaḥ yāvat* take the place of the ordinary *chandrārkaṁ yāvat* or *ā-chandrārkaṁ yāvat*, and they convey, I believe, the same meaning. It is true that the dictionaries give neither *padmasadman* for 'sun,' nor *hāhākānta* 'the beloved of Hāhā' for 'moon;' but *padmāsana*, the etymological sense of which is the same as of *padmasadman*, is said to mean 'the sun,' and considering that *Hāhā* is the name of a Gandharva, and that there are close relations between the Gandharvas and Sōma (the moon), *hāhākānta* may really be a very old name of the moon. According to Dr. F. E. Hall, the phrase in the original "is a hundred to one, corrupt."

line 5, &c.); *sh* is used for *kh* in *sushi*, line 2; *khy* for *kha* in *ākhyapaṭalika*, line 12. Other errors, such as the occasional use of *h* for *bh*, and *vice versa*, of *m* for *n*, &c., which are owing to the carelessness of the writer or engraver, will be pointed out in the transcript of the text.

The inscription refers itself (in line 11) to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājā-dhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Madanapālādēva* of *Kanyakubja* (or *Kanauj*), whose son *Gōvinda-chandrādēva*, apparently acting on behalf of his father, thereby makes known that the *Rāṇaka Lavarāpravaḥa*, who must have owed allegiance to *Madanapāla*, when at *Āsatika* on the *Yamunā*, gave part of the village of *Rāmāitha*, in the *Sigurōḍha pattalā*, to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Guṇachandra*, a student of the *Rigvēda* and emigrant from the village *Bhatakavaḍa*.

The date on which this donation was made, is stated (in lines 17 and 18), in figures only, to have been *Sunday*, the 15th of the dark half of the month *Pausha*, of the year 1166, at the time of a *solar eclipse*.

The introductory metrical portion (from line 1 to 10) of the inscription gives the genealogy of the so-called *Rāthōr* princes of *Kanyakubja*, down to *Gōvinda-chandra*, referring those princes, like the *Basāhi* plate¹ of *Gōvinda-chandrādēva* (with which this inscription has much in common), to the *Gāhaḍavāla-varma*, and mentioning, before *Madanapāla*'s father *Chandrādēva*, only the one prince *Mahitala*, clearly the *Mahiala* of the *Basāhi* plate. The statement that *Chandrādēva* acquired the sovereignty over *Kanyakubja* when the two great regal families of the solar and lunar races had perished, is identical in purpose with the statement of the *Basāhi* grant, that *Chandrādēva* rose to power when *Bhōja* and *Karna* were no more. Beyond this, attention need only be drawn to *Gōvinda-chandra*'s wars against the *Hammitra*, which are referred to in line 9.

The date, the details of which have been given above, does not appear to work out satisfactorily. Taking 1166 to be the current northern or southern *Vikrama* year, the corresponding date, by the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, would be 4 December, A.D. 1108, and by the *amānta* reckoning, 3 January, A.D. 1109. On 4th December, 1108, there was a solar eclipse, but it was not visible in India, and the day was a Friday, not a Sunday; and 3rd January, 1109, was a Sunday, but without a solar eclipse. For *Vikrama* 1166, expired, the corresponding dates would be Thursday, 23 December, A.D. 1109, and Saturday, 22 January, A.D. 1110, both without an eclipse and therefore in every respect unsuitable. And for the *Vikrama* year 1165, current, the corresponding date, by the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, would be Monday, 16 December, A.D. 1107, when, about noon, there was a solar eclipse which was visible in India; and by the *amānta* reckoning, Tuesday, 14 January, A.D. 1108, without an eclipse.—Considering that in all the years from A.D. 1100 to 1120 the 15th of the dark half of *Pausha* never fell on a Sunday on which there was a solar eclipse, I for the present incline to believe that some of the recorded details of the date are erroneous; but all I can say with certainty is, that of the several corresponding dates given above, *Sunday, 3 January, A.D. 1109* would be the most suitable, if the writer had made a mistake concerning the eclipse.

Regarding the places mentioned, none of which I am able to identify, I may add that *Āsatika* on the *Yamunā* is also mentioned in line 9 of the *Basāhi* plate.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ō[m*] Paramātman[ē] namaḥ || Akum[hōtkam]tha-³Vaikun[tha-kaṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | sambrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyaśē=stu vaḥ || Abhūn=⁴n[ri]pō Gāhaḍavāla-vamsē[śē] Mahitalō nāma ji-
- 2 t-ārichakraḥ | sthit[ō] dhara-bhāram=aśēsha[m?] ⁵ēsha Śēshaḥ sushi(khī) yasya su(bh)jē nidhāya || Pradhvastē⁶ Sōma-Śū(sū)r[y]-ōdbhava-vidita-mahā-kshatravamsa(śa)-dvayē=sminn=utsumsprāya-vēdadhvani jagad=akhilam ma-

¹ *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 103.

² *Metro*, Upajāti.

³ From the impression.

⁴ Read *aitṣam-śa*.

⁵ *Metro*, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁶ *Metro*, Sragdhara.

- 3 nyamānaḥ Svayambhūḥ | kṛtvā dēha-grahāya pravaṇam-iha manah [ś]uddha-
vu(bu)ddhir-ddharitryām=uddharttūṁ dharmma-mārgam prapri(thi)tam=atha
tathā kshatravamsa-dvayaṁ cha || Vamśe⁴⁷ tatra tataḥ sa ēsha samabhūd-bhūpā-
4 la-chūdāmaṇiḥ pradhvast-ōddhata-vairi-vīra-timiraḥ śrī-Chamdradēvo nṛpaḥ | yēn=
ī(ō)dāratara-pratāpa-samit-āsa(śē)sha-praj-ōpadrava-śrīmad - Gādhipur - ādhirājyam=
asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēḥ=ārjitaṁ ||
5 Tirthāni⁴⁸ Kāsi(si)-Kusi(si)-k-Ōttarakōśal-Ēndrasthāniyakāni paripālayat=ābhigamya |
hēm=ātma-tulyam=anīsam dadatā dvijebhyō yēn=amkitā vaśu(su)matī śatasa(śa)s=
tulābhiḥ || Tasy=ātma-jō
6 Madanapāla iti kshitindra-chūdāmaṇir=[vv]ijayatē nija-gōtra-chamdraḥ | yasy=ābhi-
shēka-kalās-ōllasitaiḥ=payōbbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kali-rajah-paṭalam prithivyāḥ ||
Yasy⁴⁹=āsid=vijaya-prayā-
7 na-samayē tumgāchal-ōchchais-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kra[m]-ā[sa]ma-bhara-bhra-
syan-mahimamḍal[ē*] | chūdāratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āsri(sri)g-udbhāsita-
Sēshaḥ [pyē⁵⁰]sha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshapam=as[au⁵¹] krō-
8 dē mi(ni)lln-āna[nah*] || Jātas=⁵²tatō rajanijānir=iv=amvu(mbu)rāsēr=Gg[ō]viṁda-
chamdra iti kāmī-bhar-ābhirāmaḥ | rāj-ātma[ē*]na bhavatā sam[u*]pājā(rji)-
tāni Rāmēṇa Dāsarathin=ēva yaśā[m]si(si) yēna || Durvāra=⁵³sphā-
9 [ra]-G[au]ḍa-dviradavara-ghatā-ku[m]bha-nirbhēda-bhīmō Hammīram⁵⁴ nyasta-vairam
muhur=asama-raṇa-kṛḍayā yō vidhattē | sa(śa)sva(śva)t-samchāri-valgat-turaga-
kharapuḥ-ōllēkha-mudrā-sanāpa(tha)-kshōṇī=svī(svi)kā-
10 ra-dakshah sa iha vijayatē prārthanā-kalpavṛkshah || Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-
dhiga(rā)ja-param[ē]śvara - paramamāhēśvara - mi(ni)jabhujōpārjita-śrīKanyāku-
vja(bjā)dhapatya-śrīChamdradēva-
11 pādānudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahār[ā]jādhirāja-paramēśvara - paramamāhēśvara - śrīMa-
danapaladēva-vijayarājyē || Asy=aiv=ātma-jō mahārājaputra-śrī-Gōviṁdachamdra-
dēvaḥ ||⁵⁵
12 Sigurōdha-pattalā[yā*]m | Rāmātha-grāmē || samasta-mahattama-janapada-nivāsi-
lōkān prativāsi-lōkāmś=cha || rāja-rājūm-matri⁵⁶=purōhit-āmāty-ākhyā(ksha)paṭa-
likā(ka)-hām(bhām)dāgarika-bhi-
13 shag-n[ai]mittika-s[ē]nāpati⁵⁷-antahpurika-samast-ādhibikāri-purush-ādīn samājñī(jñā)payati
samvō(bō)dhayati cha || Yath=āstu vidit=ēyam=anityat=āyu[r*]gatā y[u]shmā-
bbhiḥ | Vāt-ātapa-vasāt=tri(tri)nāgra-lagn-ā-
14 va[śyā]ya-viṁdur=iva na sthira-pa[dam?] va(ba)dhnāti jivitaṁ | Nalinī-dala-gatē(ta)-
jala-lava-chamchala-jaladhara-dhārā-jala-janita-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)da-vat kshapa-
drishṭa-nashṭā sa[m]pat || Kshapikān=i[n]driya-su-
15 khāni | Satāmva⁵⁸ gatvaram dēhinām=āyuh || Tad=i[dam?] may=āpi sakāta.⁵⁹
-śāpr(str)-ārth-āvisamvādinā(nī)bbhiḥ śruti-smṛitibhir=upajāta-nischayēna⁶⁰ anamta-
phala-bhōga-bhājanam bhūmi-dānam matvā⁶¹ || asmin
16 grāmē | halānām chatu[r*]bbhiḥ pramāyōḥ(?)⁶² || sirā 1 sa-jala-sthalā s-ōshara-
pāshānā(ṇa)- | giri-nadā(dī)-vana-vāṭik-ām[r*]a-madhūka-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara | ūrdh-
[v*]-ādha[h*]-siddhi-yutā | sa-dasāparādha-damḍī | tri(tri)ṇa-
17 parṇa-ā[dy]-ākar-ādīya-sahitā || sam 1106 Pausha va di 15 Ravau || ady=ēbh(h)=
Āsatikayām dēvatā-Muraitha-ghāṭṭē | Yamunāyām yathā-vidhinā⁶³ snātva
dēva-manushya-pitṛi-tarpanād=anamtaram

⁴⁷ Metro, Sārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁴⁸ Metro, Vasantatilakā; and in the next verse.⁴⁹ Metro, Sārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁵⁰ This akṣhara looks like pyē or yyē. Read śaisha, and compare ante, Vol. XIV., p. 12, note 97.⁵¹ In the original, this akṣhara is s, preceded by the medial i, and followed by the medial ā; but the medial au is similarly denoted below in Gauḍa, line 9.⁵² Metro, Vasantatilakā.⁵³ Metro, Sragdharā.⁵⁴ Originally Hammīram.⁵⁵ Here and below, in places which it is unnecessary to point out separately, the sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁵⁶ Read -rājñī-mamtri.⁵⁷ Read -śnāpaty.⁵⁸ Read satatam.⁵⁹ Read sakala.⁶⁰ Read -nischayēn-ānamta.⁶¹ Read matv=demin.⁶² Perhaps pramāyā.⁶³ Read yathā-vidhī.

- 18 bhagavaintam sūryam=upasthāya | tad-anu ch=ābhishhta-dēvat[ā*]-Mahēśvaram pañcha-
bhīr=upachārāṇi samabhyarchchya bhagavatē Jātavēdasē pūrṇ-āhutiṁ dat[t*]vā |
Rāhu-grastē savitari | mātā-pitrō-
- 19 r=ātmanas=cha punya-yaśō-bhivṛddhaye || bhātā-vrā(brā)hmaṇāya | Gūgā⁶⁶-pauṭrāya |
Rilhē-putrāya | Bhatakavaḍa-grāma-vinirgatāya | Sāmkhyāyana-sū(sā)khinē |
Gautama- | Aitatha(?)⁶⁷ | Āngi-
- 20 rasa- | tri-pravarāya | śrut-ādhyayana-saṁpanna- | vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Gupachamdrāya ||
viśuddhēna manasā kuśa-pūtēna hast-ōdakēna kshity-udadhi-pavan-āmva(mba)-
rāṇi yāvāt | rāṇaka-śrī-Lava-
- 21 rāpravāhēna śāsa(sa)natvēna pradattā(ttā) || Iti matvā sa(ya)thā-dīyamānam |
bhāgabhogakūṭaka-vimśaticchavathā-turashkadamda⁶⁸ | akshapaṭalādāya-valadī-
kumaragadiṇakāka-
- 22 ra-hiranya-vāhy-ābhyaṁtara-siddhi⁶⁹ ētat=sarvvaṁ | anyad=api bhūmy-āvār—p⁷⁰-ōtpat-
syamānam mad-ājñā-pālana-pravaṇair=bhūtvā⁷¹ ētat=sarvvaṁ=asm[ai u ?]⁷²panēta-
vyam | ētat-sa[m]tatyai⁷³ api | Na kēn=ā-
- 23 py=atra vādhā kāryā | śrutvā muninām vachāḥ || Saṁgam(kham)⁷⁴ ha(bha)dr-āsa(sa)-
nam chhat[t*]raṁ var-āśvā vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūdāna-druma-pupphā(shpā)ṇi
phala[m] svargaḥ Parāmdara || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇā(hṇā)ti yas=tu
bhūmi[m]
- 24 prayachchhati | tāv=ubhau punya-ka[r]mmāṇau niyataṁ svarga-gāminau || Va(ba)-
hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=
tasya tasya tadā phalam || Sva-dattā[m]
- 25 para-dattī(ttām) vā y[ō] harēta vaśum(sum)धाराम | sa viśthāyām kṛimi[r]=
bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha majjati || Shashṭir⁷⁵=vvarsha-sabaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē
vasati bhūmidah | āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāvanti narakē
- 26 vasēt || Gām=ēkām svarṇam=ēkām cha bhūmya(mē)r=apy=[ē]kam=a[m]gulam |
haran=narakam=āpn[ō]ti yāvad-āhūtasamplavam || Yān⁷⁶=iha dattāni purā
narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yasa(sa)skarāṇi | ni-
- 27 rmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāmi(ni) kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta || Yē⁷⁷ pāsyanti
mahibhītō mama kulē kim(m)vā parasmīn=mahīm tēshām=ēsha may=
āmjalir=vvirachitō n=ādēyam=a-
- 28 smāt=kiyat | dūrvvā-kāṇdam=api svadharmma-niratā dattaṁ mayā pālyatām vāyur=
vvāsyati tapsyati pratapanāḥ śrutvā muninām vachāḥ || Likhitō=yaṁ
mahattaka-śrī-
- 29 Gāṁgē-ānujñayā Tribhuvanapālēna | thakkura-śrī-Dēvānga-suṁtēn⁷⁸=ēti || Sunara-
kkuḍaṇēna Sāt[ē]hara-sutēn=ēti⁷⁹ ||

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Adoration to the Supreme Spirit !

(Line 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikunṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness !

In the Gāhaḍavāla family, there was a prince, named Mahitāla, who defeated the host of (his) enemies, (and) by entrusting to whose arm the whole burden of the earth, Śēsha enjoyed permanent comfort.

⁶⁶ Perhaps altered to Gūga.

⁶⁷ One expects Aucthaya : see *Āvalāyana-iravastūtra*, Calcutta Ed., p. 878. The Basāhi plate of Govinda-chandra, ante, Vol. XIV., p. 103, l. 15, has *Ayitatha*.

⁶⁸ Read -dāvid-ākha-

⁶⁹ Read -siddhy-

⁷⁰ Perhaps -ākārsha-

⁷¹ Read -bhūtvā-aitat.

⁷² Read -asmā upa-

⁷³ Read -tyā api.

⁷⁴ Metro, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and in the next five verses.

⁷⁵ Read *Shashṭir vvarsha-*.

⁷⁶ Metro, Indravajrā.

⁷⁷ Metro, Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

⁷⁸ Read -sutēn-

⁷⁹ Originally -sutēnāti (?)

When the two well-known great regal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished, then, the self-existent (Brahman), the pure minded, considering the sound of the Vêda to have become almost extinct in the whole world, having conceived the inclination to assume a bodily form here, in order to re-establish on earth the path of religion, as well as the two famous regal families,¹²—

In that family there was then born that illustrious prince Chandradêva, the crest-jewel of rulers, who scattered the haughty hostile warriors as (*the moon does the*) darkness (*and*) who by the valour of his arm acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gadhipura,¹³ when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kâsi, Kusika, Uttarakôsala, and the city of Indra, after he had obtained them, (*and*) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (*in weight*) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (*on which he had himself weighed*).

(L. 5.)—Victorious is his son Madanapâla, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars, the coating of impurity of the Kali-age has been washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, Śêsha, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.

As (the moon) whose wife is the night (*sprang*) from the ocean, so was born from him Gôvindachandra, pleasing by his great loveliness, who, as son of the king, acquired fame like Râma, the son of Daśaratha.

Victorious is here that tree of paradise for (*granting*) requests, who, terrific in cleaving the frontal globes of arrays of irresistible mighty large elephants from Gauda, again and again by the play of his matchless fighting makes the Hammira lay aside (*his*) enmity, (*and who is*) skilled in appropriating the earth (*which is*) marked by the scraping of the hoofs of (*his*) constantly marching bouncing horses.

(L. 10.)—In the reign of victory of the Paramabhâṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja, and Paramêśvara, the devout worshipper of (Śiva) Mahêśvara, the illustrious Madanapâladêva,—who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhâṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja, and Paramêśvara, the devout worshipper of (Śiva) Mahêśvara, the illustrious Chandradêva, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious Kanyâkubja:—

His son, the illustrious Gôvindachandradêva, the son of the Mahârâja, commands and informs all the Mahattamas and the people residing at the village of Râmaṭha in the Sigurôḍha pattalâ, as well as the neighbouring people, (*and*) the Râjas, Rôjnis, counsellors, chaplains, ministers, keepers of records, treasurers, physicians, astrologers, commanders of troupes, superintendents of gynæceums, all officers having authority, and others,—as follows:—

(L. 13.)—You should know¹⁴ that this life does not last for ever. As the dew-drop which sticks to the point of a blade of grass, on account of wind and heat, has no stable position, so it is with life. Unsteady¹⁵ like the drop of water on a lotus-leaf, resembling the bubble produced by the shower from a cloud, fortune appears for a moment and then vanishes. Momentary are the pleasures of the senses. Ever fleeting is the life of mortals. Of this¹⁶ I

¹² The sentence contained in this verse is incomplete, because it contains no principal verb; and I consider it impossible to connect the verse grammatically with the following verse, although it may be true that Chandradêva is intended to be described as an incarnation of Brahman. To me it appears, that the verse *Varisê tatra* originally followed immediately upon the verse *Abhên-nripô*, and that the verse *Pradhvatsê Śîma-* has been inserted here from some other prâseti in which it was followed by a verse which is not given in the present inscription.

¹³ For this and some of the following names and expressions compare the preceding inscription.

¹⁴ In the original one would expect to read here *yathâstu râjâ sanviditâm*, *Viditîyam*. The following must be understood to be the words of the Râjaka Lavarâpravâha (in line 20), whose donation is made public by Gôvindachandra.

¹⁵ If the original is correct, which I doubt, the word *chañchala* must be taken to qualify the following *bud-buda*. I have translated as if the reading were *-chañchalâ*.

¹⁶ Here again the words of the original, *tad-idañ*, are ungrammatical.

too have become convinced by the Vēdas and the law-books, which (in this matter) do not differ from the teaching of all the Śāstras; and, considering that donations of land secure the enjoyment of endless rewards,—

(L. 15.)—I, the illustrious Rāṇaka Lavarāpravāha,—having duly bathed in the Yamunā at the *ghaṭ* of the deity Muraitha, here at Āsatikā, having satisfied the divinities, men and ancestors, having adored the holy sun and thereupon worshipped with fivefold offerings my favourite deity Mahēśvara, having presented a full oblation to the holy fire,—to-day, on Sunday, the 15th day of the dark half of (the month) Pausa, of the year 1166, during an eclipse of the sun,—in order to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, have given as a grant in this village one *sirā*,³³ measuring four ploughs, with its water and dry land, with its saline wastes, stones, hills, rivers, groves, enclosed gardens, mango and *madhūka* trees, mines of iron and salt, together with what accrues above and below, with the fines for the ten offences, (and) with the receipts from grass, leaves and so forth, and from mines (?), to the Bhaṭṭa, the Brāhmaṇ Guṇachandra, the son of Rilhē (and) son's son of Gūgā, who has gone forth from the village Bhatakavaḍa, a student of the Sāṃkhyāyana śākhā,³⁴ whose three *pravara*s are Gautama, Aitatha and Āṅgīrasa,³⁵ (and who is) a Brāhmaṇ conversant with the Vēda,—with a pure mind (confirming my gift) with (the pouring out) from my hand (of) water purified with *kuśa* (grass), (to be his) as long as earth, sea, air and heaven (endure).

(L. 21.)—Aware of this, (you) being disposed to obey my commands, will have to make over to him and also to his descendants the share of the produce,³⁶ the money-rent, whatever accrues from without and within, all this, as it may be given (now), and also whatever else may be produced from the cultivation (?) of the land. Nobody shall cause any obstruction in this matter, listening to the (following) sayings of the sages :—[Here follow eight of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate].

(L. 28.)—This³⁷ was written, with the consent of the Mahattaka³⁸ the illustrious Gāṅgēya, by Tribhuvanapāla, son of the Thakkura the illustrious Dēvāṅga. (Engraved³⁹ it was ?) by Sunarakkuḍaṇa(?), son of Sātēhara.

C.—Copper-Plate Grant of Gōvīndachandradēva.

The (Vikrama) year 1174.

This inscription has been previously published, with a translation, by the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII., Part I., pp. 324-328. It is on a copper-plate, which belongs to the Government Museum at Lucknow, and was found, with the grant of the same king bearing the date of (Vikrama)-Samvat 1161, published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 101-104, in the village of 'Basāhi,' in the 'Etāwah' District in the North-West Provinces.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about 1' 5½'' by 11¼''. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. But a good deal of the surface of the plate is very much corroded by rust so that at many places the writing is quite illegible. And small pieces of the plate have broken

³³ I have not found this technical term anywhere else; it is evidently related to *sira*, 'plough.' On *hala* 'plough,' as a measure of land, see e.g. *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 209, note 48. And with the construction *halānām chaturbhiḥ* compare compounds like *dhārmadehaka-chaturṇām*, *suta-dvau*, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 13, line 29, and p. 229, line 6.

³⁴ i.e. the Sāṃkhyāyana śākhā of the Rīgveda.

³⁵ One would expect Āṅgīrasa, Auchathya and Gautama, and the *gōtra* Uchathya.

³⁶ I am unable to explain properly the technical terms which follow here in the original. Of other grants, the Basāhi plate of Gōvīndachandra, *ante*, Vol. XIV., p. 103, l. 12, has *dhāgukāḍaka* (instead of *dhāgabhaḥgukāḍaka* of the present grant), *akṣapatalaprastha* (instead of *akṣapatalādāya*), *turushkadāṇḍa*, and (as it appears, in the place of *visati-chhavanāḥ*) *visatīsthā(?) prastha*; the plate of the Yuvārjya Jayachandra, *ante*, Vol. XV., p. 8, line 22, has *turushkadāṇḍa* and *kumārāgadiśnaka* (as I would now read); and the Raiwan plate of Gōvīndachandra, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. plate VI. line 24 has *turushkadāṇḍa* and *kumārāgadiśnaka(?)*. The term *turushkadāṇḍa* occurs also in other grants.

³⁷ If *likhitā-yam* of the original is not a mistake for *likhitam* or *likhitam-idaṁ*, we must supply some masculine word, such as *nibandha*.

³⁸ The same term occurs in the Basāhi plate, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 104, l. 21.

³⁹ I am very doubtful about the meaning of these last words of the grant, and am unable to explain them properly.

away at each of the four corners, and at the ring-hole. The letters do not shew through on the reverse side of the plate at all. The engraving is good; and but few of the letters shew any marks of the working of the tool. In the upper part of the plate there was a ringhole; but the ring and seal are not now forthcoming. The weight of the plate is 6 lbs. 1 oz.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$." The characters are Nāgarī—The language is Sanskrit.

Having regard to the large amount of this record that is illegible, it seems unnecessary to produce the text in full, by restoring it from perfect grants of the same dynasty. It is sufficient to state that the inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Gōvindachandradēva* of *Kanyakubja*; that it contains the usual genealogy of the rulers of *Kanyakubja*, from *Yasōvighraha* to *Gōvindachandra*; and that it records a grant, by *Gōvindachandra*, of two villages (the names of which are quite illegible) to a *Brāhmaṇa* *Thakkura* named *Dēvapālasarman*.

Of the legible portion of the inscription, the only thing of importance is the date, which by *Dr. Rajendralal* has been transcribed incorrectly, and which really is as follows:—

(Line 13.) *chatuṣṣaptaty-adhik aikādaśa-sa(sa)ta-saṁvatsarē Phālgunē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣhē tritīyān=tithau Sukra-dinē=śukē=pi saṁvat 1174 Phālgu-*

(Line 14.) [*na va di 3 (?)*] *Sukrē . . . i.e., "in the year eleven hundred increased by seventy-four, in the month Phālguna, in the dark half, on the third lunar day, on a Friday; in figures, the year 1174, Friday, Phālgu[na va. di. 3]."*

Taking this date to be recorded in the *Vikrama* era, according to either the northern or the southern reckoning the corresponding dates would be as follows:—

(1), For the *Vikrama* year 1174 current,—

(a) by the *amānta* reckoning, Wednesday, 21 February, A.D. 1117;

(b) by the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, Monday, 22 January, A.D. 1117.

(2), For the *Vikrama* year 1174 expired,—

(a) by the *amānta* reckoning, Sunday, 10 February, A.D. 1118;

(b) by the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, Saturday, 12 January, A.D. 1118.

Of these four dates, the first three evidently are altogether unsuitable; nor do I believe that the *tithi* intended was the one ending (about 11 hours after mean sunrise) on Saturday, 12th January, 1118, for that *tithi* did not commence till about 12 h. 50 m. after sunrise of the preceding Friday,⁸⁰ and the calculation of the dates of other grants of *Gōvindachandra* appear to show that the reckoning followed was the *amānta* reckoning. Such being the case, I for the present incline to believe that there is some error in the details of the date, and that the year intended was really the *Vikrama* year 1173 current. For the date corresponding, by the *amānta* reckoning, to the 3rd of the dark half of *Phālguna* of *Vikrama* 1173, current, is 3 March, A.D. 1116, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 15 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and which was a Friday, as required.

D.—Copper-Plate Grant of *Gōvindachandradēva* and *Rājyapālādēva*.

The (*Vikrama*) year 1199.

In *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXII. p. 59, Mr. A. C. L. Carlisle mentions two inscribed copper-plates, constituting one grant, which were found at 'Gagahā,' to the west of the *Rāpti* River, about 21 miles south of *Gōrākhpur*, in the North-West Provinces, and were secured through the kindness of Mr. Lumsden, then Collector of the District. What has become of the original plates we are not told; and my account of the inscription is from indifferent impressions, made over to Sir A. Cunningham, and transmitted to me by Mr. Fleet.

⁸⁰ *Phālguna-kṛishṇa-tritīyā* being one of the *Kalpādi-tithis* (see *Dharmasindhusāra*, p. 62), the ceremony with which the donation was connected probably was a *śrāddha* ("śau *Kalpādi-tithishu śrāddhāt pitṛi-tritīyā*"), and a *śrāddha* should not be performed during the night.

From these it appears that the inscription is on two plates, which measure about 1' 6" by 11½" each, and which, to judge from the ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, are or were held together by a ring. Each plate contains 17 lines of writing. The lower half of the first plate, on the proper left side, and the upper part as well as the proper right side of the second plate, appear to be in a bad state of preservation, so that it is impossible to make out with certainty from the rubbings the proper names of localities and private individuals, contained in these parts of the inscription. The engraving appears to be good.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī.—And the language is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of the time of the *Paramabhoṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Gōvindachandradēva* of *Kanyakubja*. In lines 1-12 it gives the usual genealogy of the rulers of *Kanyakubja*, from *Yasōvighraha* to *Gōvindachandra*; and its proper object is to record (lines 13-25), that the *Mahārāja-putra*, or son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Rājyapaladēva*, by the consent of the lotus-feet of the illustrious *Gōvindachandradēva* endowed with all royal prerogatives (*samasta-rāja-prakriyā-pēta*), when encamped at a village the name of which is illegible, granted a village, the name of which also is illegible, in the [Ha ?] *thaunḍa pattalā*, to a [Brāhmaṇ] *Thakkura* of the *Vatsa gōtra*, a follower of the *Yajurveda śākhā*. The inscription contains the usual admonition to give to the donee whatever by this grant may be due to him (the *bhāgabhogakara*, *pravaṇikara*, *jātakara*, *gōkara*, *turush-kadaṇḍa*, etc.), and it contains (lines 25-34) some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And it closes (in line 34) with the remark that this *tāmra-paṭṭaka* was written by the *Karaṇika*, the *Thakkura* the illustrious *Vivika*.

The date on which this donation was made, is in lines 18-19 given as follows:—

(Line 18.) *samvatsarēshv=ēkādaśa-sa(sa)tēshu nava-navaty-adhikēshu Phālgunēmi-*

(Line 19.) *si [śu]kla-pakshē ēkā[da]śyāyām²¹ tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē tath=āṅkē=pi samvat 1199 Phālguna su di 11 Sa(sa)nau || . . . i.e., "in eleven hundred years increased by ninety-nine, in the month Phālguna, in the bright half, on the eleventh lunar day, on a Saturday; in figures also, in the year 1199, Saturday, Phālguna su. di. 11."*

Taking this date to be recorded in the *Vikrama* era, the possible equivalents would be,—

for the (northern or southern) year 1199 current: Sunday, 8 February, A. D. 1142, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended about 11h. after mean sunrise;

for the (northern or southern) year 1199 expired: Saturday 27 February, A. D. 1143, when the same 11th *tithi* ended about 13 h. after mean sunrise.

The true date accordingly is Saturday, 27 February, A.D. 1143; and the year mentioned in the inscription is the *Vikrama* year 1199 expired.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. XIII.—*The Floating Palace, or the Three Wise Precepts.*

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a merchant who had an only son. When this son came of age, the father, with a view to put his business capacities to the test, proposed to place at his disposal a sum of money large enough to enable him to begin life as a respectable merchant, but with this proviso, that if, at the end of a certain period, the merchant found that the young man had made good use of the money entrusted to him and showed an aptitude for business, he would leave him in his will all his immense wealth, but if, on the contrary, he found that his son was wanting in that foresight and shrewdness which are the characteristics of a merchant, and launched into unprofitable speculations and thus lost money, he would disinherit him without mercy.

²¹ Read *śākalayām*.

The young man, who had all along hoped that he would one day quietly come into possession of his father's wealth, demurred at first at this proposal, but when he saw that the old man was determined, he reluctantly consented, and taking the money from his father went to all his friends and consulted with them as to what he had best do with it.

They all suggested different ways in which to make use of the money, till at last one old man, who was reputed to be a sage, proposed to him that if he made over the whole to him he would in return give him something worth all of it and more. The simple young man agreed, and keeping but a trifle for himself made over all the rest of the money to the old fellow, and that worthy in return gave our hero a sheet of paper neatly folded, saying with a look of great importance, "Take this, my good friend, make good use of it, and you will find that this scrap of paper is worth a great deal more than the sum you have invested in its purchase."

Our hero took it home; and on opening it found the following sentences inscribed on it in bold characters:—

1. "Hesitate not, but tread boldly.
2. "A sister in prosperity (lit. plenty), a true friend in adversity (lit. scarcity).
3. "He who falls asleep within a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." (¹)

The credulous youngster read the lines over and over again and then treasured up the paper like a thing of great value. He then invested the small sum he had still left in a few cheap articles of merchandise, and quietly booked himself as a passenger on board a ship bound for a distant shore.

The father, who had all this while been watching his son's movements, felt very sorry to find that though he had placed a large sum of money in his hands, he was fitting himself out as a petty trader only, instead of chartering a whole ship for himself and his wares, as became the son of a great merchant, and so when the time came for the young man to bid farewell to his father the latter remonstrated with him strongly on what he considered his meanness, and the two parted in high anger.

The poor fellow went on board with a heavy heart and the ship sailed away. After a long voyage, she entered the mouth of a large river, and cast anchor near a magnificent city situated on its banks.

Now in the middle of this river, and at a short distance from the city, there was a large and most beautiful palace, which was the wonder of all who came from far and near, for instead of being built on *terra firma*, it appeared to be floating over the surface of the waters, rising, as it were, from the depths of the river, without a yard of dry land around, along which one could walk over to the door and enter it. Besides the beauty and grandeur of the palace itself, there was another object that attracted the attention of the people on board, and that was a lovely damsel who appeared at one of its windows.

Our young hero, however, did not seem to take much interest either in the damsel or in the palace, so occupied was his mind with his own affairs, although he constantly heard his fellow-passengers discussing among themselves as to how it could be that the palace appeared to float on the surface of the river and how people could go in and come out of it.

Now as our young hero was thinking of landing and entering the city to see if he could find a market for any of his wares there, the owner of the beautiful palace, who had been watching him all the while, called out to him and invited him to come to it. The young man could not for the life of him see how he was to approach the palace, in the absence of any visible means of communication with it, and was greatly puzzled as to how the

¹ In Gujarati these sentences run as follows:—

૧. ઓઈસનાં વાડે ટેસનાં
૨. કતની સૈન અકતનો યાર
૩. રાજાના મહેલમા જોકોઈ સુવે, ઓગતે ઓવે ડંધે તો મરે.

was to act, when he bethought him of the old man and his scrap of paper, and the first sentence in it showed him a way out of his difficulty. It ran thus:—"Hesitate not, but tread boldly." So he went as close up to the palace as a boat could take him and then, to convince himself that it was really water that surrounded the palace, he plucked a piece of thread from his garments, and let it fall unperceived by any one upon what seemed to be the surface of the water, and to his great delight he found that the thread remained as dry as before, for it was not water that encircled the palace, but only a pavement of glass, so cleverly contrived as to resemble the water around, and thus deceive the unwary stranger's eye.

This contrivance not only served to attract attention towards the palace, but gave the owner, who was a bad character and enticed away unwary strangers into his den to rob them of their possessions, time to observe closely and form his opinion of the person to whom he offered his hospitality.

So when he saw our hero walking boldly on, as if he had found out the trick of the glass pavement, the bad man felt himself outdone for once, and thought he had to deal with one who might be more than a match for him. Nevertheless he welcomed him with great show of kindness, and pressed him to remain in his palace and consider it as his own till he could find suitable quarters for himself in the city.

The unsuspecting young man saw no reason why he should not accept the proffered hospitality; and ordering all his wares to be brought over to the palace, he took up his abode there with the minister and his daughter.

He had a very pleasant time of it for some weeks, for his host and his daughter treated him with so much kindness and affability that he could hardly think of quitting their hospitable abode. There was one thing, however, which made the young man feel very uneasy as to his future. The sale of what few goods he had brought with him realized but a trifling sum of money, which melted away like snow in his hands in the face of the great expenses he had to incur to keep up appearances, and he had nothing left which he could invest once more in merchandise and thus try his luck again. So he wandered aimlessly from one part of the city to another in the hope of finding some suitable means of earning a livelihood.

One day as he was walking about the streets dressed in rather a homely suit of clothes and presenting a care-worn appearance, he happened to catch sight of his only sister, whom he knew had married into a wealthy family, and had often occasion to visit the city he was in, with her parents-in-law. She was standing at one of the windows of a large house, and their eyes met as he looked up, but she drew in her head and did not appear to notice him. So he went up to the door and desired one of the servants to go up and inform his mistress that her brother wished to see her. But the rich lady thought it beneath her dignity to acknowledge so near a relationship with one who went about on foot unattended by any servants or horses, and dressed in a style not at all becoming her father's son. So she sent him word that she did not want to see him or to have anything to do with him.

This hurt the poor fellow's feelings to the quick, and he walked away from the house in no very enviable frame of mind. He had not proceeded far, however, when he fell in with a person whose face he remembered as that of an old playfellow, the son of a man of very modest means, who had once been on very good terms with his father. The other recognized him also, and the two men, after greeting each other very kindly, began to talk of their private affairs. When this old acquaintance heard our hero's story, and learnt in what manner he had parted with the large sum of money placed at his disposal by his father, how he had been left amongst strangers without the means of subsistence, and how heartlessly his own sister had disowned him, he felt very sorry for him, and offered to place at his disposal a small sum of money which he had scraped together out of his slender earnings, saying:—"Take this, it is all I have; I am but a poor man's son, and can content myself with only the bare necessities of life, but it is a different thing with you, who have been bred in the lap of luxury; make therefore what use you choose of this money, and do not concern yourself as to how you are to return it to me. First of all, provide yourself with suitable apparel, buy a good horse,

and keep a few servants, and you will soon see that you will find credit in the city. Nor will you have cause any longer to complain of the coldness of your sister, for, if you do as I tell you, she will lose no time in owning you as her brother.

The rich man's son was greatly touched with his poor old friend's generosity, and accepted his offer with the greatest reluctance. At the same time the second of those dearly-bought sentences "a sister in prosperity, a true friend in adversity," came to his recollection, and he praised the wisdom of the old man.

This newly found friend took the opportunity of warning our young hero against the apparent kindness and friendship of the owner of the floating palace, who, he informed him, was one of the ministers of the state, but was known to be a very dangerous character. So at parting, the young merchant made a promise to his friend to bid good-bye to his host and his daughter as early as circumstances permitted.

Shortly after this his host, the minister, who had long since found out that his guest was worth nothing to him, but was on the contrary continuing to be a burden upon him, set about thinking of some method by which to get rid of him. At last he hit upon a plan by which to dispose of him effectually.

The king, his master, had an **only daughter** who was afflicted with an incurable disease, which had baffled the skill of a great many physicians, who had come from far and near to cure her and win the promised reward. This reward was nothing less than the hand of the fair Princess herself and the sovereignty of half her father's kingdom. Nearly **every day a physician** presented himself before the king and obtained permission to watch by the Princess's bed and find out what it was she was suffering from, with a view to cure her, but before next morning he **was found lying dead in the chamber**. So the wily minister thought this a very feasible mode of doing away with his young guest, and going up to the king one day, he told him that he had a man staying with him, who was proficient in the healing art, but pretended for some reason or other to be ignorant of it, and that, therefore, if the king wished to secure his services he had only to send his men to bring him into the royal presence, and see if he could not induce him by threats and promises to undertake the cure of the Princess.

The king agreed to this, and sent armed men to the floating palace to seize the stranger and bring him into his presence.

When the guards seized hold of the unsuspecting young man, he, in his fright, asked his host to interfere and save him, but the doublefaced villain, still pretending to be his friend, advised him to obey the king's mandate without opposition and leave the rest to fate.

Acting upon this advice the young man went with the guards and stood before the king who questioned him as to the extent of his knowledge of medicine and offered him the promised reward if he took the Princess's case in hand and cured her. But our hero declared himself quite ignorant of any knowledge of medicine and related how he was only a merchant's son. The king, however, would not believe him, and the more the poor fellow declared himself ignorant, the more the deluded king disbelieved him, so much was his mind prejudiced by the minister's story.

At last, partly by threats and partly by promises, the monarch induced **the young man** to consent to keep watch by the Princess's bed for one day at least and leave chance to do the rest, hoping that the sight of the poor lady's misery would melt his heart and induce him to try his remedies on her.

So the supposed physician went with the attendants into the chamber where the sick Princess lay and was there left alone with her. Not knowing what to do, he sat for some time narrowly watching the fair patient. He saw that her abdomen was swollen to an enormous height, and heard groans of great agony issuing from her mouth. In other respects, however, she appeared to be all right, for her highly beautiful face was calm and serene, and she looked as if she were wrapped in sweet slumber, in which state, as he had been told by the attendants who had led him into the chamber, she had been lying for months past, taking no other food but milk, which too had to be poured down her throat. The young man felt greatly for her,

and fervently wished he had the power to do something for the poor suffering creature. He sat by her bed the whole day, watching her movements, and towards evening he ordered the attendants to strew her bed with soft, fragrant flowers, for, he said to himself, "how bed-sore and tired she must be feeling, lying here so long and so cheerless! The odour of sweet flowers will do her good." So they strewed her bed with the choicest flowers that could be had, and placing a pail of milk near her bed, retired, leaving her alone with the reputed physician.

Left thus alone to his thoughts our hero sat and pondered for a while on what he thought his very equivocal position, wondering much how the king could have been led into considering him a physician, and how the next morning he would be able to account for his failure in curing the Princess. By degrees slumber began to steal upon him and he was about to lie down to go to sleep, when all at once he remembered the lines, "He who sleeps in a king's palace is lost, while he who keeps awake is saved." So up he started and rubbing his eyes and shaking off sleep, he sat intently gazing at the Princess again. Nor was his night's vigil unrewarded, for about midnight, he perceived the patient writhing in great agony, and giving out low moans, indicative of extreme pain. He thereupon went nearer her bed and stood by, gazing with pity on her lovely face, when what should he see but a fierce serpent slowly thrusting its head out of the poor lady's mouth, and looking stealthily about as if to see whether there was any one near! The young man, surprised and bewildered as he was at this unexpected sight, had presence of mind enough left to hide himself behind some curtains and watch what followed. The loathsome reptile, seeing the coast clear, began to draw its whole length out of the Princess's body, inch by inch, without fear, the Princess all the while giving low groans of agony, and finally with a heavy jerk it fell out amongst the flowers, and hid itself beneath them. Seeing his prey thus secure our hero came out of his hiding place and was just going to strike it with his sword, when the greedy reptile, happening to see the pail of milk hard by, slid from amongst the flowers and glided towards it. Just then the brave young man drew his sword and gave the hateful creature such a heavy blow with it as to kill it on the spot.

The joy of our hero knew no bounds when he saw the venomous reptile that had so long been tormenting the sweet Princess lying dead on the one hand, and that beautiful lady, now free from pain, with her abdomen fallen to its natural level, pouring forth her thanks on the other.

He allowed the loathsome carcass of the dreaded reptile to remain where it was, that he might show it to the king as a trophy of his victory, and engaged in a pleasant *tête-à-tête* with the fair Princess.

With morning came into the room a couple of sweepers who had been sent there as usual to clear away the remains of any physician who may have dared to treat the Princess that night, but what was their surprise when they saw the physician alive and hearty and conversing with the Princess, who was herself sitting up in bed, looking quite well and happy, and a large serpent lying dead beside her bed. They retreated respectfully and spread the good news everywhere in the palace, so that the king was soon on the spot.

When the monarch saw the body of the huge reptile and found his beloved daughter sitting up in her bed and looking cheerful and happy he comprehended at a glance what had happened, and was beside himself with joy. He held his dear child to his heart, and then, embracing the reputed physician, congratulated him on his success. Now it was that every one came to know what the poor Princess had been suffering from, and how it came about that every physician who attended her was found dead in the morning, for, judging from the account our hero gave the king, the venomous reptile had been in the habit of coming every night out of the poor lady's mouth and stinging the unfortunate physician in attendance on her while he was asleep.

The young merchant now felt really thankful to the old man who had given him, among others, the lines that warned him against going to sleep within a king's palace, for he clearly saw that but for them he too would have lost his life like the other physicians.

There was immense joy and rejoicing all over the kingdom when the Princess for the first time after her recovery from her terrible illness, rode through the city, and the fame of the fair-haired youngster who had cured her, when so many others had failed, spread far and wide, and every one, high and low, sought his friendship and did him honour. Nor was our hero's sister tardy in her attentions towards him, now that he stood so high in the royal favour. She sent messengers to invite him to make her house his home, and expressed herself highly concerned in his welfare; but her brother knew her too well to be carried away by these manifestations of her regard, and sent her word that he could do well without a sister who had discarded him when he was poor, and wanted now to make up to him only because he was rich and powerful.

Now that his beloved daughter was thoroughly cured, the king thought it high time that the promised reward should be bestowed upon her deliverer. So he sent for his astrologers and bade them fix upon a day on which to celebrate the Princess's wedding with the young merchant. But our hero's heart was not as light as it should be, considering that he was loved by the Princess as much as he loved her, and that they both looked forward to their union with the greatest rapture; for he saw that the proud nobles and grandees of the king's court looked upon him as a mere upstart and a creature of circumstances. He thought, therefore, of going back to his own country to solicit his father's forgiveness and bring him over with all his friends and relatives to celebrate his nuptials with the king's daughter with fitting pomp and ceremony. So he obtained the king's permission, and fitting out a magnificent ship sailed in it to his native country.

His father was both surprised and happy to see him back again and greeted him with the greatest kindness, for his heart was glad to find that his son had at last shown himself possessed of those qualities that he prized in a merchant's son, by making the most of the money he had placed in his hands. So he made preparations on a grand scale and sailed with a train of friends and relatives towards the country of his daughter-in-law elect, and there amidst universal rejoicing, the nuptials of the illustrious pair were celebrated with immense pomp, and the promised half of the kingdom was soon made over to the happy bridegroom.

Our hero, however, did not forget, amidst all this pomp and rejoicing, the poor friend who had assisted him in his poverty. He duly sent for him, and not only returned to him with interest the money he had so generously placed in his hands when he was poor and needy, but bestowed upon him a high post as a reward for his unselfish and disinterested friendship.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XII.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Journal of the German Oriental Society) for 1887; Vol. xli.

(a) The first part opens with a continuation of Prof. Bühler's *Essays on the Asôka Inscriptions*. The present paper deals with the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada, and comprises text (in the Devanâgarî and Roman characters), translation, and notes. The text is founded on Dr. J. Burgess's paper impressions, checked by paper rubbings obtained by General Cunningham. Owing to its nature, a summary of the contents of the paper would be useless. Amongst new explanations given by Dr. Bühler

may be mentioned that of the date and time fixed for reading the edicts publicly. He also points out that Asôka's instructions for the inspection-tours of his higher officials agree with those of the Brâhmanical law-givers, and with the *Râjanîti*, and offers a new derivation for *sakhindlambhê* in the first edict from *ślakṣhṇārambhah*. In the second edict, he explains *chakiyś* as the fut. part. pass. of the Prâkrit verb *chak* 'to be able,' a representative and possibly a relation of the Sanskrit *śak*. The Mahârâshṭrî form *chay* occurs in *Pâliyalachchî*, vs. 202, and in Hémachandra's *Prâkrit Grammar*, IV. 86 (*śakêś chayatara-tîra pârâh*), and in the *Dêtikôsha*.

This is followed by a reprint of Dr. Ignaz

Goldziher's paper, read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna, in 1886, on the **Mahdist movement of North Africa.**

Next comes a facsimile of an **Arabic and Chinese inscription** from a mosque at Canton, with notes and translation by Herr K. Himly. The inscription is in a mosque described by Dennys in the *Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, and dates from the year 1350 A.D.

Dr. O. von Böhtlingk contributes a short note on the **Maurya question and the Mahābhāshya**, in which he replies to Dr. Kielhorn's criticisms on a former paper of his on the subject.

The number concludes with an appreciative review by the same scholar of Dr. J. S. Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax*.

(b) Dr. George Ebers, the well-known Egyptologist, opens the second part with a notice of the life of Dr. Gustav Seyffarth, who died in New York in Nov. 1886, at the age of 89. Dr. Seyffarth was the first professor of Egyptian Language and Antiquities at Leipzig. He was the first discoverer of polyphonic hieroglyphs, and, with some reservations, of the syllable-signs of that system of writing.

This biographical sketch is followed by a continuation of Dr. Carl Lang's translation of Ibn-al-Mu'tazz's heroic poem regarding Mu'tadid as Prince and Regent, already noticed.

Dr. F. von Spiegel contributes a second article on the **Fatherland and Age of the Avesta.** The paper is devoted to a reply to criticisms of Dr. Geiger and others on his theories concerning the late age of this work. He first deals with the linguistic side of the argument, and shows that the fact of the *Avesta* being written in an ancient dialect is not necessarily a proof of the antiquity of the work. He draws attention to the habit of scholars writing at the present day both in Sanskrit and in Latin. He further maintains that the language of the *Avesta*, while agreeing in many points with Sanskrit, has also some hitherto unexplained points of difference, which seem to show traces of the influence of modern Persian, and which can only have come into existence in later ages, whether owing to corruption of the dialect or to the fact that portions of the *Avesta* were written in a dead language. Moreover the whole work rests on a mythic foundation, and the kings mentioned in it are the same as

those admitted as mythical in the lists of the *Shāhnāma*. If the *Avesta* were written at the time of Zarathustra, we should expect to find his contemporaries divided into two great camps of believers and unbelievers; but instead of this we find the *Avesta* to be a fanatical book, showing us the existence of various kinds of heretics. The historical arguments for the antiquity of the *Avesta*,—viz. (1) that, with the exception of Ragha, it mentions none of the noteworthy towns of the time of the Achæmenides or Parthians, (2) that it contains none of the more usual later tribe-names, and (3) that it contains no historical notices,—are met by the contention that it does not deal with historical reminiscences, but only with the mythic period of Iranian Folklore. Places which occur in the folk-myths are mentioned, and not others. The argument that Zarathustra speaks of himself in the *Gāthās* in the first person, is met by the fact that Ahura Mazda does the same. The author who dared to speak under the name of the highest God would not hesitate to speak under the name of his prophet. Four other arguments for the antiquity of the *Avesta* are:—(1) that the people of the *Avesta* did not appear to know salt; (2) that they did not know glass; (3) that coined money was not current among them; (4) that they did not know the working of iron. All that can be said about the first three is that they are not mentioned in the hymns, which considering their character is not extraordinary. Moreover in north and east Iran, cattle and farm-produce are still used instead of money. Regarding the fourth contention it rests on the interpretation of the word *ayagh*, which the upholders of the age of the *Avesta* translate as 'bronze.' Dr. S. Spiegel, however, maintains that, as in Sanskrit, it meant 'metal' in general, and also 'iron.'

An appendix to the article is devoted to disproving the existence of the so-called **Baktrian Kingdom of Vistāspa**, which has hitherto been dealt with by writers on ancient history as a reality.

Dr. David Kaufmann contributes a note on Hebrew lexicography, and is followed by a paper by Dr. J. H. Mordtmann on the typography of Northern Syria, according to Greek inscriptions. The same author also gives a short note on five forgotten **Himyaritic**

inscriptions existing at Sana'a, the capital of Yemen.

Dr. C. de Harlez next contributes extracts from a translation of the *Shang-yu-pa-ki*. The Emperor Chi-tsung, son of the illustrious Kanghi (1723-1736) was one of those sovereigns of the Manchu dynasty, who have left full traces of their administrative action. Amongst other things he has left is a collection of decrees addressed to the right divisions of the Manchu-Mongol Army. They were published in Manchu, and afterwards translated into Chinese. The present paper consists of translated extracts. These decrees are of importance to students of the histories of Chinese civilisation, and of the middle kingdom.

Dr. H. Hübschmann next contributes an elaborate paper on the formation of Ossetic nouns. Thirty-five primary and secondary suffixes are dealt with, one by one; the derivation, meaning, and use of each being separately considered.

Dr. Heinrich von Wlislocki gives some folk-songs of the transylvanian Gipsies, with a translation in German verse. To philologists a literal prose translation in addition would have been an advantage.

Herr Felix Liebrecht in his short notes compares a Malagasy sermon on the shortness of life with similar opinions in old Egyptian Literature, and refers to the Arabic origin of the *jus primæ noctis*.

The number concludes with two reviews, the first by Dr. Diesterich on Dr. Schwarzlose's treatise on the arms of the ancient Arabs, as described by their poets, and the second on Mr. Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Fasc. vii.)

(c) Part III. commences with an essay by Dr. Karl Vollers on the living Arabic now spoken in Egypt, with special reference to the works of Spitta Bey, and other grammatical writers. The paper consists of additions and corrections to Spitta Bey's grammar.

This is followed by a baptismal liturgy in Ethiopic, with a Latin translation, taken from a work entitled *Hydragiologia* (published in Rome, 1586 A.D.) by Dr. Carl von Arnhard.

Dr. M. Klamroth continues his interesting series of articles on Greek authors quoted by al-Ya'qûbi. The present paper deals with Grecian Philosophers. Translations are given of the various passages of Ya'qûbi in which a

long array of these worthies, and their systems, is described. An appendix gives a list of the writings of Aristotle known to the Arabs.

Dr. H. Gelzer, in two short notes, identifies the modern sites of the ancient Egyptian Trimathis and Kopritheos Kômê.

Dr. H. von Wlislocki gives us next a further set of specimens of the Gipsy language of Transylvania. It consists of three capital folk-tales worthy of Grimm, with, this time, a literal German translation.

Herr K. Himly discusses Chess, and other connected games, with special reference to their introduction into and method of play in Burma, Siam, China and Japan. He is not inclined to dispute the Hindu origin of the game, and maintains that at any rate its birth-place ought to have been a country, where the use of elephants for warfare was well-known.

Prof. Aufrecht gives us some Sanskrit notes. The first concerns the rare Kâśmîrî-Sanskrit word *hêvaka*, which he identifies with the Arabic *هوى* 'love,' 'desire.'

He next shows the use of the word *namaka* as a technical term for the first section of the *Rudrajapa*. The third note deals with the date of Narahari, the author of the *Râjani-ghaṇṭu*, whom he places as not earlier than the commencement of the 15th century. The catalogue of Indian poets is added to every year. Dr. Aufrecht brings two new poets, Bhaṭṭa Bhaṭṭa, and Indrabhānu to light, and discusses the identity of another named Mālavabhadra.

An imitation of the *Gitā-Gōvinda*, entitled the *Rāma-Gītā-Gōvinda*, and also attributed to Jayadēva is next discussed, and the paper concludes with an account of a *Brihachchhârâgadhara-paddhati* published in Benares in the year 1874. This latter is an enlarged edition of the *Sârîngadhara-paddhati* previously brought to notice by Dr. Aufrecht.

Dr. F. Pollenson follows with some Essays on Vedic Criticism. The word *prithivî* he says, is given in the dictionaries as meaning 'earth.' This meaning is however too narrow, as its derivation from *prithu* shows, it can mean any expanse, and in fact we have the *tisras prithi-vyâḥ*, earth, air, and heaven, mentioned.

Ands and *mridhravâch* have been translated by Grassmann (in *Rig-Vêda*, V., 29, 10) as *ugly*, and *reviler*, and by Ludwig *noseless* and *speak-*

ing an enemy's tongue. The reference is to the *Dasyus*. Megasthenes refers to Indian tribes who were noseless (*ápnives*) or mouthless (*ástopoi*). *Anás*, if it is a + *nás* (as Ludwig takes it) means noseless, if it is an + *ás* it is mouthless. Dr. Bollensen suggests that the latter is the correct interpretation,—the Aborigines, speaking unintelligibly (*mṛidhra-vāch*) and when spoken to being mouthless, i.e. dumb.

Amongst the Aryans, the head of the nobles (*sūri*) was the Maghavan, who always rode in a carriage. The other nobles usually rode on horse-back. So it was in the god-world. The chief gods always had their carriages. Hence the *Ásins* were not so much riders (*Reiter*) or knights (*Ritter*), as travellers in a carriage drawn by horses. The horses were called *vāhni* (vii. 73, 4) and are described as plump (*sāmbhṛitā*) and strong-hoofed (*vilúpām*). Dr. Bollensen maintains that they do not represent the twilight, but the morning and the evening stars.

The next note deals with grammar, and refers to *Rig-Vēda* vi. 61, 13, in which the loc. pl. term *su* is believed to have been elided after an *á*. Incidental mention is also made of the word *apás*, fem., water, or used as an adjective following.

In dealing with *ulōka* and *lōka* Dr. Bollensen maintains at considerable length that the former is the original word and discusses Prof. Ludwig's objections to the theory. Amongst other poets, he draws attention to the fact that *lōka* occurs only eight times, and only in the most modern hymns, while *ulōka* 29 times and only in the most ancient ones.

The earliest Trinity of the Aryans, was **Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman**. The last is the most mysterious. He is only mentioned in one hymn of the *R. V.* (vii. 64, 3), where the plural verb shows that besides *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, the words *dēva aryá* must refer to him. Dr. Bollensen sees in *dēva aryas*, the God *Aricus*, the tribe-father of the Aryans, their peculiar national God from an ethnic, as *Indra* is from a religious, point of view.

Mitra is pre-Indian, and was the Sun-God of the Indian world. On Indian ground he is superseded by *Savitar* as the sun-genius, and by *Sūrya* as the Sun in visible form. He is merely described as the friend of *Varuṇa*, a colourless etymology enough. Really the word

is derived from the root *smi*, 'to be clear, to beam;' cf. Lat. *micare* for *smicare*. It was originally an adjective like *varuṇa* and *indra*; cf. *mitramahas*, having gleaming splendour.

So also *Varuṇa* is wrongly derived from root *var* 'surround.' It is from another root *var* or *vas*, 'to shine,' and is an adjective meaning 'shining.' It occurs more than once as a simple adjective in the *Rig-Vēda*. As a god, *Varuṇa* is the day-light as distinct from sunlight, i.e. the light of day when the sun is obscured.

Indra, *Varuṇa*'s frequent companion, is a special Indian creation, and does not belong to the original Aryan Pantheon. His name must be derived from a root in current use in India, and not from one which has fallen into oblivion like those of *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*. With Grassmann, Dr. Bollensen connects it with *indh*, 'to be clear,' with loss of the aspiration. It was also originally an adjective, cf. *indrataṁā* (*ushās*) 'very clear,' 'very bright.' As a god, *Indra* is 'the clear one,' 'the bright one,' and therefore the first morning light, that precedes the aurora and the sun. The stars are then still in the sky and harness his chariot. Every morning, darkness and light are at warfare, and *Indra* conquers *Śushṇa* the demon of darkness, who holds the light imprisoned. Then he brings into manifestation the dawn, the sun, and day-light. He is accordingly a war-god.

In the next paper, Prof. Oldenberg, criticises M. Bergaigne's essay on the *adhyāya* division of the *Rig-Vēda* in the latter publication.

Dr. O. von Böhtlingk next combats Dr. Bühler's proposition that *iti* and *cha*, can have the meaning of *ādi*. This is a continuation of an old controversy.

The number concludes with a review, by Dr. J. Löw, of Ascherson and Schweinfurth's *Illustration de la Flore d'Égypte*.

(d)—Part IV. commences with translations by Dr. H. Hübschmann of some *Ossetic folk-tales* of more than usual interest. The first fifteen relate to the *Narts*, a fabulous tribe, half-men half-angels, and the concluding one deals with *Ossetic* beliefs as to the fate of the soul after death.

Baron von Schlechta-Wassehrd next gives translated extracts from *Firdūsī's Yāsaf and Zulikhā*, in German verse.

This is followed by a short notice from the pen of Herr H. G. Schils of a new translation of the *Man-yō-siu*, an ancient Japanese poem. The translation is in course of publication in the Journal of the French *Société des Études Japonaises et Indo-Chinoises* (Paris, Maisonneuve).

Dr. J. Barth next contributes some essays on Semitic philology, the most important of which deals with biliteral nouns.

In a former number of the *Zeitschrift* (xl. 412) Dr. Morales, translating from Bar-Hebræus, gave the peculiar properties of wine according to Indian writers. It had the properties of a peacock, an ape, a lion, and a pig. Dr. M. Grünbaum now gives a number of similar legends from Semitic sources. Thus, according to Damiri, when Adam planted the vine, Iblis slew a peacock over it, and the earth drank up the blood. When the leaves showed themselves, he slew an ape, when the fruit appeared, a lion, and when the vine came to maturity, a pig. The vine drank the blood of the four animals, and hence their peculiarities appear in the various phases of drunkenness.

Prof. O. von Böhtlingk contributes some notes on the *Kātantra*¹ and laments the unfinished condition in which Dr. Eggeling is leaving the Bibliotheca Indica Edition. He also gives us some miscellaneous critical notes on various points of ancient Sanskrit literature.

Prof. R. von Roth contributes an interesting paper on Wehrgeld or Blood-money in the Vēda. He shows from a quotation from the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa*, that the Vēdic *vaira* (cf. the Anglo-Saxon *vere*) can only mean 'blood-money,' and that the amount was paid in cows, in the Vēdic period, just as Tacitus relates of the Germans. According to the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa* the number of cows was a hundred, probably in the case of the *honestiores* and *optimates* as mentioned by the Latin author.

In *Apastamba* the *vaira-yatana* which Prof. Roth translates as 'payment of blood-money,'

is assessed at 1000 for a *Khattiya*, 100 for a *Vaiśya*, and 10 for a *Sūdra*.

The volume concludes with reviews of the following works:—

Codrington's *Melanesian Languages*, by Dr. W. Grube.

Winkler's *Das Uralaltaische und seine Gruppen*. (On the Ural-altaic and the groups composing it), by Dr. O. Donnes.

Schreiber's *Manual of the Tigraic language*, spoken in Central and Northern Abyssinia, by Dr. F. Prætorius.

Hirschfeld's edition of the *Al Khazari* of Abū'l-Hasan, Text and Hebrew translation of Jehuda ibn Tibbon, by Dr. J. Goldziher.

Wellhausen's *Essays on Relics of Arabic Heathenism*, by Prof. Th. Noldeke.

Cornill's edition of *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, by Prof. Augustus Müller.

Hoberg's Edition of *Ibn Jinnī on Declension*, (Text and Latin translation) by Prof. Thorbecke.

Bondi's *Hebraic and Phœnician loan-words in Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Texts*, by Dr. Steindorff.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 21.

In the copper-plate grant of king *Śivaśimha*, from somewhere in the direction of *Bihar* in the Bengal Presidency, published by Mr. Grierson in this Journal, Vol. XIV. p. 190 f., the date (from the published text) is — *La-saṃ*² 293 Śrāvaṇa śu di 7 Gurau || Abde Lakshmanasēna bhūpati-matē vahni-graha-dvy-ankitē māse Śrāvaṇa-samjñakē muni-tithau pakṣe=valakṣhē Gurau || *San*³ 801 *Saṃvat* 1455 Śākā 1321,—“the year of Lakshmanasēna 293, (the month) Śrāvaṇa, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 7, on Thursday; in the year, (of the era) that was sanctioned by king Lakshmanasēna, numbered by the (three) fires, the (nine) planets, and (the numeral) two, in the month that has the appellation of Śrāvaṇa, on the *tithi* (that has the number) of the (seven) *Seera*, in the

the year is made quite clear by the immediately following repetition of the date in words.

² Here, again, I have taken a liberty with the published text, which gives the number of the year as 807. But it is not difficult sometimes to make a mistake between 1 and 7, in reading the older Devanagari figures. And the year referred to is evidently the Hijra year 801, which commenced (see *Indian Eras*, p. 127) on the 13th September, A.D. 1393, and ended with the 2nd September, A.D. 1399.

¹ I may note that this grammar has great authority amongst the Pandits of Dhākā (Dacca) and Eastern Bengal.—G. A. G.

² I.e. *Lakshmanasēna-saṃvat*.—I have taken a liberty with the published text, which gives the number of the year here as 283; though the translation gives 293. But, as the Lakshmanasēna era commenced in or about A.D. 1106 (see *Indian Eras*, p. 76 ff.), the Vikrama and Śaka years that are quoted show that the figure in the text place must be 9, not 8. Also, the real number of

bright fortnight, on Thursday
The (Hijra) year 801; the (Vikrama) year 1455;
in the Śāka (year) 1321."

Here the data are:—The year 293 of the era of Lakshmanasēna, the Hijra year 801, and Vikrama-Samvat 1455 and Śāka-Samvat 1321, not specified either as current or as expired; the month Śrāvaṇa (ordinarily July-August); the bright fortnight; the seventh civil day, and the seventh tithi; and Guru, i.e. Guruvāra, or Thursday.

Since, in the absence of an examination of the original record, the correct Hijra year can only be established by inference, the most important item is the mention of Śāka-Samvat 1321.

And this shews that we have to find the English equivalent in A.D. 1398 or 1399, according as the given Śāka year is to be applied as current or as expired.

By Professor K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the results are:—

(1) In Śāka-Samvat 1321 current, the given tithi, Śrāvaṇa śukla 7, ended on Saturday, the 20th July, A.D. 1398, at about 55 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bombay.*

(2) And in Śāka-Samvat 1322 current (1321 expired), the given tithi, Śrāvaṇa śukla 7, ended, as required, on Thursday, the 10th July, A.D. 1399, at about 17 *gh.* 10 *p.*

This resulting date can be referred to the given Vikrama year, only if the latter, Vikrama-Samvat 1455, is taken as a southern Vikrama year, expired; and as really denoting the southern Vikrama-Samvat 1456 current, commencing with Kārttika śukla 1, corresponding approximately to the 12th October, A.D. 1398, and ending on the 30th September, A.D. 1399. For, the northern Vikrama-Samvat 1456 current (1455 expired), commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, extended approximately from the 19th March, A.D. 1398, to the 7th March, A.D. 1399, and had ended before the date in question.

This record, therefore,—(1) gives an instance of the use of an expired Śāka year, and an expired Vikrama year; to be applied as

such, though they are not distinctly so qualified;—and (2) proves that the southern reckoning of the Vikrama era was preserved in Bihār down to A.D. 1399.

This date has been noticed by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Indian Eras*, p. 771. He gave the same result, Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1399. But, instead of explaining it by the use of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, he seems to have accepted a statement made by Buchanan, on the authority of a Brāhmaṇ named Kamalākānta, to the effect that, in that part of the country, the Vikrama era was taken as commencing only one hundred and thirty-four years before the Śāka era, instead of one hundred and thirty-five years, as is taken to be the case in Northern India generally. The meaning of this statement, unless it can be shewn to be limited to the period from Chaitra śukla 1 to the *pūrṇimā* Kārttika or *amānta* Śrāvaṇa kṛishṇa 15, is that, in the part of the country to which this record belongs, the reckoning of the Vikrama era, with the northern scheme of the year, is one year behind the reckoning in other parts of Northern India. And, on this view, the resulting English date would belong to the northern Vikrama-Samvat 1455 expired or 1456 current, commencing with Chaitra śukla 1, corresponding approximately to the 8th March, A.D. 1399, and ending on the 25th February, A.D. 1400,—according to this supposed erroneous reckoning of the era. But any such reckoning could have really come to exist, or to seem to exist, only if the years of the Vikrama era, given in the Tables and Almanacs, were current years; which is not the case. And other instances will be forthcoming, which, taken all together, render it quite certain that the true explanation is that which I have put forward; viz. the preservation in Bihār and in neighbouring parts of Northern India of the southern scheme of the Vikrama year, commencing with Kārttika śukla 1, at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century A.D.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE OF A BUFFALO IN THE MALAY PENINSULA.

A Malay in Tring, Perak, wrote to the Assistant Resident as follows on the 19th March 1885:—

"Yourservant begs to inform your honour that on Saturday we will slaughter a white male-buffalo in Tring, to cleanse the *kampung* (village) of all evil, in accordance with the custom of the old people.

* The charter is issued from the town of Gajarathapura; but I do not know the modern representative of this name. If the times should be reduced for the town of Bihār, they would be about 2 *gh.* 7 *p.* later in each

"If this is not done, then there will be less *padt* (paddy) and perhaps more sickness. This is done once in six years. There is an abstinence from everything during this one day (22nd March Sunday). No persons from a distance can enter Tring on that day. In former times on such occasions the limit for people living close by is three days and people from any distance seven

instance. This would not cause any difference in the resulting week-days, as determined for Bombay.

* C. Patell's *Chronology*, p. 156.

* *Indian Eras*, p. 183. * *Indian Eras*, p. 183.

days; but now your servant cannot undertake to preserve the barrier so long; one day would be all that your servant can undertake for."

Can any one give any information regarding the above custom? It would be interesting to know whether it is observed in other Native States or in Sumatra or Java.

I am informed that only a white male-buffalo can be used, which must be killed and eaten in the jungle. The whole of the flesh must be consumed at a *kanduri* (feast), which is held for the purpose at a convenient distance from the village—not a particle must be taken away. I am informed on good authority that the surreptitious removal of

the smallest piece of meat would entail the most disastrous consequences on the whole community.

Larut.

C. V. O'REAGH.

Sacrifices of this sort are not uncommon in remote parts of the Malay Peninsula. See the note on *Pélas Négri* (Note 67 in *Notes and Queries*, No. 3, issued with No. 16 of the *Journal of the Straits Branch R. A. S.*). Forbes, author of a *Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, 1885, alludes (pp. 197 and 198) to the custom of the people of Pasumah, West Coast of Sumatra, to sacrifice a buffalo to purify a village.

W. E. MAXWELL.

BOOK NOTICE.

MANUAL OF BURMESE, by Capt. CHAS. SLACK.
London:—Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; Trübner & Co.

We suppose it was inevitable that the British occupation of Burma should produce some such work as this, which professes, in forty very small pages, to teach Burmese to "travellers, students, and merchants, and also the military and others in official position." Capt. Slack has never been in Burma apparently, and has merely "compiled" his booklet, so it might well have been much worse than it is.

The system on which he proceeds is clear and intelligent, and it only requires a real knowledge of the language and the people to make it a useful work. As it is, we fear that the student will learn but very little from it, and a good deal of that will be wrong.

There are vital omissions in the book which prevent its being of any value as a teacher. Thus the Burmese letters are given in the original character, but the peculiar effect of final stopped consonants on preceding vowels is nowhere even hinted at, though it is the main feature of Burmese orthography. It is explained that the Burmese alphabet is derived from the same source as the various Indian alphabets allied to the Nāgarī, but it is nowhere explained that while the equivalents for कन् spell *kán*, those for कङ् spell *kin*, and those for कस् spell *kí* or *kè*. Again, कक् spells *ket*, कक्स् spells *kít* and so on. Within its rules Burmese orthography is, on the whole, regular; but the rules are peculiar and have to be learnt if there is any desire to make head or tail of words written in the vernacular character.

The effect of the accent ခ is roughly explained, but that of ဃ is ignored, though it is intended to represent a great peculiarity of the language, which lies in an extremely *staccato*, and to foreign ears a practically inaudible, sound of final consonants. In hundreds of cases these accents form the only difference in words of widely different meaning, which would be otherwise homonyms.

Nothing is said of the changes that the initial consonants of words and particles undergo in composition, and yet this is one of the first puzzles of the language: e.g., *kó* is an objective suffix; *chyau-ók-kó*, to me; *nué-gó*, to the ox; *k'ald* is young, *ménk'ald* (female = young) a girl; *ldgalé* (male = young), a boy; *ma bú* is negation; *ma-thwá-bú* goes not; *ma-pyit-pá*, is not: *kwet* a cup, but *shwé-gwet*, a golden cup.

In dealing with the numerals there is nothing to show the learner that one cannot, as a rule, use one, two, three, etc. *by themselves* in Burmese as adjectives, although it must be clear to all that it is impossible to speak a word of any language without a correct knowledge of the numerals. Each class of noun in Burmese has its proper numeral adjectival suffix: e.g., *akaung*, brute-beast, belongs to all animals not human; *nué*, ox; *thóng*, three; *nué thóng-gaung*, three oxen. *Ák'á*, thing, belongs to words not having any other suffix: *k'adin*, bedsteads; *ngá*, five; *k'adin ngá-gá*, five bedsteads. *Ás'in*, a line; *hlé*, boat; *chyauk*, six; *hlé chyauk-s'in*, six boats. *Ás't*, vehicle; *hlé*, cart; *ngá*, five; *hlé ngá-s't*, five carts.

However in reviewing a book that gives the "grammar" of a language in two small pages, we need hardly go further into omissions.

The "sentences" occupy three and a half pages, and the chief thing wrong with them is that the components are not explained and the hyphens are frequently in the wrong place: e.g., "I forget" is given as—*kyún-ok ma-hmat-mi-bu*, which is really "I [do] not remember."

A good "simplified grammar" of Burmese by a scholar who knows something of grammar as a science is a great desideratum. There are many who know grammar and many who know Burmese, but no writer that knows both has as yet put his views on paper, to the great disadvantage of the now numerous students of that difficult language.

BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF TRILOCHANAPALA.
THE (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1084.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I EDIT this grant from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. It does not appear to have been previously published; though a reference on the plate,—to an entry in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 621, recording the presentation of a copper-plate grant, which seems to be this one, by Mr. R. Brown,—would indicate that it has been on hand for about sixty years. But the inscription has been incidentally mentioned, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 8, note, by Dr. F. E. Hall, who, "with the plate before him," stated that it contained a land-grant of the "king Vijayapāla, son of Ādyapāla, son of Trilōchanapāla." The original plate is now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta. From the entry in the *Asiatic Researches*, referred to above, it appears to have been discovered at *Jhūsi*, a town in the Allahābād District, North-Western Provinces, opposite the city of Allahābād, on the left bank of the Ganges.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures about $17\frac{1}{2}$ " by $14\frac{1}{4}$ ", without including the projection, the object of which is not apparent, at the top of the plate. It is smooth; the edges of it being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into a rim. Its preservation, however, is perfect; and every letter has come out clearly and distinctly in the impression, so that the actual reading of the text is nowhere in the least doubtful. The plate is thick; and the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the back of it at all. The engraving is good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool.—There is no ring-hole in the plate, for a ring, with a seal attached to it; and no indication of a seal having been soldered on to it.—The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ".—The characters are Nāgarī. They are boldly and beautifully drawn; but either the writer or the engraver has often confounded those signs which are at all similar to one another (*na* and *ka*; *da*, *bha*, and *ha*; *ma* and *sa*; *ra*, *cha*, and *dha*; *sa* or *sva*, and *kha*; and others), and has several times omitted the superscript *ē* and the medial *ā*, so that the inscription contains a rather large number of minor mistakes which will be pointed out in the text.—The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 12-16, the inscription is in prose. The language is grammatically correct; except that in line 12 the singular form *asya* has been employed for the plural *ēśhām*, or rather *ēbhyaḥ*.—In respect of orthography, I may note that *b* has throughout been written by the sign for *v*; that the dental sibilant has been employed for the palatal sibilant in *param[ā]svara*, line 2, *dasāparādhaḥ*, line 5, *sikhā*, line 7, *asēsha*, line 8, and *kusa*, line 10; and that for the conjunct *mra* we find *mura* in *sāmura*, line 5.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Trilōchanapālādēva*, who (lines 1-3) is represented as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Rājyapālādēva*, who, again, is said to have meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vijayapālādēva*. *Trilōchanapālādēva*, being in residence on the banks of the Ganges near *Prayāga*, (lines 3-11) in the customary manner informs the king's officers and the *mahattamas* and other inhabitants of the village *Lēbhundaka*, in the *Asurabhakavishaya*, that, having bathed in the Ganges and having worshipped Śiva, etc., he, on the occasion of the *dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti* or commencement of the sun's entrance on its southern course, on this meritorious day, gave the aforesaid village, with its belongings, to six-thousand Brāhmaṇas belonging to *Pratiśthāna*,¹ who were of various *gōtras*, had various *pravaras*, and were followers of various Vēdic schools; and he admonishes the people concerned to

¹ The original has *Pratiśthāna*; but I have little doubt that the name intended is *Pratiśthāna*, 'a town at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, on the left bank of the Gaṅgā, opposite to Allahābād,' and that *Pratiśthāna* is the older name of the very town *Jhūsi*, where the grant is reported to have been found. See ante, Vol. XV. p. 140, note 3.—The same place appears to be meant by *śrīśa-pratiśthāna*, in the grant of Gōvinda-chandra, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXVII. p. 243.

make over to the said donees whatever in accordance with this grant might be due to them. After some of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (lines 12-16), the inscription, at the end of line 16, is dated in the year 1084 (expressed by decimal figures only), on the 4th day of the dark half of (the month) Śrāvaṇa.—There is hardly anything in the wording of the inscription which calls for any special remark; and the phraseology of the whole is so well known from other inscriptions, as to render a full translation superfluous.

The inscription affords no clue as to the line of sovereigns to which the three princes mentioned in it may belong, and, beyond noting that a prince Trilōchanapāla appears to have opposed* the Sultan Mahmūd in A.D. 1021, I am unable to offer any suggestion on the subject. Nor am I able to identify the village mentioned in the inscription, or the *vishaya* in which it was situated.

The details for calculating the date are, in line 16,—the year 1084 of an unspecified era, the 4th day of the dark half of the month Śrāvaṇa, being, as appears from line 8, the day of the *dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti*. The mention of the *dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti*, which introduces the first day of the solar month Śrāvaṇa, coupled with a day in the dark half of the lunar month Śrāvaṇa, shows that the year with which we are concerned is a northern year, with the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the months. And referring the year 1084 to the Vikrama era, the corresponding European date should fall in A.D. 1026 or A.D. 1027, according as 1084 is the current year or denotes the years expired. In A.D. 1026 Śrāvaṇa *va. di. 4* was the 6th July; which cannot be the day intended by the grant, because the *Karkāṣa-saṁkrānti*, which introduces the solar month Śrāvaṇa, had taken place already on the 25th June. In A.D. 1027, on the other hand, the fourth *tithi* of the dark half of the lunar Śrāvaṇa ended, at Prayāga, about 2 h. after sunrise of the 26th June, causing that day to be called the 4th of the dark half of the lunar Śrāvaṇa; and the same 26th June was the first day of the solar Śrāvaṇa, the *Karkāṣa-saṁkrānti* having taken place about 2 h. 30 m. after sunset of the preceding day. Accordingly, 26 June, A.D. 1027, is clearly the day specified in the grant; and the date 1084 of the grant is thus proved to refer to the Vikrama era, and to denote the number of years expired.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm* svasti[11*] Śrī-Prayāga-saṁlpa-Gaṅga-taṭ-āvāsē paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-param[ē*]śvara-śrī-Vijayapālad[ē]va-pā-
- 2 d-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-param[ē*]śva(śva)ra-śrī-Rājyapālad[ē]va-p[ā*]bh(d)-ānudhyāta-parasa(ma)ṅga(bha)ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
- 3 ja-param[ē*]śvara-śrīmat-Trilōchanap[ā*]ladēvaḥ !³ Asura[bha]ka-visva(sha)yē Lō-bhupāka-grāmē !⁴ samupagatā[mapa*]n=rājapurushān=[vrā(brā)]hmaṇ-ōttarām-
- 4 ś=va(cha) pratinivāsi-samasta-sa(ma)battama-janapad-ā[di]n=māka(na)yati sa[mv?(mb)]ō-dhayaty=ājā(jā)payaty=astu vaḥ sē(sa)mviditam yath=ōparilisi(khi)ta-grāmō=yam [sva?]⁵-
- 5 sīmā-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchara-parshabhāḥ* sa-jala-sthalāḥ s-āmvrā(mra)-madhūkaḥ sa-l[ē]ha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ s-āmūpa-jāṅgalāḥ sa-daṇḍa-dasā(śā)parādhaḥ sa-pā-
- 6 śhāpa-khā[n]iḥ sa-garh(rt)-ōsharāḥ s-ādha-ūrdhvaḥ pūrva-datta-vasu-dēva-vrā(brā)-hmaṇa-varjjichō(tō)=smābhir=[jja]lanidhi-jalatarāṅga-dha(va)d=y[au]vanam = aṅginō vi-
- 7 gaṇayya kari-kalabha-karṇāgra-chapalām la[kshm?]⁶iśvilājya* mā[ru]t-āhava(ta)-dīpa-si(śi)khāma(ṇta?)-taralatamān=[v]iśhayān=matv=[ā*]sarvva¹⁰m=[ē]va saṁsā-

² See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. p. 740; Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II. p. 362.

³ From the impression.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

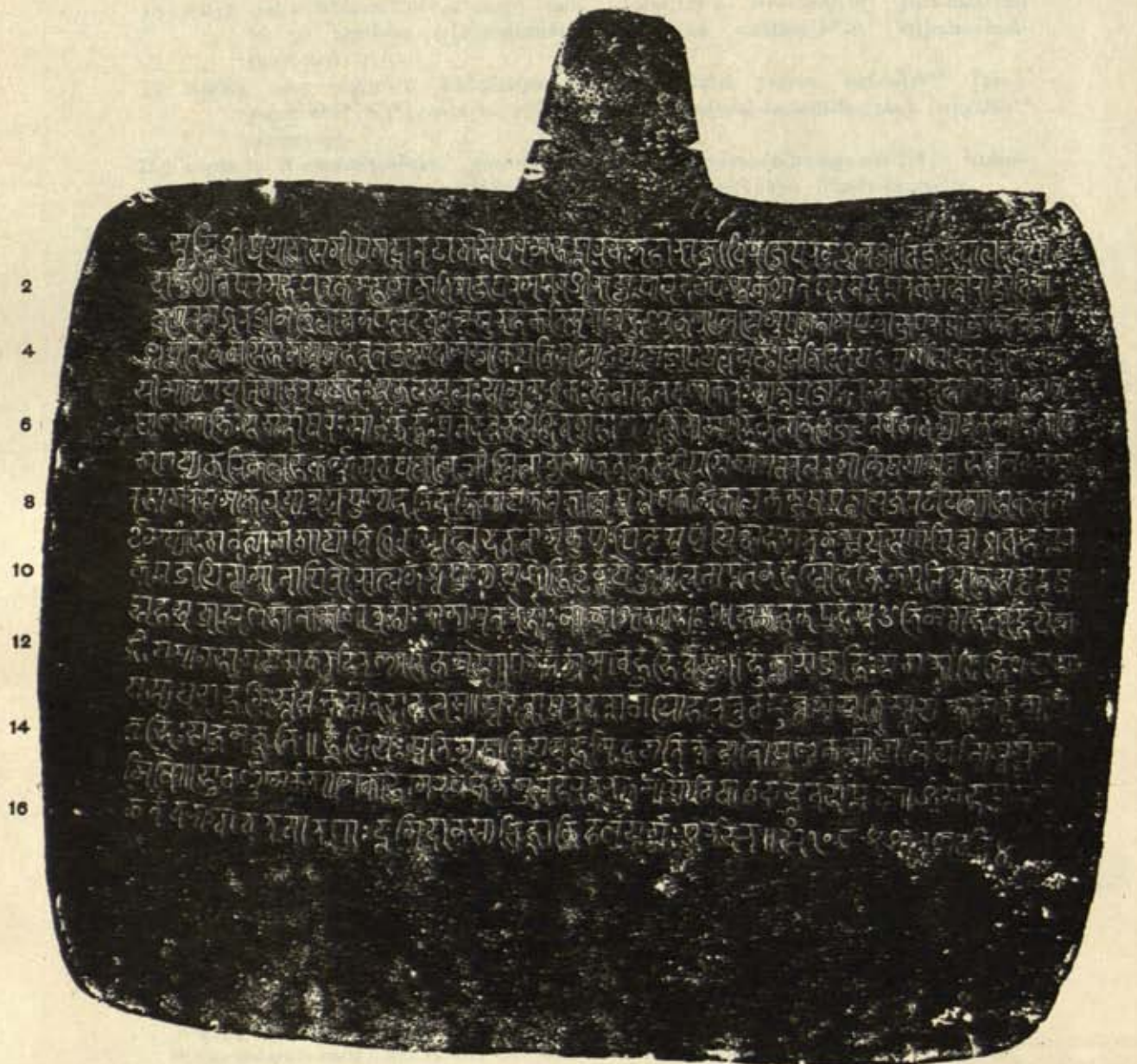
⁶ Of the two *akṣaras* in these brackets the first is quite distinct, and the second I can only read *pa*. Both appear superfluous, and I believe that the writer has merely repeated here the second and third *akṣaras* of the preceding *samupagatā*.

⁷ This *akṣara* looks rather like *ma*.

⁸ Read *lakṣmī*, *vilājya* (for *lakṣmī-vilājya*).

⁹ Read *paryantaḥ*.

¹⁰ Read = *asāram*.



- 8 ra-sāgarām samākalayya adya puṇyē=hani dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrāntau asō(śē)sha-
kalikāla-kanma(lma)sha-prakṣhāla(na)-patīyasyām sakala-ti-
9 rthamayām bhagavatīyām Gaṁgāyām vidhivat=snāhā(tvā) d[ē*]vatā-manupya(sha)-
pitṛims=tarppayitvā bhagavantām [sma?]ryasarppayitvā¹¹ Ś[i*]va-bhaṭṭāra-
10 kaṁ pūjayitvā mātāpitṛōr=ātsa(tma)naś=va(cha) puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē kusa(śa)-latā-
pūtēna hast-ōdaki(kē)na Pratisthā(shṭhā)na-samva(mba)ddha-sha-
11 t-sahasra-vrā(brā)hmaṇbhyō nākā(nā)-gōtr[ē*]bhyah nānā-pravarēbhyah¹² nānā-sākhā-
(khē)bhyah śāsaka(na)tv[ē]na pradasta(tta) iti matvā bhavadbhir=yathā-
12 diyamāna-bhāga-sē(bhō)ga-kara-hirany-ādikam=asy¹³=ōpanētavayam | (11) Va(ba)hubhir¹⁴=
vvasundhā bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya
13 yasya yadā bhūmis=tas[y]a tasya tadā phalas(m) || Sva-dattā[m] para-dattā[m]
vā yō harēt=tu va[s]undhanā(rā)m [i*] sa viśṭhāy[ā*]m [kṛi]mir=vbhū-
(bbhū)tvā pi-
14 tṛibhīḥ saha majjati || Bhūsi(mi)m yah pratigrihṇāti yas=tu bhūmi[m*] [pra]-
ya[chehha*]ti[i*] na(u)bhvō(bhau) tau p[u]ṇva(ṇya)-karmmalau(ṇau) [n]iyatau¹⁵
svargga-gā-
15 minau || Suvarṇam=ōkaṁ gām=ōkaṁ bhūmēr=apy=ōkan(m)=aṁgulaṁ [i*] haran=
narakam=āpuṭi yāvad-āhūtasamplavam || Śaṁsava(kha)m bhadr-āsanam
16 chhat[tr*]am var-āśvā vara-[v]āraṇāḥ [i*] [bh]ūmi-dānasya chihnnāni phalaṁ
svarggaḥ Pura[m]dara || Saṁ 1084 Śrāvaṇa va di 4 [11*]

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 173.—GUDIGERE JAIN INSCRIPTION.—SAKA-SAMVAT 998.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from an ink-impression supplied to me in February, 1883, by a Native friend who then held the post of Māmlatdār at Lakshmēshwar, but whose name I cannot just now recall.

Gudigere¹ is the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name, belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwad District. Its Kanarese name, under the more precise form of Gudigere, occurs in lines 21, 23, and 26. And it is also mentioned under the Sanskrit name of Dhvajataṭaka in line 12. In these two names, *keṛe* and *taṭaka* are exactly synonymous; both meaning 'a tank.' And the use, in the Sanskrit name, of *dhvaja*, 'a banner, flag, flag-staff,' seems to indicate that *gudī* is here to be taken, not in its most customary sense of 'a temple,' but as meaning 'a vessel raised up on a long bamboo, as at a festival.'—The inscription is on part of a stone-tablet, measuring about 2' 10" broad by 3' 2" high, standing against the wall of a Jain temple at this town. It is only a fragment; the upper part of the tablet, containing all the introductory portion of the record, and the usual sculptures at the top, being broken away and lost.

The writing, which covers the entire front of the extant portion, save for a margin of about an inch down each side and at the bottom, is in a state of very good preservation throughout; and nothing is illegible, except in those parts of lines 1 and 2 in which the fracture of the stone occurred.—The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the eleventh century A.D. They include, in line 19, the decimal figures 8 and 9. The *virāma* is represented sometimes by its proper Kanarese sign, as in *śrīmat*, line 7, *urviyo*, line 9, and *eleyo*, line 10; and sometimes by the vowel *u*, as in *anubhavaneyalu*, line 3, *dhātri-yolu*, line 16, and *gudigereyolu*, line 26. And an interesting instance in which a pronounciative

¹¹ Read *sūryam* = *archayitvā*.¹² Originally *ōbhāḥ*.¹³ Read *śbha* upa.²¹⁴ *Metro*, *Ślōka* (Anushtubh); and in the following verses.¹⁵ This *akṣara* is really *t*, with the sign for *i* before and the sign for *d* after it.² The 'Gudagerree' of the map; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41. Lat. 15° 6' N.; Long. 75° 26' E.

value has to be given to the latter form of it, occurs in line 13; where the metre requires us to pronounce *aruhane*, as written; though what is intended is *aruhane*, i. e. *arhane*. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese; with two Sanskrit verses in lines 40-42. And the inscription is in mixed verse and prose. Three curious words occur in it. In line 8, we have *rundra*, 'large, great, lofty,' which occurs in many other inscriptions in the Kanarese country; and the formation of which has been explained by Mr. K. B. Pathak.² In line 9, in introducing the mention of *Ashtôpavâsi-Kanti*, the disciple of *Śrinandipaṇḍita*, we have *śiṣhinti*, 'a disciple.'³ And in line 22, we have *gudda*, which on previous occasions⁴ I have shewn must have the meaning of 'a disciple,' or something very similar; and of which we have also the feminine form *guddi*.⁵ My previous explanation of the word is fully established by the present inscription; for, while in line 22 the *Sénabôva* *Siṅgayya* or *Singayya* is called the *gudda* of *Śrinandipaṇḍita*, the latter, in line 13,—mentioned there under his epithet of *paravâdi-śarabha-bhêrunḍa*,—is distinctly called the *Guru* of *Siṅgayya*. And I have only to add that, as the word is applied here to a *Sénabôva* or 'accountant,' and in my previous instances either to *Seṭṭis* or 'merchants,' or to *Gauḍas* or 'village-headmen,' it evidently means 'an ordinary pupil,' and not 'a religious pupil, or disciple,' which is plainly the meaning of *śiṣhinti*.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice, are (1) the use of the *upadhmanîya*, represented by the same sign that stands for the Old-Kanarese *r*, in *manahpundarika*, line 6; (2) the use of the Old-Kanarese *l* in the Sanskrit word *kalpānta*, line 11; (3) the doubling, very exceptional at so late a period, of *p* after the *anuvāra*, in *saṅhpanan*, line 13; and of *s* before *y*, in *yassya* and *tassya*, line 41; (4) the occasional use of *b* for *v*, in Sanskrit words only, in *bhabya-sēbya*, line 16, and in *priyashṭadani* and *brati*, line 17; and (5) the occasional use of the wrong sibilant, as in *namāsyam*, lines 11 and 23, *viśes-anna*, line 14, and *sāstr-āmṛita*, line 5, *śarabha*, lines 6 and 19, *suchi-subha*, line 16, and *saka*, line 19.—A special point of interest is the allotment of the properly regal titles *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, in line 4, to "the divine *Arhat*." I have no other instance of this use of *Paramēśvara*. And the only other instance, known to me, of the use of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in this way, is in line 43 of an inscription at Mamdāpur in the Belgaum District, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 1172 expired (*Indian Inscriptions*, No. 1), in which it is applied to a Śaiva priest named *Vimalaśiva* or *Vimalasaṃbhu*.

The inscription is a Jain inscription. The extant portion of it opens with the mention of an official, holding the post of *Pergaḍe*, named *Prabhākara* (line 2), or *Prabhākaraṃyya* (l. 3). In his time of office (*anubhavane*, l. 3) there was a Jain priest or teacher named *Śrinandipaṇḍitadēva* (l. 7),⁶ *Siriyānandimuniṇdra* (l. 9), or *Siripaṇḍi* (l. 17), "who had crossed to the other shore the sea of nectar of the *Siddhāntas* and all the other *Sāstras* which are useful in investigating the real nature of all the good and evil and other substances that proceeded from the water-lily that is the mouth of the divine *Arhat*, the omniscient one, destitute of passion (*vīta-rāga*),⁷ the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, who is decorated with a third eye⁸ which is the unsurpassed knowledge of the doctrine of unity (*kēvalajñāna*) that is the refuge of the whole circuit of the earth;" and who had the other name or epithet of *paravâdi-śarabha-bhêrunḍa* (l. 6), indicative of his skill in vanquishing those whose doctrines were opposed to his own. While this *Āchārya*, *Śrinandipaṇḍita*, was practising asceticism (l. 7), his disciple

² ante, Vol. XI. p. 273.

³ I thought at first that, though the word appeared to be *śiṣhinti*, it might optionally be read *śiṣhinti*, or even *śiṣhinti*. And, if we should adopt the reading *śiṣhinti*, there are instances, in other inscriptions, which would justify our pronouncing it *śiṣhi-panti*, which might represent *śiṣhya-panti*. This last word, however, though quite possible, is not altogether a probable one; especially since the passage introduces only one disciple, and not 'a row or line of disciples.' And a further examination of the whole record satisfied me that the word is undoubtedly *śiṣhinti*.

⁴ ante, Vol. X. p. 189, note 16, and Vol. XII. p. 99 ff.

⁵ ante, Vol. XII. p. 101.

⁶ The use of *śrīmat* in line 7, is an instance of the habit of emphasising the use of *śrī* as an integral part of a proper name (see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 8, note 3).

⁷ This was also a Buddhist title; e. g. in line 1 of the *Śrāvastī* inscription, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 62.

⁸ This, in a Jain inscription, is rather a peculiar instance of borrowing from Hinduism; the origin of the metaphor being the three eyes,—one in his forehead,—of the god Śiva.

(*śiśahinti*, l. 9) was *Aśtōpavāsīganti* (l. 10), or *Aśtōpavāsi-Kanti* (l. 29), "who delighted in the duty of maintaining the religion of Jinendra." And this latter person obtained from *Śrinandipaṇḍita* a *namasya*-grant of seven *mattars* of land (l. 11), and applied it, under the protection of the Twelve *Gāvundus* or village-headmen of (the village of) *Dhvajataṭaka* (l. 12), for the worship of *Pārśva-Jinēśvara*, and for providing food for people versed in the sacred writings.

The inscription then introduces the *Sēnabōva* *Siṅgaṇṇa* (l. 13), *Siṅga* (l. 14), or *Siṅgayya* (l. 22), whose god was the *Arhat*, and whose *Guru* or teacher was *Śrinandipaṇḍita* (l. 13); who was a very moon in causing the increase of the ocean of the Jain religion (l. 15); who was a very bee at the water-lilies which were the feet of the ascetic *Siriṇḍi* (l. 17); and who was the *Sēnabōva* or village-accountant of *Śrinandi* (l. 18).

It then proceeds to record that, at the *śrāhe* or *aśrāhe* of the *Anala saṃvatsara*, which was the *Saka* year 998 (expired) (l. 19), *Śrinandipaṇḍita*, shewing the charter to *Kāladiya-Nāyimarasa* (l. 22), acquired possession of the western fields, in the lands of *Gudigere*, which, on the authority of a copper-charter, were under the control of the Jain temple called *Ānēsejjeya-basadi* (l. 21) which *Kuṅkumamahādēvi*, the younger sister of the glorious *Chālukya Chakravartin Vijayādityavallabha* (l. 20), had formerly caused to be built at *Purigere*; and gave, out of those fields, to his pupil (*gudḍa*) *Siṅgayya* (l. 22), as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, fifteen *mattars* of land (l. 23), which *Siṅgayya* allotted (l. 24) for the purpose of providing food for the saints at *Gudigere*,—making it the duty of the king, the *Pandits*, the Twelve *Gāvundus*, and all pious persons (l. 25), to see that the proceeds of the land were applied only for that purpose, and were not diverted to any other religion or any other object, and to continue the grant as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth might endure (l. 27).

The boundaries of this land were:—On the east, the culturable land of *Bandigāvundā* (l. 28); on the south, the road to (the village of) *Pulluṅgūr*; on the west, the culturable lands of the *basadi*, and of *Nākayya*; and on the north, the joint-fields (*pasugeya polam*) of the *Gāvundus*. And the boundaries of the seven *mattars* of land, granted, as stated in lines 10-11 above, to *Aśtōpavāsi-Kanti*, are here specified (l. 30) as being, on the east, the culturable land of (the village of) *Baṅgagēri* (l. 30); on the south, the culturable land of the village-*chaityālaya*; on the west, the culturable land of the *Pergaḍe* *Prabhākarayya*; and on the north, the road to *Pulluṅgūr*. Thus there were given two *pariyāya*-allotments of twenty-one *mattars* of land (l. 31).

Also, in the same western fields, *Śrinandipaṇḍita* gave, as rent-free land (*umbaḷi*), one hundred and eleven *mattars* to the Twelve *Gāvundus* (l. 36); fifteen *mattars* to *Rudrayya* (l. 37), son of the *Pergaḍe* *Prabhākarayya*; fifteen *mattars* to the *Sēnabōva* *Habbaṇṇa* (l. 38); seven *mattars* to *Mūkiyara-Kāvaṇṇa*; four *mattars* and six hundred *kammas* to *Kantiyara-Nākayya* (l. 39); and twenty *mattars*, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, to the god *Bhuvanaikamalla-Śāntināthadēva* (l. 40),—i.e. to a Jain temple or image of *Śāntinātha* that had been built or set up by the Western *Chālukya* king *Sōmēśvara II.*, who had the *biruda* of *Bhuvanaikamalla*.

The inscription ends with two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory Sanskrit verses, in lines 40 to 42.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription,—in addition to *Gudigere* itself, which is spoken of under the names of *Gudigere* and *Dhvajataṭaka*, the latter being the Sanskrit translation of the Kanarese name,—*Pulluṅgūr* is the modern *Hulgūr*, in the *Dhārwar* District, six miles south-west of *Gudigere*. And *Purigere* is one of the ancient names of the modern *Lakshmēśwar*, in the *Miraj* State, about six miles east of *Gudigere*. *Baṅgagēri*, which cannot now be recognised in the map, must have been an ancient hamlet of *Gudigere*, or of *Lakshmēśwar*.

As regards the date of this inscription, we have, in line 19, the details of *Saka-Saṃvat* 998; and, coupled with this, of the *Anala saṃvatsara*, which, as by the southern luni-solar system it was coincident with *Saka-Saṃvat* 999 current, shews that the given *Saka* year is to

- 10 maḷa-charitrar=Jjinēmdra-dharmm-ōddharāṇa-krama-niratar=elele lōk-ōttamar=esev=Ash-
tōpavāsīgantiyar=eleyo|| Vṛi || Ant²⁰=avar=ē||u
- 11 mattarane paṇḍitar=īye namaśya(sya)m-āgi kalpānta-dinam bara[m*] paḍedu
Pārśva-Jinēśvara-pūjegaṃ śrut-ātyaṇṭa-sad-āṇa-dāna-
- 12 vidhigaṃ sale koṭṭar=idam nitāntav=ōrant-ire rakshipsa[r*] Dhvajataṭakada
panneraḍum-gavunḍuga|| Ōm Namaḥ siddhēbhyaḥ ||
- 13 Ōm Samasta-guṇa-saṃppannan=appa śrīmat sēnabōva Siṃgaṇṇaṃge || Aruhane²¹
nāmbida deyva[m*] gurugaḷu paravādi-sarabha-bhēruṇḍa-
- 14 budhar=ppara-hitame tanage charitaṃ dore-vettuda Siṃgan=ēm kṛit-ārtthano
jagado|| Parama-²²śrī-Jaina-dharmmak=anavarata-viśēs(sh)-āṇa-dānakke
- 15 munnam Bharataṃ śrēyāṃsan=iga||u nija-kuḷa-tilakaṃ Jaina-dharmm-ābdhi-chaṇḍram
shpu(sphu)rad-udiyat-tējan=atyunnatan=amaḷa-yasam śishta-ratnākaram
- 16 bāppure Siṃgaṃ bhabya(vya)-sēbya(vya)m su(su)chi-su(su)bha-charitaṃ dhātriyo||u
puṇya-puṇja[m*] || Kanda || Para²³-hita-charitran=anopama-vara-guṇa-ṇa-
- 17 yaṃ pṛi(pri)yaṃba(va)dam dharmma-dan=akshara-pakshapāti yati-pati-Siṃgaṃdi-
bra(vra)ti-paḍābja-bhṛiṃga[m*] Siṃga[m*] || Amaḷa-charitra[m*] budha-hṛitka-
- 18 maḷ-ākara-dinakaram kṛit-ārttham Jaina-krama-nalī(n)-ēshtha(shta)m Śrinandi-muniā-
drara sēnabōva Siṃga[m*] dhareyo|| Ant=enisida || Ōm ||
- 19 Sa(sa)ka-varsha 998ney-Anaḷa-saṃvatsarada brāheyo||u²⁴ Svasti Śrīmat para-
vādi-sa(sa)rabha-bhēruṇḍ-āpara-nāmadhēyar=appa
- 20 Śrinandi-paṇḍita-dēvar=mmunnam śrīmat Chāḷukya²⁵-chakravartti-Vijayādityavallabh-
ānujey=appa śrīmat Kuṃkuma-mahā-
- 21 dēvi Purigereyalu mādisidh(d)=Ānēsejjeja-basadige tāmbra²⁶śāsana-maryyādeyīm=
- 22 āḷva Gudigereya bhūmiy-ōḷage pa-
ḍuva²⁷ṇa polan=ottu-vōg-īḷḍade²⁸ Kāladiya-Nāyimm-arasaṃge śāsanaṃ tōri paḍeda
bhūmiy-ōḷage tamma guḍḍam Siṃgayyaṃge kāra-
- 23 nyadiṃ sarvva-namaśya(sya)m-āgi padināḷku mattaram daye-geydu koṭṭad=āy=Ayyan=
- 24 ā padināḷku mattarumaṃ rishiyargge Guḍi-
gereyoḷ=āhāra-dānam naḍev-ant-āgi biṭan=i keyyoḷ=puṭṭid=artthamaṃ²⁹=illiy=āhara-
dānak=allade perat-ōmḍu dharmmakam
- 25 perat-ōmḍ=edegam=nyyal-āgad=int=i maryyādeyan=arasam paṇḍitarum pannirvvar=
ggāvunḍugaḷum dharmmav-arivavar=ella-
- 26 ruv=odeyar-āgi parirakhe-geydu sva-dharmmadim naḍasuvudu || Kanda ||
Gudigereyoḷu³⁰ dharmmaṃgalig=ōḍarisuvavar=ella
- 27 voḍeyar=i dharmma[m*]-kāv-odeyar=em=ōrvvare venaved³¹=uḍupati ravi jaḷadhi
dhātri nilup-annevara[m*] || Antu Siṃgaṇṇam biṭṭa
- 28 keyya chatu-simey=ent-ene mūḍa Bandi-gāvunḍana keyi temka Pullumgūra
baṭṭe paḍuva basadiya keyyu[m*]
- 29 Nākayyana keyi baḍaga gāvunḍagaḷa pasūgeya polan=antu mattar=ppadināḷku ||
Mattam=Ashtōpavāsi-Kantiyara
- 30 biṭṭa keye chatu-simey=ent-ene mūḍa Baṃgagēriya keyi temka grāma-
chaityāḷayada keyi paḍuva pergaḍe
- 31 Prabhākarayyana keyi baḍaga Pullumgūra baṭṭey=antu mattar=ēḷuman=int=i
yeraḍum paryyāyada mattar=irppatt-o-
- 32 ndumam pratipālisuvavargge Vāraṇāsi Kurakshētram Prayāgey=Argghyatīrttham
modaḷ-āgi puṇya-tīrtthamgaḷo-

²⁰ Metro, Utpalamālikā.²¹ Metro, Kanda; and in the next verse.²² Read śrīmach-Chāḷukya.²³ The letters paḍuva were at first omitted, and then were inserted in the margin,—the pa at the end of line 21, and the ḍuva at the commencement of line 22.²⁴ Or perhaps ottum-ēy-īḷḍade.²⁵ Metro, Kanda.²⁶ Or we may read saṃvatsarad-aṇḍheyoḷu.²⁷ Read tāmbra.²⁸ Read arthaman.²⁹ Metro, Sragdharā.³⁰ Metro, Kanda.³¹ From dharmma[m*] to uḍupati, the reading is quite certain; but, whether I have divided the words rightly, and what correction is to be applied for the fault in the metre, is doubtful.

- 33 |u sūryya-graṇaḍaḍo|u sāsira kavileyān=a|amkāra-sahitaṁ chatu[r*]vvēda-pāragar=
appa sāsirvvar=brāhma-
34 qarḡgey=ubhayamukhi-goṭṭa pa(pha)|am=ak[k*]uv=i dharmmaman=a|iyalu manam-
daṁdavarḡgey=int=i punya-tīrtthamga|o|u sāsī-
35 ra kavileyuma[m*] sāsirvva[r*]=brāhmaṇaruman=a|ida paṁchamahāpātakan=akku ||
Om Svasti Śrīmat paravādi-śarabha-bhē-
36 ruṇḍ-āpara-nāmadhēyar=appa Śrīnandi-paṇḍita-dēvar=mmattam=i paḍuva-volad-o|age
pannirvvar=ggāvuṇḍ[u*]galge daye-geyd=umbaliy-āgi
37 koṭṭa mattar=nnūra pannondu perḡgaḍe Prabhākarayyana maga Rudrayyaṁge
daye-geyd=umbaliy-āgi koṭṭa mattar=ppadi-
38 nālku | sēnabōva Habbaṇṇaṁge daye-geyd=umbaliy-āgi koṭṭa mattar=ppadinālku
Mūkiyara-Kāvaṇṇaṁge day[e*]-geyd=u[m*]ba|ī-
39 y-āgi koṭṭa mattar=ē|u Kantiyara-Nākayyaṁge daye-geyd=umbaliy-āgi koṭṭa mattar=
nnālku kammav=aru-nūra śrīmad-Bhuvanai-
40 kamalla-Śāntinātha-dēvarḡge sarvva-namaśya(sya)m-āgi paḍeda mattar=irppattu ||
Babubhir²²=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhira(s)=Sagar-ādibhiḥ ya-
41 ssya yassya yadā bhūmis=tassya tassya tadā pa(pha)|am || Sva-dattām para-
dattām vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] shashṭhir=vvarsha-sahasra-
42 yām miśthāyām²³ jāyatē krimiḥ ||

SOME SOUTH-INDIAN LITERARY LEGENDS.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M. F. L. S.

INTRODUCTION.

I have frequently had the privilege of laying before the readers of this Journal the folk-tales of the people of Southern India; but in addition to these there are current among them many legendary tales based on Sanskrit or Tamil Literature and Tradition. These legends, are, I think, worth recording in the forms in which they occur in popular use, and I propose in the following pages to give specimens of them. They are specially interesting, because now-a-days they are rapidly disappearing before the march of education and the spread of communication with the outer world.

The time to hear them is during moonlight nights, after the simple toils of the villagers are over for the day, and their frugal, but withal plentiful, repast is finished. It is then that they delight to squat themselves on mats in the open moonlight, and spend a few hours relating folk-tales and folk-legends to each other. Several such evenings have I spent most pleasantly, with simple but hospitable companions, during my travels in search of the ideas that pervade them. And I trust that the results of what I have been thus able to record, may prove to be something more valuable than matters of mere passing interest.

LEGEND I.

On a certain day, a learned but poor Paṇḍit was coming to the council house of king Bhōja on a visit. His intention was to display his learning to that great monarch, and receive presents from him for his hard-earned knowledge. Now, to go to a king with empty hands is considered a great sin among Hindūs. So, on his way he bought some sticks of sugar-cane as a present for the king, cut them into smaller ones, each of a cubit's length, and made a bundle of them. When he approached the palace, he found he was too late to enter the council-chamber that evening, for the king and his learned assembly had already dispersed. So, the Brāhmaṇ, not relishing the idea of missing the morning council as well, by going elsewhere for the night, made up his mind to sleep on the palace premises, so as to be ready.

²² Metro, Ślōka (Anuśṭubh); and in the following verse.²³ Read shashṭhiḥ varsha-sahasraṁ viśṭhāyām.

The place he chose for the night's repose was a stable; and there he put the bundle of sugar-cane under his head for a pillow, and soon began to snore away the night, for the day's work had been too much for him. In the middle of the night a groom happened to come into the stable. The pillow had slipped from beneath the Paṇḍit's head and attracted the groom's attention. He opened it and found it to contain sugar-canes. He at once determined to take possession of the canes, and rolled up in the bundle, in their place, some half-burnt sticks of fuel. He then put the bundle back into its original place and went away.

Our hero arose early the next morning, never dreaming that any trick had been played upon him, for the bundle appeared to his eyes to be exactly the same as when he had rolled it into his kerchief the previous evening. He rose up and hastily took the bundle under his arm, not liking to open it, lest some of the troublesome palace peons should snatch away part of the present he was carrying for the monarch. Proceeding thus hastily, he took his seat in the midst of the learned Paṇḍits assembled before the king, and in his turn pronounced several benedictory verses in a general way. And lastly wishing to bless the king with the sugar-canes in his hand, he opened his bundle. But what was his dismay and confusion, when, instead of the canes, only some half-burnt fuel-sticks met his eyes! The whole conclave of Paṇḍits was amazed to see one among their number with such a present in his hand. However, our hero, who had a ready wit, sang the following benedictory verse:—

दग्धं खांडवमर्जुनेन हि वृथा देवदुर्मैर्मण्डितम्
दग्धा वायुसुतेन हेमनगरी लंकापुरी स्वर्णभूः ।
दग्धः सर्वसखो हरेण मदनः किं तेरयुक्तं कृतम्
शरिद्रा जनदुःखकारकमिदं केनापि दग्धं न हि ॥

"The (great) forest of the Khāṇḍava, full of divine trees, was burnt down by Arjuna; the city of Lāṅka, otherwise called Hēmanagari (the golden city) whose surface was all of gold, was burnt by Vāyu's son (Hanumān); the friend of all, the god Madana (Cupid), was reduced to ashes by Hara. Why should this happen? What bad acts did they do? But this poverty of mine, which puts me always to sorrow, has never been burnt by any one."

So sang the poor Brāhmaṇ, hinting thereby that he meant by the presentation of those sticks that the king should burn his poverty with them. And the monarch too, famous throughout the world for liberality, amply rewarded the Paṇḍit, being extremely pleased with the verse.

LEGEND II.

In a certain learned village there lived a poor Brāhmaṇ who had no learning by which he could earn his living, or which could enable him to go with the others to the king, when he held assemblies of Paṇḍits, and return home with presents from him. Now, to go to the king and get from him some present, was his great aim in life; and, finding all the means of doing it unaided hopeless, he resolved at last to go for help to the great poet Kālidāsa. He went to him accordingly and represented his case. The great poet promised to oblige Bhōjanadāsa-rathi—for that was our hero's name—and told him to get by heart the following benediction:—
त्रयीकारकमुखावाप्तिरस्तु, "May there be to you the attainment of the three-fold happiness."

With the greatest difficulty, and after spending a month over it, Bhōjanadāsarathi at last got it by heart. Kālidāsa then wished to take him to the king and previously told his majesty that a fellow-student of his was coming the next day to the assembly. Bhōja (for that was the king's name) was highly pleased to hear it, and awaited the happy occasion.

In due course Bhōjanadāsarathi came into the assembly and was introduced to the king. He carried a cocoanut in his hand; and, presenting it to the sovereign, essayed to pronounce the benedictory sentence. But, as the troubles of his poverty always stood before his mind's eye, he remembered *piḍā*, 'misery,' much better than *sukha*, 'happiness,' and so tumbled into the mistake of substituting the former for the latter and said त्रयीकारकपीडावाप्तिरस्तु, "May there be the attainment of the three-fold misery to you."

The king's face changed colour on hearing such an unwelcome benediction, if benediction it might be called, from the fellow-student of the great poet. And all the assembled Paṇḍits were struck dumb with fear and astonishment. But in order to save Bhōjanadāsarathi, Kālidāsa at once rose up and said,

आसने विप्रपीडा च सुतपीडा च भोजने ।

शयने सारपीडा च तिस्रः पीडा दिने दिने ॥

"May Brāhman trouble you when you are on your throne; may your sons trouble you when you sit down to eat; may your wives trouble you (for amorous sports) when you are in bed. Thus may there be three kinds of trouble to you day after day."

Thus Kālidāsa explained away the three miseries wished by Bhōjanadāsarathi to the monarch. And the king, highly pleased, rewarded the poor Brāhman, though of course he did not deserve anything.

LEGEND III.

One day a poor Brāhman went to Kālidāsa, and requested him to take him also to the assembly of king Bhōja. The great poet asked him whether he knew anything to bless the king with, and the Brāhman, being the son of a reciter of *Upanishads* replied that he had heard his father often repeat the words सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्— but that was all he knew, and even of that he did not know the proper intonation or meaning. "Very well, it will do," said Kālidāsa, and asked the Brāhman to come to the king's assembly the next day; and our hero, much pleased, went away.

As the next morning was a special occasion, learned Paṇḍits from all parts of Jambūdvīpa had assembled there to bless the monarch and receive presents. Our poor Brāhman too came; and, when his turn approached, without using the peculiar intonation of the *Upanishads*, he said सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्.

Every Paṇḍit there was astonished to hear so gauche a repetition of a portion of one of the *Vēdāṅgas*. Kālidāsa read the faces of the assembled Paṇḍits, and standing up in their midst said: "Paṇḍitāḥ! Learned Sirs! The Paṇḍit who has just quoted from the *Upanishad* did not adopt the usual intonation, as he meant it to be but one-half of a verse. You must all try to patch up the other half. The whole assembly heard what Kālidāsa said, and tried their best to fill in the other portion, but in vain. Then rose up Kālidāsa, the king of poets, and said चलितश्चित्तः स्रजस्तव सैन्ये प्रधावति, which may be rendered thus— *Tava sainye pradhāvati*, "when your army marches," *Sahasraśīrṣhā puruṣaḥ chalitaḥ*, "the thousand-headed (hooded) god Adīśēsha changes his position (unable to bear the weight)." *Sahasrākṣhaḥ chakitaḥ*, "the thousand-eyed Indra fears for his safety," and *Sahasropāt*, "the sun becomes," *chhannaḥ*, "clouded by the dust raised by the army."

The king praised Kālidāsa, scolded the assembled Paṇḍits, and rewarded the poor Brāhman.

LEGEND IV.

Four poor Brāhman visited Kālidāsa on a certain day and requested him to introduce them to the king. The poet asked them whether they knew any Sanskrit verses to bless the king with. The first Brāhman said that his father was a great reader of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and that he had heard him often repeating the words कूर्जतं रामरामेति, and that he knew only so much. The second Brāhman replied that his father was a great *Purāṇa*-reader, and that he had heard him often repeat श्रीविष्णवे नमः, and that he knew only so much. The third Brāhman stated that his father took great delight in the *Harivaṃśa*, and that he had heard him often repeat the words उवाच वचनं श्रीमान्, and that he knew only so much. And the fourth Brāhman said that his father, grandfather, great-grandfather and others, were all priests, and that he had often heard them pronounce, while discharging their duties, the words पितॄणां वत्तनक्षयम्, and that he knew only so much. Kālidāsa was pleased with them all, and, pitying their poverty, asked them to be present at the king's assembly the next day.

Next morning the great poet went in advance, and informed the king that four of his fellow students had come to the town, and that they would soon be in the council to see him. In due time the four Brāhman entered the hall of assembly, and the monarch received them very kindly, as he had heard they were fellow-students of the great poet. After being seated, each began to repeat what he knew; and that most learned assembly of Paṇḍits, with Kālidāsa at its head, heard the following jumbles of Sanskrit verse:—

कूर्जतं रामरानेति श्रीविद्याय कुटुंबिने ।

उवाच वचनं श्रीमान्पितृणां वत्तमस्तवम् ॥

Each quarter of this being borrowed from a separate source, no one in the hall could make a grain of sense out of it. But up rose Kālidāsa, and said that the best verse ever uttered by Paṇḍits was the one that was just given out, and he explained its meaning thus:—रामरानेति कूर्जतं (नारदं) श्रीमान् (ब्रह्मा) इदं वचनमुवाच पितृणामुद्दिश्य कुटुंबिने श्रीविद्याय यद्वचनं तदक्षयम्-इति "To Nārada, who was always pronouncing 'Rāma, Rāma,' the most holy (Brahmā) said thus:—'Whatever is given in honour of the *manes* (*pitṛis*) to the Śrōtriya Brāhman who have large families, becomes the most imperishable donation in the world.' And as the four Brāhman who have come now to the court are Śrōtriya Brāhman with large families to protect, they remind you, O king! of the words of Brahman to Nārada, and ask you to follow the same advice."

So explained Kālidāsa, and the monarch at once issued an order that each should be rewarded with a hundred-thousand gold coins for each letter.

LEGEND V.

A certain boy, who had just begun Sanskrit and had not advanced beyond the declension of nouns, went on a certain day to Kālidāsa and said he wanted be taken to the assembly of king Bhōja. The poet asked him what he knew. He said that his master had only the previous day taught him *kaviḥ*, *kavi*, *kavayah*—कविः, कवी, कवयः—the declension of the word *kavi* (poet) in the singular, dual and plural of the nominative case. Said the poet "Come with me to the assembly to-morrow, and, blessing the king with कविः कवी, कवयः, request the assembled Paṇḍits to compose a verse on it."

The boy did accordingly. No one present was able to compose a verse upon those forms, till at last Kālidāsa got up and said:—ज्ञाते जगति वाल्मीके शब्दः कविरिति श्रुतः । कवी इति ततो ज्यैष्ठ्ये कवयस्त्वयि संदिनि ॥ "When Vālmīka was born, the word कविः (poet) came to existence in the world; and then when Vyāsa too was born, the dual कवी (poets twain) came into use; and when you began to wield the sceptre, the whole world became full of poets, and कवयः (poets) came into use."

The king was exceedingly pleased at this praise and amply rewarded the boy.

LEGEND VI.

A certain buffoon named Bhukkunḍa, very learned in Sanskrit and of most ready wit, lived in the country of king Bhōja. One day he committed a great crime for which, by the laws of the state, he was to be executed. When taken before the king, to have sentence pronounced upon him, he said:—भट्टिनेष्टो भारविश्चैव नष्टः । भिक्षुर्नष्टो, भीमसेनश्च नष्टः । भुङ्क्तेऽहं भूपतिस्त्वं हि राजन् । भगवन्त्यामन्तकस्त्वं प्रविष्टः ॥ "Bhatti (the great grammarian and minister) is gone. Bhāravi (another poet) is also gone. Bhikshu (a beggar) is dead and gone, and Bhīmasēna too is dead. I am Bhukkunḍa. And you are Bhūpati, O king! Infer from this that the god of death has entered the *Bha* series in order (*Bha*, *Bhā*, *Bhi*, *Bhī*, *Bhu*, *Bhū*). And that when I, Bhukkunḍa, die, the next person to die after me is yourself, your name being Bhūpati."

The witty arrangement of the names of the dead persons confused the king. He seriously began to think that, when Bhukkuṇḍa dies, Bhūpati, i.e. he himself, must die next. So he pardoned Bhukkuṇḍa.

This verse is quoted as an instance of ready wit, though there is not much logic in it.

LEGEND VII.

In the *Maīsūr Darbār*, during the days of *Krishnarāja Uḍaiyār*, a certain *Paṇḍit* concluded a verse with the words *हरमीलन्नयना विलोकेते*—“She looks with her eyes a little shut,” and wished his fellow *Paṇḍits* to patch up the verse on the condition that the verse was to be natural and treat of a thing without sentiments of love.

One of the *Paṇḍits* rose up and said:—

गहनेषु करीषवांछया विचरंती किल तिन्त्रणीफलं ।

परिचर्य पुलिंदसुंदरी हरमीलन्नयना विलोकेते ॥

“While searching for cakes of dried cattle-droppings in the forest, a *pulinda* (hunter) woman comes across a tamarind fruit and when tasting it, she looks with her eyes a little shut.”

The allusion here is to the fact that, when anything acid is eaten, the nerves of the cheeks and the eyes contract and make the eater half shut his eyes for a second or two. The peculiarity of the above verse is that it is without sentiments of love, as is always the case when women in Sanskrit literature are represented as looking with half-shut eyes.

LEGEND VIII.

King *Bhōja* was seated one day among the learned *Paṇḍits* in his assembly, when a poor *Brāhmaṇ* presented himself before his majesty. Mendicants can be distinguished by their very faces, so the king said to him *कुतस्त्वमागतो विप्र!* “Whence have you come, O *Brāhmaṇ*?” *कैलासाद्गतो नृप ।* “I have come from *Kailāsa*, O king.” Then his majesty asked him—*शिवस्तत्र सुखो वापि ॥* “Is *Śiva* there doing well then?” And our *Brāhmaṇ* hero replied—*नास्ति तत्र शिवो नृपः*. “No, There is none there. *Śiva* is dead and gone.”

The king was apparently startled and wishing to confound the *Brāhmaṇ* asked him “What had become of the several things which were in *Śiva*’s person if he had died?” Whereon the *Brāhmaṇ* repeated the following verse which is unparalleled for its beauty among such effusions:—

अर्द्धं दानववैरिणा गिरिजयाप्यर्द्धं हरस्याहृतम्

देवैर्त्यं दिवि भूतले पुरहराभावे समुन्मीलति ।

गंगा सागरमंवरं शशिकला नागाधिपाः भ्रमातलम्

सर्वज्ञत्वमधीश्वरत्वमगमस्त्वं मां च निशादनम् ॥

“Half of *Śiva* was taken away by the enemy of the *Dānavas* (*Vishṇu*); the daughter of the mountain (*Pārvatī*) too took away half of *Hara* (*Śiva*) to her own body. Thus the conqueror of *Tripura*, the great *Śiva*, was swallowed up in the heavens (by *Vishṇu*) and on the earth by *Pārvatī*, and became a cypher. He had the Ganges on his head; she went to the ocean as her lord. He had the moon-disc on his head; she went to the sky. He had several serpent-lords (as his ornament); they went to the nether world. He had the mastery of learning and the lordship of wealth; they came to you, O King! And lastly, *Śiva* was a mendicant; and he bequeathed his mendicancy to me.”

Thus replied the *Brāhmaṇ*, most truly accounting poetically for the way in which *Śiva* disappeared, and hinting very cunningly that, because *Bhōja* was a wealthy and learned king, he had come there to beg. The king, who wished to confound the *Brāhmaṇ* by dragging him into unnecessary questions, was himself confounded. He rewarded the *Brāhmaṇ* amply, and sent him away.

In the above verse, the half of *Śiva* being taken away by *Vishṇu* is merely a poetical fiction. There is a god *Hari-Hara*, sometimes called *Vishṇu* and sometimes *Śiva*, by the

Vaishnavas and Śaivas respectively. In this *avatāra* or incarnation, half is Hari (Vishṇu) and half Śiva (Hara). This is most ingeniously represented in the above verse as Hari stealing away half of Śiva. And in the incarnation of Śiva as Arddhanārīśvara, half of him is himself and half Pārvatī. This is what is meant by the other half of Śiva being stolen by Pārvatī, as the poet cleverly represents it. And of course, when the two halves that make up one Śiva disappeared, Śiva himself disappeared.

Some orthodox Śaivas sometimes criticise the last line of the first verse नास्ति तत्र शिवो मृतः and say it is irreligious of the king to have spoken about the god as having died. But they make things right by representing that the words शिवो and मृतः can also be separated as शिवो and अमृतः. And by the rules of the *Vyākaraṇa* (इति च ॥ and अतो गुणे ॥) शिवः मृतः and शिवो-अमृतः both become respectively शिवोमृतः ॥ In शिवो अमृतः Śiva does not die, but only undergoes a sort of poetical death for the occasion; only in the mouth of the Brāhmaṇ mendicant.

CURIOSITIES OF SOUTH-INDIAN SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

I.—Punning Verses.

The following two verses, one on Śiva and one on Viṣṇu, are looked upon in Southern India as among the best examples of puns upon words in Sanskrit.

Śiva, in his incarnation of Naṭṭēśa, was always going astray with strange women. One night he returned home very late and knocked at the door of the goddess, when the following questions and answers passed between them—

कस्त्वं धूली प्रविश भिषजां वेदम वैद्यं न जाने
स्थापुर्बाले न वदति तर्ज्जालिकंडः प्रमुग्धे ।
केकामिकां वव त्वं पशुपतिरबले नैव तीक्ष्णे विषाणे
इत्येवं शैलकन्याप्रतिवचनजडः पातु नां पार्वतीशः ॥

which may be rendered thus :—

Pārvatī.—“Who is it that knocks at the door?”

Śiva.—Śūlī.

Pārvatī.—If you are Śūlī go to the doctor's house for treatment, as I do not know medicine.

Śiva.—I am Sthāṇu, my dear.

Pārvatī.—Sthāṇu ! Trees do not speak.

Śiva.—No; I am Nīlakaṇṭha.

Pārvatī.—If so let me hear one of your kēkā notes.

Śiva.—No; my dear ! I am Paśupati.

Pārvatī.—Then how is it that I do not see your sharp horns.

(Śiva was confused by the natural interpretation given to each of his names by Pārvatī.) May that lord of Pārvatī who stood confused and unable to reply to the questions of the daughter of the king of mountains, protect me !”

The puns here lie in the words Śūlī, Sthāṇu, Nīlakaṇṭha and Paśupati. Each of these four means Śiva and also a person suffering from stomach-ache, a piece of wood, the peacock, and the bull as the lord of the cattle (cows). When Śiva says that he is Śūlī, Pārvatī interpreting the word to mean a person suffering from belly-ache, wants her husband to go to the doctor's house as she had not studied medicine. Śiva then says that he is Sthāṇu; and as that word means also ‘wood’ she wonders and says “if you are a Sthāṇu you could never have spoken, as trees do not speak.” Then Śiva has recourse to a third name of his which also unfortunately means a peacock. The word is Nīlakaṇṭha. Then Pārvatī teases the god and wants to hear one of his kēkas—the special name, in Sanskrit, of the peacock's note—as all Nīlakaṇṭhas sing kēkas. Once more Śiva tells his wife that he is Paśupati which also means a bull.

Pārvatī then wants to see whether her husband has the horns of a bull and for that purpose opens the door. Then says the story that the god and goddess were reconciled, and the poet calls upon Śiva's protection in his half-amorous mood !

In the same strain, but representing the adventures of Kṛishṇa, who was notorious for his adventures with the fair sex, is the following verse—

अंगुल्या कः कवाटं प्रहरति कुटिले माधवः किं वसन्तो
नो चक्री किं कुलालो नहि धरणिधरः किं द्विजिह्वः कपीन्द्रः ।
नाहं घोराहिमर्दी त्वमसि खगपतिर्नो हरिः किं कपीन्द्र
इत्येवं गोपकन्याप्रतिवचनमिदं पातु मां पदमानः ॥

which may be thus rendered :—

The Gōpīs.—"Who is it that strikes (slowly) at the door with his fingers ?

Kṛishṇa or Padmanābha.—Mādhava, you enraged woman.

The Gōpīs.—What ? Is it the god of the spring season ?

Kṛishṇa.—No. I am the Chakrī—the bearer of the discus.

The Gōpīs.—What ? Are you the potter (who bears the wheel) ?

Kṛishṇa.—No. I am the bearer of the earth.

The Gōpīs.—Then are you the double-tongued king of serpents ?

Kṛishṇa.—No. I am rather the killer of the serpent (Kālīya).

The Gōpīs.—Then are you the lord of the birds (Garuḍa) who is the killer of serpents ?

Kṛishṇa.—No. I am Hari.

The Gōpīs.—What ? Are you then the lord of monkeys (Hari) ?

May the god Padmanābha who stood bewildered and unable to reply to the questions of the Gōpīs protect me !"

Here also the names chosen by Padmanābha for revealing himself have all double meanings. Thus, Mādhava means Viṣṇu as well as the spring season, and Chakrī also means the potter. The bearer of the earth is Viṣṇu and also the lord of the serpents Ādiśeṣha; and the Gōpīs whose aim was to worry the god so interpreted his name. Then Kṛishṇa told them that he was the killer of the serpent as it is known that he vanquished Kālīya while yet a boy by jumping into the pool in the Yamunā where that serpent demon dwelt. As Garuḍa kills serpents, the Gōpīs at once asked him if he was that bird. He denied it and said that he was Hari which unfortunately means the lord of monkeys also.

Both the above verses are often quoted in Southern India as examples of puns, though they are not found in any of the set books.

II.—Fate.

The following verses are always quoted by the South-Indian Paṇḍits for the supremacy of देव, fate.

A hen and cock pigeon were once seated on the branch of a tree, when a hunter came to the root of the tree, and bending his bow was just about to aim an arrow at the birds. The hen pigeon saw him and said to her lord by her side that a miserable death awaited them as they were deprived of escape through the air, as just at that time a kite was wheeling over their heads. She had scarcely finished speaking when a serpent started from under the tree and stung the hunter, and he in confusion at the prospect of immediate death missed the pigeons and hit the kite by accident. Thus both the enemies of the pigeons—the hunter below, and the kite above, went together to the world of death. And fate, whose ways are wonderful, preserved the loving pair of pigeons. The following is the verse relating the story in pathetic Sanskrit, though the logic in it may not satisfy the modern students of Bain's "System."

कान्तं ग्राह कपोतिकाऽऽकुलतया नाथान्त्यकालोधुना
व्याधोऽधोभूतचापसंहितधरः दयेनः परिभ्रामति ।
एवं सत्यहिना स वट इषुना दयेनोऽपि तेनाहतः
तूर्णं तौ तु यमालयं प्रति गतौ वैरी विविधा गतिः ॥

"The hen pigeon much bewildered said to her lord—'My lord, now has come our last moment to us. The hunter pulling tight his bow has aimed his arrow at us. Over our head the kite circles in his flight.' Scarcely had she spoken this, when by a serpent he was stung and by his arrow the kite was killed, and both their enemies went at once to the house of death. The ways of the fate are wonderful."

In another verse the difficulties of a doe are enumerated :—

अमे व्याधः करधृतशरः पार्श्वतो जालमाला
पृष्ठे वह्निर्देहति च वनं संनिधौ सारमेयाः ।
एषी गर्गादलसगमना द्वावकः पादलीनः
चिन्ताविष्टा कलयति मृगी किं करोमि कयामि ॥

"In front of her is a hunter with a full-drawn bow in his hand: on both sides of her he has spread his nets so that escape on either side is impossible; to turn back and run away is also impossible, as he has lighted a big fire which is burning the whole forest. The space between the hunter and the nets is guarded by the hounds. With all these external difficulties, the doe is full heavy with young and not at all able to walk quickly, and a young one is running between her feet. In the midst of so many difficulties she is buried in the ocean of anxiety and says to herself 'What shall I do? Where shall I go?'"

While thus surrounded with dangers the following events occurred, or are supposed to have occurred, and made her escape possible :—

मध्ये ज्या जुष्टिता शरासनमभूद्भ्रमं द्वामेर्भयात्
निर्यातदशशकदशानुगमितः पाशश्च दग्धोमिना ।
शान्तो वह्निर्कालमेघसलिलैः सूता मृगी गर्भिणी
वामापत्सरितं ततार कृपया देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः ॥

"The bow-string broke in the middle (from too strong a pull); the bow too was smashed to pieces. From fear of the forest-fire a hare left its bush and ran and was followed furiously by the hounds. The nets were burnt by the fire. All of a sudden an untimely cloud appeared and poured volumes of water upon the fire and quenched the flames, and in that very place after crossing all the channels of difficulty by the favour of the lord of the Lakshmi (Vishnu) the doe was confined and brought to bed of another young one."

Thus if fate only desires it, everything shall take place as it should. In this way many an idler generalizes in remote villages and quotes the three verses given above as his authority for so doing.

III.—On Musk.

The following beautiful verse is current as one addressed by a great Paṇḍit to a rogue :—

कस्तूरिकां वृणुभ्रामदवीचराणां
निक्षिप्य नानिषु चकार वृथा वधारान् ।
मूढो विधिः स खलु दुर्जनलोलजिह्वा
मूलेषु निक्षिपति चेत् सकलोपकारः ॥

"The fool Brahmā by placing musk in the navel of those poor beasts which graze on grass and roam the forests made them (most unreasonably) objects of slaughter; but if, instead of that, he had kept it at the root of the tongues of wicked people it would have been a great help to all."

The author means that wicked men would lose their tongues, and thus their wickedness, and that the rest of the world, would get musk from their tongues instead of from harmless beasts.

IV.—An old man's wife.

The following is a fine (but somewhat tasteless) verse based on the observation that a lamp is useless to the person who holds it while walking :—

करे गृहीतापि पुरे स्थितापि
स्नेहेन सम्यक् परिवर्द्धितापि ।
परोपकाराय भवेद्धि नित्यं
वृद्धस्य भार्या करीषिकेव ॥

"Though held by the hand, though made to be before us, though well kept up by *snéha*, (oil and also affection), like a lamp held in hand which always becomes useful to others, and not to the person who holds it, is the wife of an old man."

The author evidently means a young wife of a very old husband.

V.—On Friendship.

The following is a fine verse on friendship :—

शरुभेदनिपुणोप पंडंभिः
निष्क्रियो भवति पंकजबद्धः
बंधनानि किल सन्ति बहूनि
स्नेहजडुकृतबन्धनमन्यत् ॥

"Though the six-footed (bee) is an expert in boring even trees, it gives up all its powers and becomes actionless when it is enclosed in the lotus. There are several kinds of bonds; but the bondage of friendship is unparalleled."

The bee is supposed to be tied down by the rules of its friendship to the lotus. Hence it does not like to use its tree-boring powers which, if brought into action on the lotus, would destroy the latter in no time.

VI.—The Advaita Philosophy.

The following verse is related in every village as an example of the Advaita Philosophy, and apart from the fact, it stands unparalleled in beauty. It is a conversation between *Sitā* and her faithful friend *Trijaṭā* :—

वस्ताहं सखि भृंगकीटकनयं संवीक्ष्य सीते कथं
श्रीरामार्पितचित्तवृत्तिरघुना रामो भविष्याम्यहम् ।
तत्किं ते प्रमुखा समं नहि रतिस्तादात्म्यसिद्धेः कुतः
सोपि त्वां भवितैव तर्हि युवयोः संसर्गलाभो भवेत् ॥

Sitā observed a wasp bring a worm to its nest in the tree under which she was confined. The bee used to sting the worm during all its leisure hours, but the worm, which was always in dread of the wasp soon turned into a wasp itself. When an animate thing, so low as a worm, by thinking with dread upon an object which it hates, can itself become a wasp, *à fortiori* can men who follow the Advaita philosophy become *Śiva* by thinking upon *Śiva* with an idea of doing a pleasurable duty? This is called *Bhṛīṅgakitakanyāya*. The meaning of the verse is as follows :—

Sitā.—"Well, my friend, after witnessing the evolution of the wasp and worm I fear much.

Trijaṭā.—*Sitā*! What do you fear?

Sitā.—That I who have been thinking of *Rāma* for ever shall now become *Rāma* (by the rules of the above explained evolution).

Trijaṭā.—What of that?

Sitā.—With that lord of my life, I shall lose the pleasures of a wife, as those would become impossible in me after my becoming *Rāma*.

Trijaṭā.—Fear not. He must always be thinking of you and become changed to yourself by the rules. Then there shall still be the happiness to you both of a husband and wife."

Though this is a conversation existing only in the imagination of the poet, it is considered a very fine expression of genuine affection between husband and wife.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society.

(a.) *Meeting of the 24th September (6th October) 1887.*

J. S. Yashtreblov, Consul-General at Salonika, presented the Society with a collection of Old Coins, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Slavonic and Italian.

V. V. Veliaminov-Zernov, in a letter to Baron Rosen, expressed his consent to the publication of the fourth part of the *Essays on the Tears of Kasimovo*.

Vice-Consul Villier-de-Lille Adam presented to the Society a collection of Egyptian Antiquities, bronze and alabaster statuettes, heads in terracotta, &c.

V. A. Zhukovski read a paper on M. Bielozeraki's book *Letters on Persia*, included in the *Collection of Geographical and Topographical Notices of Asia*, and in his careful review of the above-mentioned book shewed the superficial nature of the views of M. Bielozeraki and the levity with which he had addressed himself to the task.

(b.) *Meeting of the 26th October (7th November) 1887.*

S. J. Chakhotin sent some Eastern Coins for inspection, one of which, according to Baron Tiesenhausen, exhibited special interest.

The Fifteenth Volume of the *Transactions of the Eastern Section*, containing the text, translation, notes and preface to the *History of the Mongols*, by Rashidu'ddin, published by I. N. Berezin, will appear as soon as the index which is now in the press is ready.

A letter was received from A. T. Soloviev, with some coins and an impression of a Chughatai Coin of Kazan-Timur, which, in the opinion of Baron Tiesenhausen, is very curious.

V. Villier-de-Lille Adam sent three Egyptian Statuettes as a present to the Society.

A. M. Pozdniev read a paper on *Calmuck Literature*, which is important, although boasting no great antiquity.

(c.) *Meeting of the 13th December 1887.*

V. M. Uspenski sent four coins, one of which is unique according to Baron Tiesenhausen.

N. N. Pantusov sent to the Society six Chinese Proclamations to the inhabitants of the III District in three languages, Chinese, Manchu and Turki, of the years 1880-1881, the time of the transfer of Kulja to China; they contain an

amnesty offered by the Chinese to the inhabitants of that district.

V. V. Radlov read a paper on the *yarliks* of Tuqtamish and Timur-Qutluq (which will be published shortly in the *Transactions*).

S. M. Georgievski communicated extracts from his large work on *Chinese Social Institutions*.

(d.) *Song about Khudvar Khan*.—N. Ostroïmov communicates from Tashkand a song on the Banishment of Khudvar Khan from Fergana. It is said to produce a great effect upon the Mussulmans, who weep upon hearing it sung. The author is unknown. A translation is added. The piece is in the usual Oriental style, full of trite reflexions, e.g., "My life has passed, O God! My actions have been vain." In one verse he is made to say—"I have fallen into Russian nets, and have been shut up in a cage." In a note to the poem Baron Rosen says that he does not think either the text or translation quite accurate, but as the Sart dialect is so little understood, he has only ventured on a few emendations.

(e.) *The Embassy of Spophari*.—This is a translation from the Chinese, giving an account of an embassy sent in the year 1676 by the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich to the Emperor of China. Communicated by A. Ivanovski.

(f.) *Remarks on the kurgāns of Turkistān*, by N. Veselovski.—These are called in Western Turkistān, *kepe*, which means hillock. The word *kurgān*, which was undoubtedly used for such mounds in ancient times, is now preserved only in the names of towns and villages. There are no traditions among the natives that these mounds were heaped up over the graves of their ancestors. The writer did not excavate any of the mounds used as graves, but collected information about them wherever he could. When *kurgāns* of this kind are found alone they are very high, but smaller when they are in groups, and the place is then called by the natives *mintepe*, 'the thousand' hills. The most numerous are situated in the Margelan district of Fergana. In the *mintepes* various articles are found, such as buckles, rings, metal looking-glasses, &c. The fact that *mintepes* are only discovered near the Sirdarya, leads us to conclude that they were raised by nomads. On the other hand, *kurgāns* are sometimes used by stationary populations as fortifications, but by the nomads they are never employed as such. A fort of this kind is Toi-tepe (situated 35 versts from Tashkand, on the way to Khojand). Some *kurgāns* stand quite alone and have no towns near them, as Chorlok-tepe, forty versts to the north of Tashkand. It

is a lofty cone-shaped hillock. Between seven and eight years ago a great hoard of silver coins of the *Timaris* was found here and three golden earrings. Here the writer conducted excavations with the following results:—On the northern side there was a clay wall and some cylinder-shaped wells, and unmistakable signs of a dwelling. Among other things were found a little earthen pitcher, some trinkets, a piece of glass, two iron knives, one of which was curved like a sickle, a stand made of stone with three legs, a little brass lamp (*chirāgh*), a brass coin of the so-called Bukhar-Khudats, a large earthen pot, within which were three stones for grinding by hand, many pieces of earthen vessels, ashes, stones, &c.

The Academician Müllendorf, in his *Sketches of the Valley of Fergana* does not regard the *kurgāns* of Central Asia as artificial, but holds that the people merely made use of the natural ones which they found. With this opinion the writer does not agree. He thinks the forts among the Turkmāns the work of an earlier settled population. There is a very interesting *kurgān* in the Khanate of Bukharā, between the Kishlak Shīrin-Khātun and the town of Ziā'uddīn (the old Debusia). The writer had not heard of *kurgāns* being excavated by natives, but still they are constantly being destroyed. The natives use some of the earth in them as manure. Pieces of land in which *kurgāns* are found are therefore valued more than others, and, in consequence, many of them have lost their original forms and threaten to disappear. It is from earth being taken in this way that objects are found. Colonel Voitzekovich gave the writer some which had been found by a Sart in his field.

The article concludes with a list of *kurgāns* in Turkistān, which the writer recommends to the investigation of antiquaries.

(g) *Georgian Inscriptions found in Russia*, by A. Tsagarelli.—Many Georgian Inscriptions and other antiquities have been found in the interior of Russia. The relations between Russia and Georgia date from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Embassies coming from Georgia to Moscow brought presents for the Tsars and Patriarchs, such as embroidery, robes for priests, icons, church furniture, books with miniatures, &c. In the same way Russian embassies going to Georgia received similar presents or bought things in the country. In the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries came many emigrants, *tsars* and their wives, with large suites, and priests. Two emigrations are especially noteworthy. In 1725 arrived the Georgian Tsar Vakhtang VI. with all

his family and about 1500 persons, and another extensive emigration in 1802-1815. It is in this way that the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Arts acquired its rich collection of manuscripts. Many valuable articles are scattered about in the different governments. Thus Stroyev found in the year 1829 at Vologda, a splendid copy of the *Nomocanon of the Sixth Ecumenical Council*, perhaps the autograph of the translator himself, Euthymius, of Athos, a Georgian, who died in 1028. So also the *palitsa* of Tula and the cope of Kiev. Brosset published many of the inscriptions in 1839; see *Inscriptions tumulaires Georgiennes de Moscou et St. Petersbourg, expliquées par M. Brosset*. Some of the inscriptions are translated in the paper, and it is hoped that some more will be found.

(1.) *Inscription on a Priest's Cope at Kiev*.—

"O Mother of God, Virgin Mary, protectress not only of Moscow, the country of the North, but also protectress of the whole world, defender of all those who worship thy Son as God, be not ashamed of us at the day of judgment, thy servants, the Tsar Archil and Tsaritsa Ketevan and our children." Archil was born in 1647 and married in 1667 the sister of Heraclius I. He came to Russia in 1690 and died at Moscow in 1712. He was a considerable author in Georgian. He prepared the Georgian Bible for the press which was published after his death at Moscow in 1743.

(2.) *Inscription on an icon*.—"Thou defender of all sinners, Most Holy Mother of God, of Kazan, be merciful and spare from all sickness and affliction him who devotedly adorns thee, Alexander, the son of the Tsar."

There were several sons of Georgian Tsars bearing the name Alexander, and living in Russia in the XVIII. and XIX. centuries, and as there is no date it is difficult to say who this 'adorned' of the Kazan icon was.

(3.) *Georgian inscription on two guns*, one large, the other small, preserved in the Museum of the Admiralty at St. Petersburg. They are in civil characters without any abbreviations, and there is a date on the largest gun:—"Eristavi Rostom, 1756." How these guns got into their present place is unknown. Perhaps they were brought here from Kutais after Imeretia had been united with Russia in the year 1810; perhaps they came to Kutais as trophies of victory after the defeat inflicted by Solomon Tsar of Imeretia on his powerful vassal Rostom Eristavi, who had declared war against him in 1767-1768. The Tsar Solomon, having defeated Rostom,

² [The inscription is given both in the ecclesiastical and civil alphabets.]

imprisoned him and had his eyes put out. Perhaps at that time Solomon brought these guns among other things to Kutais. In Russia in the eighteenth century, there were emigrants of the family of the prince Eristavi.

(4.) "We, the Tsar George and Taaritsa Tamara, have ordered this *palitsa* to be embroidered so that our souls may be remembered. Amen." This is embroidered in silk on a *palitsa* (part of the dress of the upper clergy) now at Tula. There is also a verse of the 44th psalm in Greek. In Georgia there were several couples having the names George and Tamara. Thus a George and Tamara ruled about 1187 to 1190. There was also the Tsar George X. and his wife, according to some Mariama, according to others Tamara. A letter of this Tsar has been preserved addressed to Boris Godunov. There was besides the Tsar George XI. who ruled from 1675 to 1688, and again from 1691-1695, and was married to Tamara. The latter Tsar did not have any close relations with Russia. The *palitsa* hardly belongs to the twelfth century, although, from lack of date, it is difficult to say when it was brought into that country.

(h) *Buddhist Prayers*, translated by I. Minayev. A panegyric of Harshadēva. Nothing is known of the author. Tārānātha mentions a king of Kāśmīr named Harshadēva.¹

(i) *A List of the Persian Turko-Tārtār and Arabic MSS. of the Library of the University of St. Petersburg*, by K. Saleman. The titles are given first in Russian and afterwards in the original languages.

(j) *Miscellaneous Notes*.

(1) *Interpretation of a Saying in a Satire by Firdūsī*, by V. Zhukovski. The satire is against Maḥmūd Ghaznavi. This is the line, which may be literally translated as follows:—

"The hand (properly palm) of Shāh Maḥmūd of exalted origin is 9×9 and 3×4 ."

Mohl thinks that it is an allusion to a game and translates:—"La générosité du roi Mahmoud, de si illustre origine, est rien et moins que rien." He afterwards corrected the last part as follows:—"n'est rien ou plus de chose." This correction was introduced by Mohl in consequence of an explanation communicated to him by Kasimirski at Tehrān from a certain Mulla Muḥammad 'Alī, who explained Firdūsī's 9×9 and 3×4 in connection with an ingenious trick of counting on the fingers *حساب العقد*. Mohl was followed by Stanislas Guyard (*Chapitre de la préface du Farhangī Djeḥangīrī sur la dactylonomie*). He differs in some points from Mohl, but they

both agree in thinking that it has to do with laying the fingers in the hand and counting by them and was a way of referring to the extreme stinginess of Maḥmūd of Ghazni, as the satire is well known to have been written by Firdūsī because Maḥmūd had not paid him the promised money for the *Shāh Nāma*. V. Zhukovski adds two further interpretations heard in Persia—the first from one who knew the whole work by heart. He did not think there was any allusion to counting on the fingers. The line made sense if the numerals of the hemistich were changed into the corresponding letters in the *abjad*, or alphabet, arranged in numerical order thus:—

$$93 = (4 \times 3) + (9 \times 9) \quad 93 = (4 + 2 + 6) + (40 + 10 + 1 + 30)$$

The second computation may thus be arranged according to the *abjad*, (د + پ + و) + (ی + ا + ل) i.e. *للیم وید*. He then translates, 'The hand of the Shāh Maḥmūd of lofty lineage is very avaricious and foul.'

The second interpretation belongs to a scholar of Isfahān. It proposes a different reading in the verse itself (شش اندر چهار), and explains that by the laying

of the fingers on the hand as expressed by the figures 9×9 and 3×4 the hand takes the form of a closed fist. The reason why Firdūsī expresses the avarice of Maḥmūd by a closed fist is to be found in the well-known story of a certain *dureśh*, who came to Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The latter put his hand in his pocket, but drew out a closed fist and placed it in the *dureśh*'s hands, pretending to give him something. M. Zhukovski adds that this explanation seems somewhat far-fetched.

(2) *The so-called Khān Çuci or Zuci*, by V. Tiesenhausen.—In the well-known work of Heyd on the trade between Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages, in the chapter on the mercantile affairs of the Venetians and Genoese in Persia (11, 123), from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the fourteenth century, mention is made of a 'privilege' which is only preserved in a Latin translation. This was given in the year of the serpent (according to the Tātār manner of computation), or the year 1305 of the Christian era, by the then Tātār 'Sultān' to the Venetians, and begins with the words: *Verbum Çuci* (or according to another reading *Zuci*) *Soldani duci Venetiarum*. Heyd is right in thinking that the 'privilege' was given by the Khān Uljait, but is wrong in taking *Zuci* for a person's name; it is

¹ [Here follows the translation and after it the original hymn.]

only a transcription of the Turkish word *سوزي* which means 'his word' or 'his decree,' and was the customary word at the commencement of documents issued by the Mongolian Khāns.

(3.) *Coins belonging to S. I. Chakhotin (continued).*—The only one of these coins, in the writer's opinion, hitherto unclassified, is a silver coin of the Turkish Sultān Murād IV. (1032-1049), the son of Ahmad, struck at Damascus, and remarkable for the fact that on it we meet for the first time with the Musalmān ejaculation 'May his shadow be lengthened!' Also a copper, and as it appears, unclassified Saljūq coin of Sultān Kai-khusrav I., son of Khilij-Arsalān (588-607), with the representation of horseman on one side.²

(4.) *Maimatal*, by D. Kobeko.—Among the documents of the diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Crimean Horde are the instructions given by the Grand Duke Ivan III. to the Bayar Semen Borisovich, sent by him in the year 1486 to the Khān of the Crimea, Mengli-girei. The Khān in his answer uses the word *maitamal*, which appears to mean public chest or treasury, but is employed in no other documents relating to Russian dealings with the East.³ The Khān has taken for his treasury the goods of a Russian who died in the Crimea. This custom prevailed with the Turks till the commercial treaty with Russia in 1783.⁴

(5.) *Story of Khilāl-as-Sābi concerning the taking of Bukhārā by Bogra-Khān*, by Baron Rosen.—All investigators of the history of Central Asia regret the meagreness of information about the Turki Dynasty which reigned over Māwarū'n-Nahr in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries of the *hijra* and took the place of the Sāmānīs. The writer wishes to point out a useful source of information in the chronicle of Khilāl-as-Sābi, which serves as the continuation of another chronicle by Sābit ibn Sinān, uncle of Khilāl. The history of Khilāl includes the years of the *hijra* 363-447 (973-1055). The opinions of Musalmān authors on the value of the works of Khilāl and his uncle are given by Chwolson in *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Pet. 1856. Lately Baron Kremer has succeeded in finding the work of Khilāl in the Ducal Library at Gotha. Besides this newly-discovered production of Khilāl, we have also a fragment of his chronicle, including the history of three years, i.e. 390-392 years of the *hijra* (= 1000-1002). It is preserved in the British Museum (*Cod. Add. 19, 360*). This manuscript the writer saw in 1879, and made

extracts from it relating to the taking of Bukhārā by the troops of Bogra Khān. Khilāl employs the account of a contemporary merchant, Abū'l-Hussain ibn Ilyās. The narrative of the merchant is extremely curious, because it shews us the great influence which the Musalmān holy men, now called *ishān*, had at that time on the bulk of the population.

(6.) *Pāṇini I. 4. 79.*—In his remarks on this *sūtra* Bōthlingk (*Pāṇini's Grammatik*) refers to Vajrachchhēdika (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, I. 35, 10, 42, 7), and on page 477 says: Dr. H. Wenzel macht mich darauf aufmerksam, dass उपनिषद् an den angegebenen Stellen im Tibetischen durch Ursache weitergegeben wird. Both expressions quoted in *Mahāvajratpattā*, 223, 15, and in the Tibetan text, are translated by the word 'cause.' The Pāli *upaniṣa*, with which may be compared उपनिषा (*Sukhadvēyāha*, 31, 9) has the same meaning, viz., cause.

(7.) *Chandragomin*, by I. Minayev. Among the authors cited in the *Subhāshitāvalī* (edited by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1886), is found Chandragōpin. The editor of this remarkable anthology (on p. 36 of the preface) makes the following suggestion:—"May be the Chandragōmin to whom the Chandra Grammar is ascribed." The first part of the suggestion seems to me utterly improbable. The part of the verses ascribed to Chandragōpin are taken from *Sishyatēkha*, the work of Chandragōmin.

The writer then cites the verses under No. 3384, and also says that those under No. 3448 are taken from the *Sishyatēkha*. He does not quote them in full, because he hopes in a short time to publish the entire work of Chandragōmin. Chandragōmin, as is well known, was one of the celebrated Buddhist teachers. Tāranātha often makes mention of him.

(8.) *On the name 'Balavari,' by Baron Rosen.*—In the review of the book by Zotenberg, *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph* the writer expressed the supposition that in the name (of the book) Balavari, translated by Saint Euthymius from Georgian into Greek, was concealed the same Indian name or word which in the form *b-l-r-h-r* بلور stands in the place of the name Varlaam in the Musalmān version of the romance. The name Balavari, and all the information about the translation of the book of that name, the writer took from Professor Tsagarelli's work on *The Documents of Georgian Literature*, Part I. St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 53-54, who in his turn copied

² See Lane-Poole, Catal. III. No. 102.

³ Here Baron Rosen appends a note that it is the word

baityalorbaityu'l-māl, a term always used among Musalmāns for treasury.

⁴ It is like the French *droit d'aubaine*.

it from the life of SS. John and Euthymius, preserved in a manuscript of the year 1074. Of this ancient manuscript, as Professor Tsagarelli says, two copies exist. On referring to these copies the Professor finds that the form Balavari is incorrect; in one of the copies before *v* stands *h*, in another *gh*, and so we must read the name Balahvari, or Balaghvari. The word *balavari* signifies 'foundation,' which agrees with what the writer previously supposed. He concludes with a hope that the Greek original will be found, and thus it will be seen how far the life has been paraphrased by the Georgian translator.

(i) *Criticisms and Bibliography.*

(1). *A Description of the Territory of Sir-daryo, compiled from official documents by E. Smirnov, St. Petersburg, 1887.*—The district contains about 1,200,000 inhabitants. The book is very useful and will do something to dispel the illusions prevalent about the richness of the country (which has already cost the Imperial treasury a great deal), especially Chapter VII. on the industries of the territory. The cotton and silk industries are languishing. Chapter III. is weak where the author discusses the population, because he goes too much into history, about which he knows but little. The work concludes with sixteen statistical tables of very various character. It is to be hoped that other districts will be described, those of Fergana and Zaravshan (if possible—without any history).

(2). *The Travels of the Shâh Nasru'ddîn in Mazanderân. (Diary kept by his Highness.) Translated from the Persian by E. Koriander, Mining Engineer.*—The Journals of the Shâh Nasru'ddîn, compiled by himself at the time of his travels in Persia (in Mazanderân, Kərbela and Khurāsân), in spite of occasional monotony and dryness in style, possess considerable interest in many particulars. The Shâh is full of curiosity, and introduces ethnographical, social and archaeological observations, but the chief interest of the book is geographical and topographical. The Shâh often visits the most out-of-the-way places, and so whoever undertakes to translate his diary ought to give the geographical names very accurately (an alphabetical list of them would not be without its use), but M. Koriander gives neither. He has done his work very carelessly, suppressing some things, adding others, and confusing the narrative. The book is of little value. The original appeared at Teherân in 1294 A. H.

(3). *Contemporary Persia.*²—A good book and well translated.

(4). *M. Mashanov. A Sketch of Arab Life in*

the time of Muhammad, as an introduction to the Study of Islâm. Part I. Sketch of the Religious Life of the Heathen Arabs at the time of Muhammad. (Missionary Miscellany against Musalman doctrines Part XVII.)—A Review by V. R[osen], consisting of many pages, in the main unfavourable. The reviewer recognises in the author laboriousness and a good knowledge of Arabic, but inasmuch as he confesses that he had not the opportunity of consulting some of the most important Arabic works, does not think that he ought to have undertaken to write the book. The only course open for the real student of history of whatever country he treats is the careful study of the original authorities. The reviewer then recapitulates some of the early authorities on Arabian history, but we must not copy their mistakes, eminent though they were. Oriental history and philology have latterly made great strides. The reviewer gives three requirements which are fundamental in the case of every one who treats of Oriental history.

(i) The writer must have recourse to the most important authorities which have been published.

(ii) A criticism of the authorities, as careful and many-sided as possible, and, as a natural result, a correct estimation of the importance and meaning of each separate fact.

(iii) As much accuracy as possible in details.

But M. Moshanov fails in these. His authorities are at secondhand; he knows nothing of the great advances in Arabic epigraphy. He shews no critical use of authorities, and his details are inaccurate, being from translations, &c. An example is given in his treatment of Al-Uzza, an ancient Arabian deity mentioned in the *Qurân*. The work has no scientific value, but the reviewer hopes for something better from the author on account of his knowledge of Arabic and his enthusiasm in the study.

(5). *Dictionnaire des noms propres palmyréniens, par E. Ledrain.*—The object of the work is to collect into a *corpus* the proper names, scattered over collections of every kind, learned travels and monographs which are found in Palmyrean Inscriptions, and in this way to furnish as complete material as possible for the future investigator of Palmyrean onomatology. The author makes no comments on the names, which are more than four hundred in number, and are transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet. Of the names introduced by M. Ledrain a large number do not belong to the dialect spoken at Palmyra. Owing to the city being on one of the highways of commerce, there lived there a multitude of strangers

² A translation of the work by Dr. Wills.

and especially Greeks, Romans, Persians, Parthians and other Aryans. There are 14 Greek proper names in this list, the orthography of which is very capricious. The same remark applies to the Latin. Many valuable hints are given on pronunciation of these transcriptions. With the exception of Parthian and Persian all the other names are of Semitic origin and are mythological, personal, and geographical. Some of the former show the existence of deities of the Semitic pantheon not otherwise known. Many of the theophoric personal names are compounded of Baal with some other word—thus Yari-bel. The book is a very valuable one.

(6). *Palmyra sive Tadmur urbis fata quæ fuerint tempore Muslimico. Scripsit H. Grimme. Monasterii Guestfalonum 1886.* The History of Palmyra has been often specially treated, but only in its more ancient and glorious period and not after 273 A.D., when Aurelian took the city and united it with the Roman Empire. M. Grimme discusses its history from the time of the conquest of Aurelian till the time when it falls out of mention in history. The work is in five chapters. In the first the author gives a sketch of the history of Palmyra in 273 till its subjugation by the Arabs in 634 in the time of the Khalifa Abû Bakr. The chief authorities here are the Byzantine historians. As far as can be gathered Palmyra at that time took no part in the political events which frequently shook the very foundations of the Byzantine Empire in the time of Justinian and other monarchs. That Emperor paid particular attention to Palmyra, then almost in ruins, and ordered that it should be rebuilt and surrounded with walls, spending for this purpose, according to the testimony of Theophanes and Malala, large sums of money. After the loss of its commercial prosperity Palmyra acquired strategical importance, and when during the sway of the Arabs it was filled with a large population professing Islâm, it played an important part in the quarrels of the Umayyids and the 'Abbâsids. On the taking of the town by Mervan II., its walls were demolished, and as they were never rebuilt it lost its strategical importance, and sank to the dimensions of a small provincial town but rarely afterwards mentioned by historians. M. Grimme brings his history of Palmyra down to the year 1401, namely to the conquests of Timûr in the East, when Tadmor is again mentioned by the Arabian historians, and with this the second chapter of the work concludes.

The third chapter is occupied with a discussion of the information given about Palmyra by the Arabian Geographers. The ruins in their time were much more exten-

sive. Yakût tells us that among them were found a group representing two women embracing, which served as a subject for some verses of the Arabian poets: this has completely disappeared. In the same writer we meet with an account of the grave of a woman, made of gypsum, found in the time of Mervan II., which contained an embalmed body, covered with various ornaments, &c.

The author devotes the fourth chapter to the discussion of the caravan-routes, leading from various places to Palmyra mentioned by the Arabian Geographers, and finally in the fifth chapter considers the legendary stories of the Arabs about the fate of Palmyra, which all treat of two important epochs in its history,—its foundation by Solomon and destruction in the time of Zenobia or Az-Zabba. It is remarkable that the personality of Aurelian is completely ignored in these traditions and he is changed by the Arabian historians into a certain Amir, Emperor of Hiza, and even the legend about the ruin of Zenobia has nothing in common with the historical narrative.

(7) *James Legge. A record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-Hian of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414), in search of the Buddhist books of Discipline. Translated and annotated with a Korean recension of the Chinese text. Oxford, 1886.* The review does not deal with the translation from the Chinese, but is rather a general discussion on Fâ-Hian's travels. Two questions are treated: (1) Where did Fâ-Hian go? (2) What sort of Buddhism did he see? The work of Fâ-Hian is of a naive character, and the sole object of the pilgrim is religious. He occupies himself with no matters concerning the people he visited:—it was only to see the Buddhist temples and sacred things. The sketch of the life of Fâ-Hian given in the article is mainly taken from Dr. Legge's book, as also is the scope of his travels.

(8) *Chanakya Récension de cinq recueils de maximes morales (Chanakya) Nitisataka, (Chanakya) Nitisâstra, Laghu-Chanakya Râjantîsâstra, Vridhha Chanakya Rajantîsâstra, Chanakya alôka, par Eugene Monseur, Paris, 1887.* The careful study of the whole series of manuscripts of the celebrated collection of ethical sayings, made by M. Monseur, appears an excellent addition to the *Indische Sprüche* of Bôthlingk. The author divides the manuscripts known to him into five recensions, and their number is continually being increased. Chanakya was a favourite book for elementary instruction, and the texts passing through so many hands became corrupted. In the preface the character of the

collection is discussed, and the manuscripts of which the author has made use. The text of the *Sayings* gives 218 new ones, which are not in Böhlingk. The reviewer calls attention to a small collection of sayings, the manuscript of which is in Paris⁶ *Vidura-nīti-sāra*; foll. 9, l. 8. The collection is divided into 8 *adhyāya* in 70 *śloka*s (22, 13, 11, 6, 7, 23); many of them have not yet been published, as far as could be ascertained by a hasty inspection.

(9) *Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de Monsieur Marie-Félicité Brosset, Membre de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de S. Pétersbourg, 1824-1879. S. Pétersbourg, 1887.* The study of the Georgian language may be said to have been founded by M. Brosset. His writings are so numerous and scattered over so many publications that it would be impossible to realise their bulk unless we had a list. The work is by his son, L. M. Brosset, who has given every production of his father. The great scholar was adopted by Russia, and devoted himself to her.

(10) *Orientalische Bibliographie. Unter Mitwirkung der H. H. Prof. Dr. A. Beissenberger, Prof. Dr. H. L. Strack, Dr. Joh. Müller, &c., herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. A. Müller. Bd. I, Erstes Heft, Berlin, 1887.* The reviewer gives the new work a hearty greeting.

W. R. MORFILL.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 22.

In the *Āntrōli-Chhārōli* copper-plate grant of a *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Kakka*¹ of *Gujarāt*, from the *Surat District*, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 105 ff., it is recorded that he made a grant of the village of *Sthāvarapallikā* — (line 29) *vishvasamkrāntau*, — “at the *samkrānti* of the equinox.” And at the end we have the date (from the published lithograph; line 36 f.) — *Śakā-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-śata-shaṭkē ēk-ōṇ-āṣṭy-adhikē Āsvayuja-śuddh-ākatē=pi* (read *śud-*

dhē=ākatē=pi) *saṁ* 600 70 9 *tithi*² 7, — “in six centuries, increased by eighty less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; in the bright fortnight of (the month) *Āsvayuja*; or, in figures, the year 600 (and) 70 (and) 9, the *tithi* 7.”

This last record might perhaps be taken as referring only to the immediately following words with which the charter ends, — “and (this charter), which has the *Rāja Ādityavarman* as its *Dātaka*, has been written by me, the illustrious *Bhōḍalla*, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* the illustrious *Tatta*.” The mention, however, of the month *Āsvayuja* suffices to shew that the equinox mentioned in line 29 is the autumnal equinox, which must occur during the lunar month *Āsvayuja*, and is to be taken as represented by the *Tulā-Samkrānti* or entrance of the sun into *Libra*. And the result will shew that this record gives the day on which, in celebration of the *samkrānti*, the grant was made; whether we are also to understand that the charter was actually written on the same day, or not.

As in some previous instances, whether the given Śaka year 679 is literally indicated as current, or as expired, is not quite certain.³ But a satisfactory result is obtained only by taking it as an expired year.

Thus, in *Śaka-Samvat* 679 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables,⁴ the given *tithi*, *Āsvayuja śukla* 7, ended on Sunday, 5th September, A.D. 756, at about 49 *ghaṭis*, 37 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay):⁵ eighteen days before the *Tulā-Samkrānti*, which did not occur till Thursday, 23rd September, at about 32 *gh.* 28 *p.*

But, in *Śaka-Samvat* 680 current (679 expired), the *Tulā-Samkrānti* occurred on Friday, 23rd September, A.D. 757, at about 48 *gh.*, or 1.12 A.M. in the night between the

⁶ *Bibliothèque Nationale, D. 240.*

¹ The exact position of this *Kakka* in the *Rāshtrakūṭa* genealogy has not yet been determined; and consequently he cannot be distinguished by a dynastic number from other kings of the same name.

² Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī seems to have been at first rather in doubt as to whether the number of the given *tithi* was 7 or 9; and, in fact, in col. 4 of his Table (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44) the numerical symbol that is used here has been given as representing 9. But, as pointed out by him in editing the inscription, a distinctly different symbol for 9 is used in the number of the year. And, coupled with this, the coincidence of the ending of the seventh *tithi* on the proper day for the ceremonies of the *samkrānti*, shews that he was certainly right in finally deciding to interpret the symbol as 7 here.

³ See my remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f., on the use of *ātita* in the compound which gives the number of the century.

⁴ With the modified Table for the *abdsaps*, &c., given *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 263 f., which will be followed for the future.

⁵ The times are for Bombay all through. The exact place for which they should be reduced is not certain; as the camp at which the king was, when he made the grant, is not given in the record. But *Sthāvarapallikā* seems to be evidently the modern *Chhārōli* itself, as suggested by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī. And, for any place in *Gujarāt*, the times would differ only by a few *palas* from the times for Bombay; without any difference in the resulting days.

Friday and the Saturday. This actual moment would be coupled with the *tithi* śukla 6, which ended on the Friday, at about 59 *gh.* 37 *p.* But, owing to the late hour at which it occurred, any rites and ceremonies connected with the *saṁkrānti* would be performed on the next day; and the *tithi* ending on that day would be coupled with them. And the given *tithi*, Āsvayuja śukla 7, did end on the next day, Saturday, 24th September, at about 53 *gh.* 54 *p.* This, therefore, is evidently the English equivalent of the given date.

This date is of interest, in giving, as far as I can find, the earliest reliable instance of the use of the Saka era in Gujarāt, in a date that affords details for calculation.*

No. 23.

In the Bagumrā copper-plate grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dhāravarsha-Dhruvarāja III. of Gujarāt, from the Nausārī District in the Baroda State, published by Dr. Bühler and Dr. Hultsch in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 179 ff., the date (from the published text; Plate ii. b. line 16 f.) is—Śaka-*nṛpa-kāl-ātita-saṁvatsara-satēsha saptasu ēk-ōna-navaty-adhikēshv-aṅkataḥ* 789 *Jyēshth-āmāvāsyāyām āditya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi*, —“in seven centuries, increased by ninety less by one, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; (or) in figures, 789 (years); on the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) *Jyēshthā*; at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun.” And the charter records the grant of a village by Dhruvarāja III., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadā at the Mūlāsthāna-tīrtha at Bhṛigukachohha or Broach.

Here a satisfactory result is obtained, whether the given Śaka year 789 is taken as current or as expired. Thus, in *Saka-Saṁvat* 789 current, the *pūrṇimānta* *Jyēshthā* *krishṇa* 15 ended at about 2 *ghaṭis*, 2 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 18th May, A.D. 866; on which date there was no eclipse of the sun. But the *amānta* *Jyēshthā* *krishṇa* 15 ended on Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866, at about 20 *gh.* 18 *p.*; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,[†] visible in India.

Again, in *Saka-Saṁvat* 790 current (789 expired), the *pūrṇimānta* *Jyēshthā* *krishṇa* 15 ended at about 46 *gh.* 28 *p.* on Wednesday, 7th May, A.D. 867; on which date there was no solar eclipse. But the *amānta* *Jyēshthā* *krishṇa* 15 ended on Friday, 8th June, A.D. 867, at about 2 *gh.* 48 *p.*; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, which was perhaps visible in the most northern parts of India.

This last result, obtained by applying the given Śaka year as an expired year, is the one that was given, on the authority of Prof. Jacobi and Dr. Burgess, by the editors of the inscription. And, on the analogy of the results for No. 22 above, it is in all probability the correct one. But the point to which attention is to be paid, is, that, whichever of these two eclipses is selected, this record proves that, by A.D. 866 or 867, the *amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had been applied to the years of the Śaka era in Gujarāt.

J. F. FLEET.

THE DATES OF THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ.

In the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. pp. 106-123, Dr. Führer has published, with photolithographs, three new copper-plate grants of Govindachandradēva of Kanauj. That Dr. Führer has adopted, without a word of acknowledgment, my translations of the grants of Jayachandra, published *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 6-13, as well as certain suggestions and conjectures of mine, is a matter which concerns only himself. Of more general interest are the dates of these grants.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. I. “was made on Monday, the full-moon day of the month *Mārgaśīrsha*, in the (Vikrama) year 1180, answering it appears to Monday, the 21st November, 1123 A.D.”—In reality, (1) the 21st November, A.D. 1123, was a Wednesday; (2) in A.D. 1123, the full-moon day of *Mārgaśīrsha* was Tuesday, 4th December; (3) Dr. Führer’s photolithograph, if it is worth anything, shows that the grant was made in 1187, not in 1180; and (4) Dr. Führer takes no notice whatever of the *saṁkrānti*, mentioned apparently in connection with the date.

* See a separate note on the spurious Gurjara grants of the Śaka years 400, 415, and 417.

† Von Oppolzer’s *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 198,

199, and Plate 99.—This eclipse is also mentioned in the *Śirār* record, see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142.

According to Dr. Führer, the grant No. II. "is dated Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1181, answering it appears to Thursday, the 9th September 1124 A.D."—Here again, (1) the 9th September, A.D. 1124, was a Tuesday; and (2) in A.D. 1124, the 4th of the bright half of Bhādrapada 'apparently' corresponds to Friday, 15th August.

And, according to Dr. Führer, the grant No. III. "is dated Friday, the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1185, answering it appears to Friday, the 20th March 1128 A.D."—And here again, (1) the 20th March, A.D. 1128, was a Tuesday; (2) in A.D. 1128, the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra was Sunday, 18th March; and (3) Dr. Führer has made no reference to the term *manuddau*, mentioned apparently in connection with the date; a term which, indeed, Dr. Führer takes to denote "the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight."

Each of the three dates does present certain difficulties, which, using only the photolithographs for which we are indebted to Dr. Führer, I shall try to point out in the following remarks:—

No. I.

The date is contained in the following passage:—

(L. 18.) samvat 1187 Mārgga su di
(L. 19.) paurṇmī(rṇṇa)māsyām tithau Sōma-
dinē || ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyā[in*] sam-
krāntau

What first strikes us here, is that the term *su di* is followed by the expression *paurṇamīdayāṁ tithau*, 'on the full-moon tithi,' an expression ordinarily made use of when a date is given in words, while, when the date is given in figures, *su di* is employed, followed by a numeral for the day, which, in the present case, might have been expected to be 15. Of this exceptional usage I shall treat on a future occasion. As regards the present inscription, there can be no doubt that the meaning intended to be conveyed is, that the grant was made 'in the year 1187, on the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Mārgaśīrsha, on a Monday.' On this day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having, we are told, bathed in the Ganges 'on the occasion of a *samkrānti*, or entrance of the sun into a sign of the zodiac.' Since, under ordinary circumstances, the *samkrānti* here spoken of should coincide with the date mentioned before, we obtain for calculation:—the year 1187 of an unspecified era, the full-moon tithi or 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha, being a Monday and also the day of a *samkrānti* (or,

possibly, the day immediately following or preceding a *samkrānti*).

Taking, as for reasons which need not be mentioned here we must do, 1187 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha would be:—

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, current,—

Wednesday, 27th November, A. D. 1129,
when there was full-moon about 16 h.
after mean sunrise; and

for the (northern or southern) year 1187, expired,—

Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130,
when there was full-moon about 1 h.
25 m. after mean sunrise.

The second of these two dates does furnish the week-day required, but on neither date was there a *samkrānti*; for the nearest *samkrānti* took place—

in A. D. 1129, on Monday, 25th November,
which was the 13th of the bright half of
Mārgaśīrsha; and

in A. D. 1130, on Tuesday, 25th November,
which was the 8th of the dark half of a
month; while the preceding *samkrānti* had
taken place on Monday, 27th October,
which was the 9th of the dark half of a
month.

Unless there be some rule concerning *samkrāntis* which is unknown to me, there appears therefore to be some error in the recorded details of the date; and the possibilities seem to me, either that the grant was made on a Monday, the day of a *samkrānti*, the 13th (not the 15th) lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 25th November, A. D. 1129; or, that the word *samkrāntau* has been wrongly inserted in the grant,—in which case the true date would be Monday, 17th November, A. D. 1130. In the former case the figures 1187 would denote the current year; in the latter, the year expired. In my opinion the probabilities are that the full-moon tithi is rightly quoted in the grant, and that the true date therefore is Monday, 17th November, A.D. 1130; and I may point to the grant of Chandradēva and Madanapāladēva of the year 1154, as a clear instance in which (similarly to what I suppose to have been done in the present grant) an *uttarāyana-samkrānti* has been wrongly quoted, coupled as it is with the 3rd day of the bright half of Māgha, a day on which the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* can never take place.

I may add that of all the years from Vikrama 1180, current, up to Vikrama 1190, expired, the

full-moon day of Mārgaśīrsha was a Monday, only in Vikrama 1187, expired; for that day was equivalent,—

in V. 1180, current, to Wednesday, 15 Nov., A.D. 1122;
 " 1181, " " Tuesday, 4 Dec., A.D. 1123;
 " 1182, " " Sunday, 23 Nov., A.D. 1124;
 " 1183, " " Thursday, 12 Nov., A.D. 1125;
 " 1184, " " Wednesday, 1 Dec., A.D. 1126;
 " 1185, " " Sunday, 20 Nov., A.D. 1127;
 " 1186, " " Saturday, 8 Dec., A.D. 1128;
 " 1187, " " Wednesday, 27 Nov., A.D. 1129;
 " 1188, " " Monday, 17 Nov., A.D. 1130;
 " 1189, " " Sunday, 6 Dec., A.D. 1131;
 " 1190, " " Thursday, 24 Nov., A.D. 1132;
 " 1191, " " Tuesday, 14 Nov., A.D. 1133.

And in all the years enumerated there was a *saṁkrānti* on 25th November, which was a Monday only in A.D. 1129.

No. II.

The date is given as follows:—

(L. 16.) *saṁvat 1181 Bhādrapada su di [4?] Gurau.*

In the photolithograph, the figure following upon *su di* looks as if, in the original grant, a 3 had been altered into 4, or a 4 into 3; and all that can be said with certainty, is that the grant was made on a Thursday, which was either the 3rd or 4th day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada, of the year 1181; on the occasion, as we are told in line 21, of making the great gift of the *pañcha-lāṅgala*¹ or 'five ploughs.'

Referring the date, again, to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for the 3rd and 4th days of the bright half of Bhādrapada would be:—

for the northern year 1181, current,—

Sunday, 26th August, } A.D. 1123;
 and Monday, 27th August, }

for the northern year 1181, expired, or the southern year current,—

Thursday, 14th August, } A.D. 1124;
 and Friday, 15th August, }

and for the southern year 1181, expired,—

Monday, 3rd August, } A.D. 1125.
 and Tuesday, 4th August, }

Of these, Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, which was the 3rd of the bright half of Bhādrapada, would exactly suit us, if we could be quite sure that the figure following upon the term *su di* of the inscription were 3; but that figure may be 4, and it must be borne in mind that the

¹ On this gift see, e.g., Hēmadri's *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 287.—The published grant has *pañcāṅgala-mahādāna* "at the occasion of giving the valuable present of a plough to the highest (i.e. Brāhmana)," which is of course a mistake. Another more serious error which the editor has fallen into is that, according to him, the grant was made by the king Gōvinda-chandra "with the consent of the illustrious rājās, feudatory princes (*sāmānta*), and the great lady,

Bhādrapada-śukla-tṛtīyā is one of the *maneddi-tithis*, being the anniversary of the fourth Manu Tāmasa, and that this would probably have been stated in the inscription (as it has actually been stated in No. III.), if the grant had been really made on the 3rd.—At the same time, it must be observed that, under certain circumstances, the same particular Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, though civilly the 3rd day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, might also have been coupled with the fourth *tithi*, if namely (in the absence of any distinct statement on the subject) we were allowed to assume that the donation spoken of in the grant had been made in connection with the *Siddhivināyaka-vrata*, prescribed for the *Gaṇēśa-chaturthī*, i.e. the fourth *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada. That *tithi*, in the present case, began at Benares 43 m. after midday of the Thursday in question, and it ended 5 m. after midday of Friday, i.e. it covered, so to say, a portion of the *madhyāhna-kāla* (which lasts 72 m. before and 72 m. after noon)² of either day; and, such being the case, any ceremony in honour of Gaṇēśa would necessarily have had to be performed on the Thursday, not on the Friday, and the Thursday would, for the purpose of the attending religious ceremonies, have been correctly coupled with the 4th (running) *tithi*.

Under any circumstances, I consider it certain that the date is Thursday, 14th August, A.D. 1124, and that the figures for the year, 1181, accordingly denote the current southern Vikrama year.

No. III.

The passage containing the date runs thus:—

(L. 15) . . . *pañchāsi(ati)ty-adhik-aikādaśa-(sa) - sa(sa)ta - saṁvatsarēshu Chaitrē māsi su(su)kla-pakṣhē paurnamāsyām tithau Su(su)kra-dīnē aṅkē-pi saṁvat 1185 Chaitra su di 15 Su(su)krē [ady-ēha] śrīmad-Vārā-*

(L. 16.) *paśyāṁ manvādau Gaṅgāyāṁ snātvā.*

The inscription, accordingly, is clearly dated—'in the year 1185, on the full-moon *tithi* or 15th lunar day of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on Friday.' On that day the king, when at Benares, made a certain grant, having bathed in the Ganges on a *manvādi*, i.e., apparently, on that particular *maneddi-tithi* which coincides

the queen, the illustrious *Dāhāpādēvī* (*śrīmad-rāja-sāmānta-mahāmatrī-śrī-Dāhāna-dēvībhīr*); whereas it is quite clear that, in reality, it was made by the queen (whose name Mr. Fleet, I believe rightly, suggests to be *Āhāpādēvī*) with the consent of the king (*śrīmad-rāja-sāmatyā*).

² Compare, e.g., *Kālamādhava*, p. 110: *madhyāhna-trimuhūrtāḥ syāt*.

with the full-moon *tithi* of the month Chaitra, which is the anniversary of the thirteenth Manu Rauchya.

Taking 1185, again, to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 15 would be:—

for the current northern year,—

Tuesday, 29th March, A.D. 1127;

for the expired northern or current southern year,—

Sunday, 18th March, A.D. 1128;

and for the expired southern year,—

Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129.

Of these, Saturday, 6th April, A.D. 1129, comes nearest the week-day we are in search of, and the question is whether the preceding day, Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, though civilly the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra, could by any possibility have been coupled with the 15th or full-moon *tithi* of the month. That *tithi*, at Benares, commenced about 40 m. before sunset of the Friday in question, and it ended about 60 m. before sunset of the next day; and if we could show that the religious ceremony with which the grant was connected had been performed very late in the

afternoon of Friday, or at any time up to sunrise of Saturday, every difficulty would be removed. The grant having been made on a *manvadi-tithi*, the ceremony performed on the occasion probably was a *śraddha*. So far as I understand the somewhat intricate rules accessible to me, a ceremony of this kind may be performed late in the afternoon; and assuming this to have been done in the present case, it was right to say that the donation was made on Friday, during the (running) full-moon *tithi* of Chaitra. For the present, I therefore consider Friday, 5th April, A.D. 1129, to be the true equivalent of the date; and I accordingly take the figures 1185 to denote the southern expired year.

Lest the above should be objected to on the ground that the results in the case of Nos. I. and III. are for expired southern years, while in the case of No. II. the result is for the southern current year, I may add that, similarly, out of four grants of Jayachandra lately sent to me by Mr. Fleet, three are dated in expired southern years, while one is dated in the current southern year.

Göttingen.

F. KIELHORN.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES ON MALACCA FOLK MEDICINE.

(1) Cure for Dropsy.

Pēnydkit bēngkak-bēngkak, the illness of swelling, i.e., dropsy.

Mix the leaves of *brllangan besar*¹, *kayu kadok*², *kéchang kayu*³ (the domesticated variety called *kéchang kayu kampong* as distinguished from *kéchang kayu hutan*) *kéchang pdrang*⁴, and *mēng-kādū besar*⁵: pound and make into an ointment and smear on parts affected. The roots of the above are also boiled, and the decoction is to be drunk, no other drink being allowed for a period of three days. This is for the first stage of the disease, which is called *mambang kuning*, the yellow spirit who causes the illness, and makes the complexion of the patient assume a yellow tinge.

¹ *Gmelina Asiatica*.

² Leaf like the betel-leaf, *charica sphaerostachya*.

³ Various given as *cytiscus cajan* and *cajanus Indicus*.

⁴ This refers to the large curved pod, thought to resemble the Malay woodman's knife called *pdrang*, which grows on the tree probably *lablab cultratus*.

⁵ *Morinda* sp. probably *M. persicaefolia*, of which the root is used to produce a red dye.

⁶ *Rūas*, joints as in sugar-cane, and bamboo; there is a timber tree called *bērūas*.

⁷ *Ranting*, twig, *jūang-jūang*, opposing, perhaps indicating the way in which the twigs grow.

⁸ Sort of gourd, Sansk. *alābū kēmbong*, swollen, big, round: *lagenaria* sp.? nat. fam. *cucurbitaceae*.

⁹ I have failed to gather the meaning of *śrau* here; there are several plants so named.

The next stage is called *mambang bēralang*, when the spirit returns; and now the roots of *śēmbērūas*⁶ and *jūang-jūang ranting*⁷ are boiled with those of the five ingredients already mentioned and the decoction is drunk, while the ointment prepared for the first stage has added to it the charcoal obtained from the burnt shell of the *lābū kēmbong*⁸.

Third stage, *mambang śrau*⁹. If the preceding treatment fails to stop the progress of the illness, and the third stage comes on, a decoction from the roots of *akar tāpak gajah*¹⁰, and *pūar merah*¹¹ is added to that used in the preceding stages while the leaf and wood of the *kāras*¹² tree are added to the ointment.

Fourth stage, *mambang śaru*. When this super-

¹⁰ *Akar*, lit. root, but here meaning creeper or liane; *tāpak* sole (of foot), *gajah* elephant, leaf thought to resemble that animal's footprint.

¹¹ The red *pūar* (*amomum* sp.): *pūar* is a term applied to several varieties of *amomum* and also to different plants; the *amomum* varieties spring up like weeds on deserted clearings.

¹² The heart of this tree furnishes the Malay variety of eagle-wood, probably *agularia agallocha*, called *gaharu* (cf. Sanskrit *agaru* or *aguru*) by the Malays who recognize four qualities of it, viz., *gaharu lampam* very black, 1st quality; 2nd quality *gaharu tandok* or *g. risik*; 3rd quality *g. wangkang* or *g. buāya*; 4th *g. mēdang* unmarketable refuse of last, but used privately. Cambojan variety is *alazylon agallochum*. For ceremonies used in collecting *gaharu* see *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. IV. note 154).

venes, a decoction of the root of the *kūnyet-kūnyet*¹³ and the ground (i.e. pounded) leaves of it are added to the previous decoctions and ointments, and the following charm is recited :—

Jat namānya dyār
Āyēr mēnjādi bātu
Bātu mēnjādi amal
Jin kātā Allah
Mīnal kātā Muhammad
Būkan dku yang punya tawar,
Mālin Kēlimun yang punya tawar
Mambang kūning, mambang bērlang
Mambang sērau, mambang sāru,
Kābul Allah, Kābul Muhammad
Kābul baginda rasul Allah,
La illaha il Allah.

It is difficult to render the foregoing into English with any confidence that the real meaning has been attained, as other changes besides the Muhammadan additions may have taken place in the wording, in the process of handing down from generation to generation. It is probably of Javanese origin. One rendering is—

Jat is the name of the water¹⁴;
 The water becomes stone.
 The stone becomes a charm.
Jin stands for God
Mīnal for Muhammad

Another rendering is—

Let the water become stone,
 And the stone become a charm.¹⁵
 To the *Jin* I recite the name of God
 To *Mīnal* that of Muhammad.
 It is not I who make this charm,
 It was *Mālin Kēlimun*¹⁶ who made it.
 Yellow spirit, returning spirit,
 Sērau spirit, Sāru¹⁷ spirit.

¹³ *Kūnyet* proper is the *curcuma*, saffron. The Malays recognize several varieties, viz. *K. padi* (c. *serumbet*) *K. rimba* (c. *sumatrana*) *K. santan* (c. *purpurascens*) and *K. bēdar*. The *kūnyet kūnyet* of the text is a shrub or tree, and is used medicinally in other ways besides those mentioned here.

¹⁴ It was suggested to me that this referred to the spirit of the dropay, but it would seem more likely to indicate the decoction which is to operate by virtue of the charm.

¹⁵ (عمل 'amal), a pious act prayer for aid, charm.

¹⁶ *Mālin* is probably error for *ma'lim* (Ar. معلم)

teacher, master in this case of magic; *Kēlimun* his name is possibly a mystic form of *Sulaiman* or *Selāman* as the Malays call it. These two lines would naturally be held to mean that the word *jin* is substituted for God and *Mīnal* for Muhammad, but it seems hardly likely that the charmer would say that, if it were so; and assuming that the words have not been altered, and stand somewhat elliptically, a highly Malay practice, the latter rendering seems more reasonable as invoking the name of God and his prophet to exercise some of the powers working with the spirit of sickness and described as *jin* generically and *Mīnal* particularly. Another rendering would be 'jin says God, *Mīnal* says Muhammad.'

¹⁷ I can find no meaning for this.

¹⁸ There are two trees of this name, one of the

Let God be gracious, be gracious Muhammad,
 The blessed Apostle of God.
 There is no God but God.

(2) Cure for Abscess.

Pēnyakit bārah (abscess). The shoots of *kayu bāluk-bāluk*,¹⁹ i.e., the bamboo tree, are ground and applied to the site of the abscess.

The presence of an internal abscess is ascertained by gazing into a mixture of water, lime, gambier,²⁰ *strik*²¹ and betel-nut.²² After using it for this purpose the mixture is *tīwar*²³ or charmed, and then smeared over the place.

The *tīwar* is as follows :—

Bismillāhi irrahman irrahim; bārah di hālu bārah di hāli, katiga tampang kladi, bārah di hālu, bārah di hāli, kēnd tīwar, ta' mēnjādi. Silang silun, dāpat bēldang gūlong, bāt mēnjāmu jēmbdang tērēnak tērēni tērāju, tinggal di rimba, tēgoh tēgoh tēmas-tēmas, chērēmin dyēr, chērēmin bāmi, siminum nāma ibu, sigādān nāma bāpa, sēlākum yang punya bāsa, Che, Pātih yang punya tawar. Aku tahu ayal engkau bārah dārah ayal engkau bārah, bākannya aku yang punya tawar, Mālin Kēlimun yang punya tawar. Kēbul Allah, kēbul Muhammad, kēbul baginda rasul Allah.

In the name of God, the compassionate and merciful! Beginning of the abscess, and end of the abscess²⁴ and third comes, the *kladi*²⁵ shoot. Beginning of the abscess, end of the abscess, when charmed develops not. Here and there²⁶ we find the coiled grass-hoppers²⁷ and prepare a feast for the *jēmbdang*²⁸ softly²⁹ and quickly³⁰; he dwells in the jungle; firmly we make ready³¹ the mirror, the mirror of earth.³² *Siminum*³³ is thy mother's name, *Sigādān* (the hammerer) thy father's,

Artocarpus and the other of the *Euphorbiaceae*, but I cannot say which this is.

¹⁹ *Uncaria gambir* or *Wandea inermis*.

²⁰ *Areca catechu*.

²¹ *Chavica betel*.

²² Lit. abscess at the source, abscess at the mouth, as though speaking of a river.

²³ *Colocasia antiquorum*. The first four lines (excluding the invocation) form a sort of pantun, of which kind of verse the first two lines have seldom any coherent meaning, but here there is said to be some figurative intention: when the *kladi* stalk is cut close to the ground the shoot is said to be visible, and this reference is said to indicate the discovery of the abscess.

²⁴ *Silang silun*, mystic for *sini sēna*.

²⁵ Mystic term for the seat of the abscess.

²⁶ The spirit who causes the sickness.

²⁷ *Tērēnak tērēni*, soothing words, such as are addressed to children.

²⁸ *Tērāju* in the ordinary vocabulary is a word derived from Persian, meaning to weigh in the scales, but here a mystic word for *layu*, swift.

²⁹ *Tēmas-tēmas* mystic for *kēmas-kēmas*.

³⁰ Referring to the combined ingredients mentioned in the second paragraph of this charm.

³¹ *Sī* is a personal prefix, *mīnum* to drink, meaning together, the drinker.

*Sildum's*²² was the poison, *Che' Páti* devised the remedy; I know thy origin, abscess; blood was thy origin, abscess; not mine is the charm, it is the charm of Málin Kélmun.²³ May God be gracious, and Muḥammad: may the mighty Apostle of God be gracious.

D. F. A. HARVEY.

NOTE ON NAMES CONNECTED WITH THE TELUGU COUNTRY.

The tract of country commonly spoken of by Europeans in the Madras Presidency as the Telugu Country is by the people themselves called *Tenu-gurájamu* or *Tenugusima*, but to the world at large it is, I think, best known as *Telingána*, and for that reason only I use the last term in my notes. Tamil people, and more especially those of Madras, often speak of Telugu land as *Góllétisimeí*, the Tamil pronunciation of *Kollétisima*, i.e., the country of the Kolléru (Colair) Lake, the largest fresh-water lake in India, lying between the Krishná and Gódávári Districts. That at Masulipatam being one of the earliest English factories, the neighbouring people naturally attracted more attention than those that were subsequently come in contact with, and amongst them the *Bestá Bóyis* (fisherman bearers) of the *Kollétisima* on the borders of the Kolléru were found peculiarly trustworthy servants. When their English masters went on promotion to Madras, they were accompanied by their trusty *Bóyis*, and from that day to this *Bestá Bóyis* have been employed as attendants in public and mercantile offices in Madras and have continued to maintain their good reputation. Being the most prominent Telugu people in Madras at the time of their immigration, the name they gave their own little tract was naturally assumed to be that of the whole country. From *Góllétisimeí* has been derived from *Gólléti*, a Telugu man, used as a term of contempt, signifying unsophisticated. The ordinary Tamil name for a Telugu man is *Vaduvan*, Northerner.

Sir William Hunter, when he was inclined to believe that all South Indian languages were *Kolarian*, adduced as evidence in favour of his theory the frequency of names containing the syllable *Kol*, including the *Kolair Lake* (*sic*). But the name is not *Kolair*, but *Kolléru*. *Kollu* is a contraction of *kolanu* or *golannu*, a natural pond or lake, and is found in *Pálakollu*, *Gundugollu*, *Kollári*, *Kollipara*, etc. *Eru* means river. *Kolléru*, therefore, is the lake-river, which receives the innumerable streams between the Krishná and the Gódávári that do not discharge into those rivers and disembogues itself into the sea by the

Upputéru, not far south of the western mouth of the Gódávári.

Sima is the most popular word for country on the banks of the Krishná and the Gódávári rivers. Every little tract with any peculiarity is a *sima*, e.g., *Reddisima*, *Jhallisima*, *Divisima*, *Káyasima*. Sometimes a tract, surrounded by *simas* thus named, but with no peculiarity of its own, is called after its principal village or town, e.g., *Gudivadasima*. The people of these *simas*, from which came the weavers who supplied the East India Company with their famous *salumpores*, *roomauls*, *madapollums*, etc., seldom use any other word for country, no matter how extensive. In speaking to the early European traders of their country, they would call it "*mí sima*," for to this day they cannot get their tongues round *Portugal*, *Holland*, *France*, and *England*, and never attempt to, if they can possibly avoid it. The removal of the emphasis from the possessive pronoun *mí*, your, to the common noun *sima* would convert the latter into a proper noun, the use of the possessive pronouns with proper nouns being common; and thus *Sima* would come to mean *Europe*. Whether the Tamil *simeí* is a transliteration of the Telugu *sima* or separately derived, I do not know.

Masulipatam.

H. G. PRENDERGAST.

TESTS OF VIRGINITY AMONGST THE MALAYS.

Among the Malays tokens of virginity, such as are mentioned in *Deuteronomy* xxii. are examined by the parents of the bride the morning after consummation of a marriage. In the State of Perak on the occasion of a marriage among the higher classes when the bridegroom is introduced into the bride's chamber, four or five old women are there and remain there.

His mos apud novas nuptas, quae, ante sextum vel septimum diem, ne virorum notitiam habuisse teneantur (quod virgini dedecori maximo habeatur) mariti amplexus pati nolint. Marito instante toties refugientem, toties anus nutricesque lecti custodes captam reducunt. Inde, quum dies prescripti praeterierint, a custodibus admonita in lecto palvinis rite suppositis collocatur. Viro gaudia jamdudum optata tandem rapere licet. At simulae primum raptum sit hymen, nappae albae, in lecto super patinam argenteam ad id paratae, notas tres transversu pene retracto, imprimere necesse est. Nappam, die proximo inspiciunt parentes cognataeque labe rubrissima infici fas est.

The bride and bridegroom salute the bride's parents on the day after the consummation of the

²² *Lákum* is the name of more than one creeper.

²³ This may be a slip for *Che' Páti*, or it may be an alias of *Málin Kélmun*.

marriage. If the bridegroom has reason to be dissatisfied with his bride, he indicates this by leaving the handle of his *knis* uncovered or omitting to put on a jacket.

In a Malay household where a virgin is about to be married a domestic ceremony called *putus kĕrĕjat* is sometimes performed. The girl is laid on her back and a silk cloth placed over her bosom. Seven hairs are selected at the back of the head and are brought down across her face

straight across the forehead and along the nose down to the chin. The ends are cut off just below the chin. If when the scissors snap the released hair springs back and parts right and left it is a sign that the girl is not a virgin. If the hair remains straight in its position the omen is satisfactory. Some anxious fathers have been known to forestall fate by stiffening a girl's hair with wax. This is only a test (*per-tanda-an*).

W. E. M.

BOOK NOTICES.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF SOUTHERN INDIA.—The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta in the Krishna District, Madras Presidency, surveyed in 1882, by JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., &c., Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. With translations of the Aśoka Inscriptions at Jaugada and Dhauli, by GEORGE BÜHLER, C.I.E., &c., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Vienna. Trübner and Co. London, 1887. 4to, pp. ix. and 131; with 69 Plates and 32 Woodcuts.

This magnificent volume, illustrated by numerous woodcuts and sixty-nine full-page autotype, collotype, and engraved plates, is the first production, in a finished shape, of the archaeological Survey of Southern India, and is fully equal in execution and value to any of the five sumptuous volumes of reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, which it resembles in external appearance.

The sculptures from the stūpa of Amarāvati have been made famous by the late Mr. J. Fergusson's work on *Tree and Serpent Worship*, half of which is devoted to the illustration and discussion of the marbles then accessible, some of which are exhibited on the walls of the grand staircase of the British Museum. Since Mr. Fergusson wrote, the site has been explored by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., and by Dr. Burgess, and hundreds of additional sculptures have been exhumed. In the work under review, Dr. Burgess describes the principal specimens of the new discoveries, and reproduces numerous beautiful drawings of slabs now lost, which were prepared over seventy years ago under the direction of Colonel Mackenzie. Dr. Burgess' work is consequently to be regarded as a supplement to the Amarāvati section of *Tree and Serpent Worship*. The two books, taken together, give a very full and splendidly illustrated account of the fragmentary remains of the great monument at Amarāvati, which appears to have equalled or surpassed in magnificence any building erected by the Indian Buddhists.

The stūpa itself has been utterly destroyed, and the marbles which now are so closely studied are the disjointed fragments of the casing of the central monument, and pieces of the two highly sculptured railings which surrounded it.

The significance of the Amarāvati sculptures in the history of Indian art and religion has been fully recognized ever since the publication of the first edition of *Tree and Serpent Worship* twenty years ago, but their value cannot be correctly appreciated until their date is fixed. Mr. Fergusson, arguing correctly from certain erroneous premises, fixed their date in the middle of the fourth century A. D. Dr. Burgess now clearly proves that this date is too late, and that the great rail was erected shortly before A. D. 200. The original stūpa was built much earlier, and the inner rail a little later.

In the work under review, the arguments determining the chronology, being mixed up with a multitude of topographical and other details are difficult to follow, and therefore, considering the importance of the dates now determined, it seems advisable to state briefly the outline of the arguments used.

Inscriptions of two kings of the Andhra dynasty, namely, Puṣyamāyī-Vāsiṣṭhīputra, and Śrī-Yajña-Sātakarṇi-Vāsiṣṭhīputra, have been discovered at Amarāvati, and the correct date of the monument has been elicited by the discussion of these documents. But it does not rest upon their interpretation only, and is established by several arguments of cumulative force.

Mr. Fergusson judged that the style of the Amarāvati marbles is intermediate between that of the sculptures in the Sātakarṇi-Gautamīputra cave at Nāsik, and of those in the Kānheri *chaitya* cave. This judgment has not been disputed, and fixes correctly the relative age of the great rail at Amarāvati. For the determination of its absolute age by the style-test, it is necessary to know the dates of Sātakarṇi-Gautamīputra and the other Andhra kings. It is impossible, within the limits of a short review, to state fully the arguments which are used to determine the Andhra chronology, but I shall try to indicate them briefly. The date of Sātakarṇi-Gautamīputra depends on that of the Satrap Nahapāna Kshaharāta of Gujārāt, whom he defeated, and whose son-in-law has left

inscriptions, dated 40, 42, and 46 (of the Śaka era). Nahapāna was contemporary with the Satrap Chashtana of Ujjain, the Tiastanes of Ptolemy, who therefore, lived a little anterior to A.D. 150, and whose date is further fixed by the known date of his grandson Rudradāman in the year 72 (Śaka era). Ptolemy's evidence further shows that Chashtana was approximately contemporary with Siri Polemaios, i. e. the Andhra king, Pulumāyi-Vāsishthiputra. Chashtana's date is thus fixed in three different ways, and Nahapāna's date agrees with his, within very narrow limits of possible variation. The date of the Andhra kings, with the help of the information given in their inscriptions, is thus determined, and we obtain for Pulumāyi-Vāsishthiputra's reign the approximate date, A.D. 135-163; and for Śri-Yajña-Sātakarṇi-Gautamiputra's reign the approximate date, A.D. 178-200.

The date of the great rail at Amarāvati is thus determined by the combined evidence of style and inscriptions of the Andhra kings.

An independent argument to establish it, is obtained from the statement of the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, that the famous Buddhist patriarch Nāgārjuna, "surrounded the great shrine of Dhānyakāṭaka (= Amarāvati) with a railing." Nāgārjuna's date rests on that of the Indo-Scythian king Kanishka, whose Buddhist council was presided over by Pārsvika, to whom Nāgārjuna was fourth in succession. Assuming, as is generally admitted, that Kanishka reigned circa A.D. 78-100, Nāgārjuna must have built his railing before A.D. 200. The accounts in various Buddhist writings, expressing Nāgārjuna's date in terms of the *nirvāṇa*, may be interpreted in nearly the same sense, but are not as good evidence. The same date for Nāgārjuna is supported by the fact that Dr. Eitel, the student of Chinese Buddhism, independently arrived at the conclusion that the patriarch ruled the Buddhist Church between A.D. 137 and 194.

The paleography of the Amarāvati inscriptions confirms the inferences based on the arguments of which a summary has been given above. Consideration of the paleographical argument, supported by numismatic evidence derived from coins of the Andhra kings found at Amarāvati, long ago led Sir A. Cunningham to adopt substantially the dates for the Andhra kings and the Amarāvati rail, which Dr. Burgess supports by the distinct arguments that I have endeavoured to summarize. Sir A. Cunningham referred "all the inscriptions of the king Gotamiputra Sātakarṇi and his successors Pulumāyi and Yādnya Sri to the first and second centuries A.D.," and

concluded that the Amarāvati inscriptions in exactly the same character must belong to the same period. He also pointed out that Mr. Fergusson had exaggerated the difference in the style of the sculptures at Amarāvati and of those on the Sāśchi gates, which are known to belong to the first century A.D.¹

We may consequently take the year A.D. 180, as practically the correct date for the great rail at Amarāvati, "the richest and most elaborate piece of screen-work in the world."

I have devoted so much space to the examination of the chronological argument that it is impossible to further notice Dr. Burgess's careful and interesting account of the ruins and sculptures of Amarāvati. The inscriptions from that place, given in the volume, are for the most part edited by Dr. Hultzsch.

A few pages are devoted to the description of the scanty remains of an early stūpa at Jaggayapeṭa or Bētāvolu, thirty miles north-west from Amarāvati. This monument appears to have been erected not later than B.C. 100.

Dr. Bühler's edition of the Asōka inscriptions at Dhauri and Jaugada, which forms the concluding section of the volume, has, of course, no connection with the discussion of the ruins at Amarāvati and Jaggayapeṭa.

The facsimiles of the inscriptions are photolithographed from excellent paper-impressions prepared by Dr. Burgess, and establish the text beyond all possibility of dispute, except in a few most minute details. M. Senart had already edited the separate edicts, addressed to the officials at Tosali and Samāpā, from Dr. Burgess's impressions, and Dr. Bühler's readings and versions of these documents naturally differ little from those of the French scholar.

Dr. Bühler points out that the revised text proves the error of the supposition that the Dhauri version was ill-engraved and carelessly executed. It is really quite as well engraved as the other texts. The Dhauri and Jaugada versions of the fourteen edicts (Nos. XI. to XIII. being omitted in both) are copies from one and the same original, and differ from each other only in the quantity of one vowel, and the character of another. Dr. Bühler promises an essay on the paleography of the Asōka inscriptions, to appear in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. The discovery of the fact that the Dhauri version of the edicts is really as well engraved as the other versions, has elicited from him an emphatic warning that the interpreter of the Asōka inscriptions "is not entitled to make many and great conjectural changes in the text." The

¹ *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. I. Introd. p. xxiii. published in 1871.

text is itself good, and errors are to be looked for in the copy rather than in the original.

Dr. Burgess has recently prepared a facsimile of the Khálsí text of the edicts, and the world is already indebted to him for a trustworthy reproduction of the Gírnár version. Before long we may expect to see the text of all the versions authoritatively settled.

25th August 1888.

V. A. SMITH.

A MANUAL OF THE ANDAMANES LANGUAGE. By M. V. PORTMAN, M.R.H.S., etc., Extra Assistant Superintendent, Andamans and Nicobars.

This is one of those works full of pretentious rubbish which deserves plain language. It "has been compiled at the request of Colonel T. Cadell, V.C., Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands." Colonel Cadell has been unfortunate in choosing, as the exponent of the languages of the islands over which he has been placed, an officer whose ignorance of language and grammar in general and of the Andamanese language and grammar in particular, is only equalled by his extraordinary presumption. He commences by saying that there is "no work extant on the various dialects of the Andamanese." Well, there is the *Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island*, 1882, by no less a personage than Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., then President of the Philological Society. As a matter of fact Mr. Portman must have known of this very valuable *Report* and the work on which it was based, for the simple reason that he has adopted the same spelling, so far as his general ignorance of his subject would let him.

The grammar is given in five duodecimo pages, spaced long primer type!! Of course there is no grammar worthy of the name. The vowel system is hopelessly incomplete,—the most interesting sounds being altogether omitted, and others given wrongly. There is something charming in the naïveté that allows the author to say that his system is Hunterian, and then to go on to say "o has the sound of o in hot" (*sic*) and "au has the sound of au in awful" (*sic*) as specimens of it. The description of an agglutinative language in the following words is quite sublime:—"The roots of the Andamanese speech receive additions by means of prefixes and suffixes, but the roots themselves have also an independent existence as words." He then gives three prefixes—all quite wrong—as are all his examples, oblivious of Mr. Ellis's fine explanation of this very difficult point in the Andamanese language. The prefixes in Andamanese as a matter of fact are found in almost every word, and grammatically affect every sentence. They have been elaborately and accurately explained by Mr. E. H. Man, and without a comprehension of them no man can ever hope to talk

Andamanese in any dialect. Mr. Portman is however apparently ignorant of all this. We can see how he views them. "The Andamanese frequently use particles which are without meaning, and appear principally to serve the purpose of euphony!" Of course, they really serve the purpose of grammar, as Mr. Portman would have known, had he really made grammar a study.

As a specimen of the thoroughly superficial treatment that Mr. Portman's subject has received at his hands, we would commend his six paragraphs on the Pronoun. It is all the more aggravating that he should have been guilty of these, as this point has been so well illustrated by the predecessors he has ignored.

The author seems to have had a notion that his grammar would not teach much, and pinned his faith to his dictionary and dialogues, by the use of which he "ventures to think that any person brought into contact with the Andamanese in any part of the Islands will be able to make himself understood on all ordinary subjects." Will he? Let us see.

The first sentence given is "How hot it is to-day,"—in Áka Biada (*sic*), *Badiká, uye, káwai*. Query: what does *badiká* mean? What *uye*? and what *káwai*? The Dictionary is English-Andamanese without reverse. So we must try the English. *How* is *pichí kácha*, *hot* is *uya-da*: *to-day* is not given, so let us try *day* which is also not given, but *daylight* is *bódo-len*,¹ and *this* is *ká-da* and *it is* is also *káda*!! Really an examination of the first sentence makes us wonder at the impudence of the author.

"The sun is very hot" is the next sentence. Perhaps we shall be more fortunate. In Áka Biada it is given as *ká bódo uye dógada*. *It is* is *ká-da*; *sun* is *bódo*; *hot* is *uya-da*: *very* is not given, but is *dógada*. It is given as the equivalent of *much* in the dictionary. The sentence is really, "This sun hot much."

Let us take another sentence at random. "I will go if it is fine," is given as *dódonga bédig bódo lédá*. Four words are given in the Dictionary for "to go" but none in the least like any of the above, viz., *kafik ké, on ké, mócho ké, jud ké*; *if* is not given at all; *fine* is our old friend *bódo-da*, which seems to do duty for a good deal. So out of the four Andamanese words we can only even guess at one. Like the Christy Minstrel we 'give it up.'

Mr. Portman has had a very fine opportunity of adding to the world's knowledge, rendered all the better from having been carefully shown the way he should travel by Mr. A. J. Ellis. He might have produced something unique in its lasting value. Instead, he has exhibited an amount of self-assurance which can hardly result from anything but inordinate conceit.

¹ This is really a word + postposition, and means properly "in the sun"; vide Mr. Portman's own book!

² *Ka-da* here would really be 'this' or 'to-day.'

EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

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No. 1.—EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST TARANGA.

THE *Rajatarangini*, or *River of Kings*, of Kalhana, has always attracted a great deal of attention, partly because it is the only historical work of its kind in the Sanskrit language, but more especially because it claims to give a consecutive account of the **Kings of Kashmir** from almost the very earliest times.

Until recent years, however, the text of it has been available to us only in the not very accurate editions published — at Calcutta, in 1835, by the **Pandits of the Bengal Asiatic Society**, containing the whole eight Tarangas; with the *Deitīyā Rājataranginī* of Jōnarāja; the *Tritīyā Jaina-Rājataranginī* of Śrīvarapaṇḍita, a pupil of Jōnarāja; the *Rājāvalī-Patākā*, or *Chaturthī Rājataranginī*, of Prājyabhaṭṭa; and the *Rājataranginī-Saṅgraha*:— and at Paris, in 1840, by **M. Troyer**, containing the first six Tarangas of the *Rājataranginī* itself.

As regards translations, in 1825, in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 1 to 119, in his "Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir," **Prof. H. H. Wilson** gave an abstract account of the contents of Tarangas i. to vi. In 1852, **M. Troyer** completed a French Translation of the whole eight Tarangas. **Prof. Lassen** has given an analysis of the entire work in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. And in 1879 and 1887, **Jogesh Chunder Dutt** published at Calcutta an English translation of Kalhana's work, which is at least useful in helping to facilitate references to the original text.

And, in the matter of the adjustment of Kalhana's chronology, **Prof. H. H. Wilson** considered the subject in the remarks attached to his abstract account; and **Gen. Sir A. Cunningham** has dealt with it in 1843, in his paper on "The Ancient Coinage of Kāśmīr," in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VI. pp. 1 to 38. But no very satisfactory results, at least for the earlier period, have as yet been attained. As good an illustration of this as can be wished for, is to be found in connection with king **Mihirakula**. His initial date, as deduced from the *Rājataranginī* itself, is Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 2397 expired, or B. C. 704; and the end of his reign, seventy years later. **Prof. H. H. Wilson** brought him down to B. C. 200 (*loc. cit.* p. 81). And **Gen. Sir A. Cunningham** arrived at the conclusion that he should be placed in A.D. 163 (*loc. cit.* p. 18). With the help, however, of newly discovered inscriptions, which are the only really safe guide, **Mr. Fleet** (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252) has now shewn that his true date was in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.; that as nearly as possible the commencement of his career was in A.D. 515; and that A.D. 530, or very soon after, was the year in which his power in India was overthrown, after which he proceeded to Kāśmīr and established himself there. This illustrates very pointedly the extent of the adjustments that will have to be made in Kalhana's earlier details; and furnishes us with a definite point from which the chronology may be regulated backwards and forwards for a considerable time. A similar earlier point is provided by Kalhana's mention, in Taranga i. verse 168, of the Turushka king **Kanishka**, who, according to his account, was anterior by two reigns to B. C. 1182,—the date of the accession of Gōnanda III.,—but who is undoubtedly the king **Kanishka** from the commencement of whose reign in all probability runs the Śaka era, commencing in A.D. 77. And a still earlier point is furnished by the mention of king **Aśōka** in Taranga i. verse 101. According to Kalhana, he stood five reigns before B. C. 1182. But it can hardly be doubted that he is intended for the great Buddhist king **Aśōka**, whose accession has now been shewn by **Gen. Sir A. Cunningham** to have been in B. C. 260 (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.). This question of adjustment is one that I shall not at present enter upon. And I will here only remark that the earliest lists evidently include, as consecutive kings, many persons who, if they existed at all, were only ancestors or other relatives of actual kings of Kāśmīr, and did not themselves occupy the throne; that the introduction of the names of such persons after a break in the direct succession, of course

necessitated forcing back the date of the immediately preceding actual king in each instance to a period long before the true one; and that no completely satisfactory solution can be arrived at, until we are able to determine which of the names have to be eliminated on these grounds.

The first step towards the acquisition of a reliable text of the poem was made by Dr. Bühler, who visited Kāśmīr in 1875, and obtained there a complete Śāraḍa MS. of the *Rājataranṅgiṇī* itself, which is now in the Bombay Government Collection; a collation of another MS., which he has kindly placed at my disposal; some explanatory treatises and abstracts; and some MSS. of the *Nīlamata-Purāṇa* and other connected works. His valuable report was published in 1877, as an Extra Number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. And an extract from it, pp. 52 to 60, referring specially to the *Rājataranṅgiṇī*, and including a translation of verses 1 to 107 of the first Taranṅga, pp. lxi. to lxxxii., has been printed in this Journal, Vol. VI. pp. 264 to 274. From the materials collected by him, with some others obtained by myself during my own visit to Kāśmīr in 1885, I am preparing a new edition of the text. But the completion of it, of course, is a work of time. And meanwhile, at the desire and with the support of Mr. Fleet, I propose giving in this Journal translations of some of the earlier portions of the book.¹

Kalhana's narrative opens with a fragmentary account of 52 kings, who were supposed to have reigned for 1266 years. The earliest definite starting-point taken by him is the coronation of Yudhishṭhira; his authority for which (verse 56) is a verse given by Varāhamihira in the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, xiii. 3, as being according to the opinion of Vṛiddha-Garga:—"When king Yudhishṭhira ruled the earth, the (seven) seers (i.e. the constellation Ursa Major) were in (the nakṣatra) Maghāḥ; the Śaka era (is) 2526 (years) (after the commencement) of his reign." Accordingly, the coronation of Yudhishṭhira took place 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era, or at the expiration of Kaliyuga-Saṃvat 653 (verse 51), and in B.C. 2448. Kalhana himself was writing (verse 52; ante, Vol. XVII. p. 213) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1071 current, i.e. in A.D. 1148-49:—"At this present moment, in the twenty-fourth Laukika year (of the popular Kāśmīrī reckoning by cycles of a hundred years), there have gone by one thousand years, increased by seventy, of the Śaka era." And, as an intermediate point, but how arrived at he does not explain, he had the accession of the fifty-third king, Gōnanda III., which took place "on the whole," i.e. roughly, 2330 years before his own time, i.e. in B.C. 1182.

He then proceeded thus:—

Coronation of Yudhishṭhira before the Śaka era	2526 years; verse 56.
Add the years of the Śaka era expired up to the time when Kalhana was writing	1070 " " 52.
	3596
Deduct the years expired from the accession of Gōnanda III. up to the same time	2330 " " 53.
Remainder, the duration of the period of the first fifty-two kings ...	1266 " " 54.

He thus obtained 1266 years for the 52 kings in question; his own words (verse 54) being—"Hence I am of opinion that 1266 years are comprised in the sum of the reigns of the 52 kings."² And he made the first of these fifty-two kings, Gōnanda I., a contemporary of Yudhishṭhira.

¹ I shall use the following abbreviations in my notes:—

P = the Śāraḍa MS., No. 170 of Dr. Bühler's Kāśmīr Collection, preserved in the Deccan College, Poona. I owe the use of this most important MS. to the kindness of Mr. Chatfield, Director of Public Instruction.

C = the Calcutta edition.

T = Troyer's edition.

K. 3. = Dr. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in Kāśmīr, &c.; Bombay, 1877.

A. G. = Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I.; London, 1871.

² See also Dr. Bühler's Report (quoted hereafter as K. R., p. lxxv.), in the note to which the details are explained in a different manner, but with the same result. Verse 54 seems to contain the conclusion which Kalhana drew from verses 51 to 53. I take tat in the sense of *tasmāt*, 'hence'; and I supply mayd with matd, which is the reading of the Śāraḍa MS.

The fifty-two rulers in question are as follows :—

LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR.

I. Four rulers whose names are taken from the <i>Nīlamata-Purāṇa</i>	verse	16
1. Gōnanda I.	"	57
He is made by Kalhaṇa a contemporary of Yudhishtira in B. C. 2448. At the call of his relative, Jarāsaṁdha, he besieged Mathurā, the city of Kṛishṇa on the banks of the Kālindī, i.e. the Jamnā, and vanquished the descendants of Yadu (59, 60). But subsequently he himself was slain by the Yādava leader Lāṅgaladhvaṇa, i.e. Balarāma (61 to 63).		
2. Dāmōdara I., son of the preceding	"	64
He, in order to revenge his father's death, attacked the Vṛishṇis (or Yādavas), who had been invited to a <i>svayamvara</i> by the Gāndhāras (65 to 68), and was killed in battle by Kṛishṇa (69).		
3. Yaśōvati, widow of the preceding.....	"	70
Dāmōdara I. died before a son was born to him; and Yaśōvati, being pregnant, was installed at the advice of Kṛishṇa (70), and in due course of time bore a son (74).		
4. Gōnanda II., son of Dāmōdara I. and Yaśōvati	"	76
He was named after his grandfather (76). He was the contemporary of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas; but, on account of his infancy, he took no part in the war between them (82).		
II. 5 to 39. Thirty-five kings whose names are lost.....	"	83
III. Eight kings recorded by Padmamihira on the authority of Hēlārāja's <i>Pārthivāvali</i>	"	17f.
40. Lava	"	84
He founded the town of Lōlōra (86),—still existent in the Lōlāb Parganā (K. R. p. lxxix. note),—and gave to Brāhmanas the <i>agrahāra</i> of Lēvāra on the river Lēdarī (87), i.e. the modern Līdar, the principal northern tributary of the Vitastā, which it joins near Bijbihāra (<i>loc. cit.</i>)		
41. Kuṣa, son of the preceding	"	88
He presented the <i>agrahāra</i> of Kuruhāra (88), which is supposed to be the modern Kular in the Dachhinpara Parganā (<i>loc. cit.</i>)		
42. Khagendra, son of the preceding	"	89
He established the two principal <i>agrahāras</i> , Khāgi and Khōnamusha (90), i.e. the modern Kākapur and Khunmōh (<i>loc. cit.</i>)		
43. Surēndra, son of the preceding	"	91
He founded, on the frontier of the Darad country (or Dardistān), a city named Sōraka and a <i>vihāra</i> named Narēndrabhavana (93); also, in his own territory, a <i>vihāra</i> named Sōrasa (94). ² He died without leaving issue (95).		
44. Gōdharma, of another family.....	"	95
He presented to Brāhmanas the <i>agrahāra</i> of Hastisālā (96), which seems to be now known as Asthīhil (<i>loc. cit.</i>)		
45. Suvarṇa, son of the preceding	"	97
He diverted the Suvarṇamanikulyā, — the modern brook Sunnamayā in the Āḍhvan Parganā (<i>loc. cit.</i>), — and caused it to flow in (the		

² P reads सोरक and सोरस, instead of सौ in C and T.

- district of) Karāla (97), which seems intended for the Ādhvan Pargaṇā (*loc. cit.*)
46. Janaka, son of the preceding verse 98
He founded the *vihāra* and *agrahāra* named Jālōra (98), — identified by the Kāśmīris with the modern Zāvur, near Zēvan (*loc. cit.*)
47. Sachinara, son of the preceding " 99
He founded the two *agrahāras* of Śamāṅgāsa* and Āsanāra, which are supposed to be respectively the modern Śvāṅgas in the Kōṭahāra Pargaṇā, and Chrār (*loc. cit.*) He died without leaving any issue (100).
- IV. Five kings mentioned by the author of the *Śrīcchavillā* " 19f.
48. Abōka, son of the son's son of Śakuni, and son of the paternal grand-uncle of Śachinara " 101
He adopted the religion of Jina (*i.e.* Buddha), and covered Śushkalētra and Vitastātra, — the modern Hoklitr and Vēthvōtr in the Dēvasar Pargaṇā (*loc. cit.*), — with numerous *stūpas* (102). He built a *chaitya* at the city of Vitastātrapura, within the precincts of the Dharmāraṇya-vihāra (103). He founded the city of Śrinagari (104), — apparently not quite identical with the present capital of Kāśmīr (*loc. cit.* p. l xxxi. note). Also he removed the old brick enclosure of the temple of Vijayēśa (at Bijbihāra), and built a new one of stone (105); and within the precincts of that temple, and near it, he built two other temples named Aśōkēśvara (106). Then the country was overrun by the Mlēcchhas; and he obtained from Bhūtēśa a son, the Jalauka of the next verse, in order to destroy them (107).
49. Jalauka I., son of the preceding " 108
He was a constant worshipper at Vijayēśvara, the modern Bijbihāra (A. G. 98f.), at Nandīśakshētra, elsewhere called Nandikshētra, in the Lār Pargaṇā (K. R. lxxii. note), and at Jyēsthēśa (113). He expelled the Mlēcchhas, breaking their power at a place named Ujjhataḍimba (116). He conquered Kānyakubja, *i.e.* Kanauj (117). He reformed the administration of Kāśmīr, by establishing regular courts of law (118 to 120). He founded Vāravāla and other *agrahāras* (121). At Dvāra, — *i.e.* the Pass of Varāhamūla, the modern Bāramūla, — and at other places, his queen Śāśnadēvī established shrines of the Divine Mothers (122). He paid worship to Nandīśa at the spring of Sōdara (123); consecrated the temple of Jyēsthārudra at Śrinagari (124); built a stone temple at Nandikshētra and worshipped Bhūtēśa (148); diverted the river Kanakavāhinī (150); and died at the *tīrtha* of Chīramōchana (151). In connection with him there are allusions to the Nāgas (111, 114). Also to the Bauddhas or Buddhists. The latter, described as being very powerful at that time, were vanquished in his reign by the magician Avadhūta (112). They were subsequently oppressed by the king himself (136), who wantonly destroyed one of their *viḥāras* (140). The Bōdhisattvas then deputed the goddess Krityā, one of the (six) Kṛittikās or Pleiades, who induced him to make reparation by building a

* P reads *सामाङ्गसा*°, like C and T.

Buddhist *vihāra*, which he named *Kṛityāśrama*, and in which he set up a statue of *Kṛityā* (131 to 147).

50. *Dāmōdara II.* verse 153

It is not known whether he belonged to the house of *Aśōka*, or to another family (153). He was a worshipper of the god *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*) (154). He built a long causeway named *Guddasētu* across the swamp called *Sūda Dāmōdariya* (156, 157) or *Dāmōdara-sūda* (167), and other stone causeways, to stop inundations (159).

Then there intervened the reigns of *Hushka*, *Jushka*, and *Kanishka* " 168

These kings were of the *Turushka* race; nevertheless they built *maṭhas*, *chaityas*, &c., at *Śushkalētra* and other places (170). During their long reigns, *Kāśmīr* was for the most part in possession of the *Bauddhas* (171). Each of them built a town, named after himself (168); i.e. *Hushkapura*, *Jushkapura*, and *Kanishkapura*,—identified by Sir A. Cunningham with the modern *Ushkar*, *Zukru*, and *Kāmpur* (A. G. 99 ff.); also *Jushka*, who founded *Jushkapura* with its *vihāra*, built the town of *Jayasvāmpura* (169).

51. *Nāgarjuna*, *Bōdhisattva* " 173

His connection with any of his predecessors is not explained. His accession was when one hundred and fifty years had expired from the *parinirvāṇa* of *Buddha* (172); this, however, would really be in B. C. 328, long after the time to which *Kalhaṇa* refers him, and before the real time of his supposed predecessor, *Aśōka*. He resided at *Shaḍarhadvana*, 'the grove of the six Arhats' (173). He encouraged the *Bauddhas* (177).

52. *Abhimanyu* " 174

He granted the *agrahāra* of *Kaṇṭakōṭsa* (174), and founded the town of *Abhimanyupura*, at which he built a temple of *Śiva*, named after himself (175). In his time, *Chandrāchārya* and others brought the *Mahābhāshya* into use, and composed their own grammar (176). In his reign the *Bauddhas* became powerful, and stopped the rites ordained by the *Nīla-Purāṇa* (177, 178). Then the *Nāgas* attacked the *Bauddhas*, and distressed them by causing every year a heavy fall of snow; until at length a *Brāhman*, *Chandradēva*, practised austerities, the result of which was that *Nīla* appeared to him, stopped the plague of snow, and re-established his own rites (179 to 184).

As regards the third part of the above list, a few words may be added, in order to shew its entire worthlessness for historical purposes. *Padmamihira*, or *Hēlārāja*, seems to have tried to connect the name of each of these eight kings with the name of some locality in *Kāśmīr* that happened to begin with the same initial. Thus, *Lava* is said to have founded the town of *Lōlōra*, and to have granted the *agrahāra* of *Lēvāra*; and *Kuśa* is mentioned as bestowing the *agrahāra* of *Kurūhāra*; and so on. The question of popular etymology at once suggests itself. And we cannot help suspecting that the names of the kings are nothing but pure inventions, taken from, and intended to account for, the names of real localities which otherwise could not be easily explained.

With these preliminary remarks, I will now take up the translation at the point where *Dr. Bühler* left off:—

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 108) Then this (son of *Asoka*) *Jalauka* (I.) (by name), a (very) *Indra* on earth, who purified the world with the whitewash of his fame, became king. — (109) Verily, even the gods are taught (for the first time) to be astonished, when the tales of his divine power reach their ears. — (110) For surely, he would have been able to fill the void of the mundane egg with his gifts of gold, as the magic fluid (which he possessed) traced (i.e. enabled him to discover) *crores* (of hidden treasures). — (111) Having charmed the water (i.e. having attained the magic power of living under water), he entered the lakes of the *Nāgas*, and seduced the youthful daughters of the hooded serpents. — (112) A magician (named) *Avadhūta*, who vanquished the crowd of the votaries of the *Bauddha* (doctrine) who were very powerful at that time taught him the knowledge (of magic). — (113) This veracious king had made a vow that he would always worship (at) *Vijayēśvara*, *Nandīśakshētra*, and *Jyēsthēśa*. — (114) A *Nāga*, who was his friend, would not allow (him) to travel by (relays of) horses which were kept ready in every village, but used to convey him always himself. — (115) After this hero had expelled the *Mlēcchhas*, who obstructed the earth, he conquered the earth whose girdle is the ocean, by victorious expeditions. — (116) Even now the place where those *Mlēcchhas*, who had overrun the country, were deranged (*ujjhaṭita*) by him, is called *Ujjhaṭadimba* by the people. — (117) Having conquered *Kānyakubja* and other (parts of the) earth, he introduced thence into his own country (people of) the four castes and legal practitioners. — (118, 119) Like a common country, the kingdom (of *Kāśmīr*) had not reaped the due benefit of judicial administration, property, &c. For hitherto there had been (only) seven departments in this country,—the overseer of justice, the overseer of property, the overseer of the treasure, the commander of the army, the messenger, the domestic priest, and the astrologer. — (120) Establishing eighteen courts of law, the king introduced from that time a state of affairs that was worthy of *Yudhishtira*. — (121) With the wealth which he had acquired by valour and might, this liberal (prince) founded *Varavāla* and other *agrahāras*. — (122) At *Dvāra* and other places, his noble queen *Isanadēvi* established powerful circles of the (divine) Mothers.—(123) Having heard the *Nandi-Purāṇa* from a pupil of *Vyāsa*, the king paid worship to *Sōdara*, &c., out of devotion to *Nandīśa*. — (124) (Even) when he consecrated (the temple of) *Jyēsthārudra* at *Srinagari*, he did not think (it possible to shew) devotion to *Nandīśa* without (worshipping) *Sōdara*.—(125, 126) Once upon a time, when the pressure of work had made him forget his daily rites, and while he was distressed by the impossibility of bathing in the distant waters of *Sōdara*, he

¹⁰⁸ सोथ भूज्जलौकी P. यशःसुधया P T.

¹⁰⁹ आसर्वाचार्यतां P.

¹¹⁰ हर्तुं P. हेमाद्रस्य P C.

¹¹¹ वेदबौद्ध P.

¹¹² *Vijayēśvara* is the modern *Bijbihāra*; see A. G. p. 98f. *Nandīśakshētra* is elsewhere called *Nandīkashētra*; on its site, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 36, where P reads हरा instead of सुरावासमासादे. On *Jyēsthēśa*, see note on verse 124, below.

¹¹³ स्वेनावहर्तुं P.

¹¹⁴ *Kalhapā* places the arrival of the *Mlēcchhas* in the reign of *Asoka*; see verse 107.

¹¹⁵ The readings of P agree with those of T.

¹¹⁶ काय P.

¹¹⁷ The original titles are *Dharmādhyakṣa*, *Dhanādhyakṣa*, *Kṣīrādhyakṣa*, *Chamūpati*, *Dūta*, *Purōdhas*, and *Daivajña*.

¹¹⁸ *karmasthāna* seems to mean elsewhere 'a public building'; see iv. 587, 588; v. 166; vii. 210, 569 (571 of the Calcutta Edition). The eighteen law-courts (*karmasthānāni dharmyāni*), which *Jalauka* is supposed to have founded, are probably derived from the eighteen kinds of law-suits mentioned by *Manu*, viii. 3 to 7.

¹¹⁹ नृदारधीः P.

¹²⁰ *Dvāra*, 'the Gate,' is the pass of *Varāhamūla*, the modern *Bāramūla*; see K. R. p. 12 and note on verse 31. The 'circles or rings of the Mothers' (*mātrichakrāni*) are elsewhere mentioned by *Kalhapā* in connection with temples of *Siva*; see Böttlingk and Roth, s. v. *mātrichakra*. The synonym *dēvichakra* occurs at i. 333.

¹²¹ From the subsequent passage it appears that *Sōdara* was the name of the holy spring at *Nandīkashētra*, the shrine of *Nandīśa* or *Nandīrudra* (verse 127).

¹²² *Jyēsthārudra* is called *Jyēsthēśa* in verse 113. General Cunningham, A. G. p. 95, identifies it with the temple on the *Takht*; but see K. R. p. 17.

¹²³ भावना P.

¹²⁴ वर्गस्वरा P.

perceived that from a waterless place water was suddenly rising, which agreed with (*the water of*) **Sôdara** in colour, taste, and other qualities. — (127) Then the proud (*king*) was able to satisfy his devotion to Nandirudra, by bathing in that spring which had (*thus*) appeared. — (128, 129) When an empty gold vase, with a lid on its mouth, which he threw into **Sôdara** for the purpose of a test, emerged two and half days later from the water which rose at **Srinagari**, the doubts of the king were removed. — (130) Surely, it was Nandîśa himself who had come down in order to enjoy the offerings (*of the king*). Otherwise, such an event, which had, never been seen (*before*), would not have taken place before (*his*) eyes. — (131) One day, when the king went to **Vijayêśvara**, a woman, who was walking on the road, asked him for food. — (132) After he had promised to give her whatever food she wished, she changed her appearance (*so as to assume the form of a female ghoul*), and expressed a desire for human flesh. — (133) When he, who had ceased to hurt living beings, gave her permission to eat flesh from his own body, she spoke thus: — (134) "You, O magnanimous king, are a Bôdhisattva, whose vows are strong on account of virtue (*sattva*), as your compassion with living beings is so great." — (135) The king, who, being a worshipper of Śiva, did not know the language of the **Bauddhas**, said to her,—"Who, sweet mistress, is the Bôdhisattva, for whom you take me?" — (136) She answered the king:—"Hear my message: I am sent by the **Bauddhas**, whom, out of anger, you have oppressed. — (137) "We are the (*six*) **Pleiades** (*Kṛittikâh*), who live on the flank of the **Lôkâlôka** mountain, who are full of sin (*tamas*), and who have made the Bôdhisattvas their only refuge, in order to be freed from sin. — (138) "You must know that Bôdhisattvas are certain beings, who, since (*the time of*) the blessed lord of the world (**Buddha**), have got rid of lust (*klêśa*) in (*this*) world. — (139) "Eager to rescue the universe, they are not angry even with an offender, but benefit him patiently and will guide him to the knowledge (*bôdhi*) of his own self. — (140 to 144) "When, lately, disturbed in your sleep by the noise of the instruments of a *vihâra*, and instigated by wicked persons, you destroyed (*that*) *vihâra* out of anger, I, (*attracted by the power of*) the meditations of the angry **Bauddhas**, had set out to kill you. (*But*) then the Bôdhisattvas, having called me, gave me the following instructions:—"You are unable to hurt that virtuous prince; but at his sight, O happy woman, your sins will be destroyed. In our name ask him, who was led into sin by the wicked, to build a *vihâra*, providing all requisites from his gold. If this were built, no (*further*) slaughter at the destruction of *vihâras* would take place; and he and his instigators would have made atonement." — (145) "Therefore, in this disguise, I have put your great virtue to the test. Now my sins are destroyed. Farewell! I take my departure." — (146) After the king had promised to build a *vihâra*, the goddess **Kṛityâ**, whose eyes were beaming with joy, disappeared. — (147) Then, having built a *vihâra* (*called*) **Kṛityâśrama**, the prince caused (*a statue of*) the goddess **Kṛityâ**, whose sins were removed, to be erected on that same spot (*where he had met her*). — (148) Having built a temple of stone at **Nandikshêtra**, the prince paid to Bhûtêśa worship in the shape of jewels together with (*other*) treasures. — (149, 150) Practising austerities for a series of nights at the *tīrtha* of **Chiramôchana**, sitting in the (*posture called*) **brahmâsana**, his body motionless in meditation, the king accomplished at last his desire of reaching Nandîśa by the pious work (*of conducting the river*) **Kanakavâhini**. — (151) One hundred of the ladies of his harem, who had risen to dance out of joy, he gave to Jyêsthârudra at the (*very*) moment of dancing and singing. — (152) Having enjoyed supernatural power, and having finally entered **Chiramôchana**, the king, together with his wife, attained union with Śiva.

127 पर्याप्ति° PT.

128 हिंसा° P.C. मांसं for दानं P.

129 दृष्ट्यापिता P.

130 स्तामस्य P.

131 मतज्ज्ञा PT.

132 नेष्टयन्ति P.C. विशोद्धर° P.

133 महासत्त्वः P.

134 अनुसिद्धा P.

135 कृत्याभ्रमं PT. कृत्यां देवीमबन्धयत् P.

136 समे PT.

137 Kalhapa attributes similar works to other kings. Thus Suvarna diverted or conducted (*pravaritayati*) the Suvarnamanikulyâ to Karâlâ (ii. 97) and Mihirakula conducted (*anavârayati*) the Chandrakulyâ river (i. 318).

138 °दृष्टं P.

139 प्रविष्टोद्धर° P.

(153) Then a prince called **Dāmōdara (II.)**, who was either a descendant of the race of **Asōka**, or was born of another family, protected the earth. — (154) Even now tales are told of the miraculous power of this (*king*), who was highly resplendent with superhuman faculties, and was the crest-jewel of the worshippers of **Siva**. — (155) (*The god*) **Kuvēra** himself concluded friendship with that happy and virtuous favourite of **Siva**. — (156) Being the foremost of kings, like **Kuvēra**, he ordered the **Guhyakas**, who obeyed his commands, to build the long (*causeway called*) **Guddasētu**. — (157) By this causeway he sought to bridge the water at the town which he had built in the (*swamp called*) **Sūda Dāmōdārīya**. — (158) Since the good deeds of men (*in former births*) are limited, obstacles arise — alas! — to a man of lofty mind, who wishes to produce some uncommon beneficial work. — (159) For he strove to cause the **Yakshas** to build in his country long causeways of stone, in order to stop inundations. — (160) Inconceivable is the power of the austerities of mighty **Brāhmanas**, who will reverse the power even of such (*kings*). — (161) One has seen the fortune of kings rising again, after it had been destroyed by the power of an heir or of others; but if (*lost*) through contempt of **Brāhmanas** it will never return. — (162) Once the king, who was going to bathe on account of a *śrāddha*, was asked by some hungry **Brāhmanas** (*to give them*) food before bathing. — (163) When he, who wished to enter the (*river*) **Vitastā**, refused (*to give them food until he had entered it*), they placed that river before him by their (*religious*) power. — (164) Although they told him—“Here is the **Vitastā**; touch her, and feed us!” yet he believed that the river had been brought by (*sinful*) witchcraft (*and not by the righteous power of austerity*). — (165) When he said to them—“I will not give food without having bathed (*in the real river*); depart (*sarpata*), you **Brāhmanas**, at once!” they cursed him—“Become a serpent (*sarpa*)!” — (166) After he had implored them for mercy, they spoke—“Your curse will cease after you have heard the whole *Bāmāyana* in a single day, (*and not till then*).” — (167) Even now, when, out of thirst, he is rushing far into the (*swamp called*) **Dāmōdara-sūda**, people recognize him by the smoke of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse.

(168) Then there were three princes in that same (*country*), called **Hushka**, **Jushka**, and **Kanishka**, who built three towns that were designated by their names. — (169) The pure-minded **Jushka**, the founder of **Jushkapura** with its *vihāra*, also built **Jayasvāmipura**. — (170) Though they were descendants of a **Turushka** race, these pious princes built *maṭhas*, *chaityas*, &c., at **Sushkalētra** and other places. — (171) During the long period of their reigns, the country of **Kāśmīra** was, for the most part, in the possession of the **Bauddhas**, who had acquired great power by renouncing the world (*pravrajyā*).

(172, 173) At that time, one hundred and fifty years had passed in this earthly sphere since the complete extinction (*parinirvṛiti*) of the divine **Śākyasimha** (**Buddha**); and a **Bōdhisattva** became sole king in this country; this was the glorious **Nāgārjuna**, who resided at **Shāḍarhadvana**.

¹⁵³ पावेष P.

¹⁵⁴ One of **Kuvēra**'s names is **Rājarāja**, 'the king of kings'; he is the lord of the **Yakshas** or **Guhyakas**.
गुरसेतु P.

¹⁵⁵ योचिन्त्या P. T.

¹⁵⁶ बलान्नदा P.

¹⁵⁷ स्पृष्टेनां P. दाहतिम् P. C.

¹⁵⁸ ददाति P.

¹⁵⁹ च for ते P.

¹⁶⁰ **Hushkapura**, **Jushkapura** and **Kanishkapura** have been identified by General Cunningham with **Ushkar**, **Zukru**, and **Kāmpur**; see A. G. p. 99ff.

¹⁶¹ पुण्यादाया P. शुष्कलेना P. C. On **Sushkalētra**, see Dr. Bühler's note on verse 102.

¹⁶² कश्मीर P. स्म for च P.

¹⁶³ तदा P. पर P. T. अस्मिन्मही P.

¹⁶⁴ त्रैको P. स च P. षडईदं P. T. According to Schiefner's *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung śākyamuni's*, p. 310, **Nāgārjuna**, the founder of the **Mādhyamika** school, was born in the time of **Kanishka**. **Kaḥṇa** agrees with this tradition in placing **Nāgārjuna** just after **Kanishka**. On the other hand, his report that **Nāgārjuna** became king of **Kāśmīr**, seems to be as fanciful as his assertion that he lived only 150 years after **Buddha's** *parinirvāṇa*.

(174) Then the fearless Abhimanyu, who was the donor of the *agrahāra* of *Kaṇṭakōṭsa* became a paramount sovereign (and thus) appeared to be a second Indra. — (175) After this illustrious (king) had caused a (temple of) *Śiva*, which bore his name, to be built, he founded the extremely rich (town of) *Abhimanyupura*. — (176) *Chandracārya* and others brought into use the *Mahābhāṣya*, having obtained its traditional interpretation from another country, and composed their own grammar. — (177) At this juncture, the *Bauddhas*, who had been protected by the wise *Bōdhisattva Nāgārjuna*, became powerful in the country. — (178) Having defeated in controversy all wise disputants, these enemies of tradition stopped the rites proclaimed in the *Nīla-Purāṇa*. — (179) The *Nāgas*, whose oblations had (thus, been stopped, caused a heavy fall of snow, and a destruction of the people in the country) where the rules of conduct were disregarded. — (180) As the snow fell every year for the distress of the *Bauddhas*, the king dwelt in the cold season, for six months, at *Dārvābhisāra* and similar places. — (181) At that time, the performers of oblations possessed a miraculous power, by virtue of which the *Brāhmanas* did not perish, while the *Bauddhas* entered death. — (182) Then a *Brāhmaṇ* of the *Kāśyapa (gōtra)*, *Chandradēva* by name, underwent austerities, in order to please *Nīla*, the lord of the serpents and protector of the country. — (183) Having appeared to him, *Nīla* stopped the plague of snow, and pronounced again the rites of his *Purāṇa*. — (184) As the first *Chandradēva* removed the plague of *Yakhas*, thus the second removed the intolerable plague of *Bhikṣus* (or *Bauddhas*) in this country.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 9).

FIFTH EDICT.

Prinsep, l.c. pp. 590 ff. (cf. p. 965).

TEXT.

- 1 Dēvanāmpiyē Piyadasi lāja hēvaṃ ahā [...] sadvisativasa
- 2 abhisitēna mē imāni jātāni¹⁷⁴ avadhiyāni kaṭāni sēyatha
- 3 sukē sālikā alunē¹⁷⁵ chakavākē hamsē namdimukhē gēlātē
- 4 jatūkā ambākapilikā daḍi anāthikamachhē vēdavēyākē
5. gaṃgāpuputakē saṃkujamachhē kaphāṣasayākē paṃnasasē simalē
- 6 saṃḍakē ōkapimḥē palasatē sētakapōtē gāmakapōtē
- 7 savē chatupadē yē paṭibhōgaṃ nō ēti¹⁷⁶ na cha khādiyati [...] ajakanā-i¹⁷⁷
- 8 ēḍakē chā sūkālī chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhāya pātaka(?)
- 9 pi cha kāni āsaṃmāsikē [...] vadhikukutē¹⁷⁸ nō kaṭaviyē [...] tuse(?) sajivē¹⁷⁹
- 10 nō jhāpētaviyē [...] dāvē anāthāyē vā vihisāyē¹⁸⁰ vā nō jhāpētaviyē [...]

¹⁷⁴ °कोत्सा° P.

¹⁷⁵ °माकुं सल्लकुप° P. T. विरचय्य P. C.

¹⁷⁶ The above translation of this important verse is that proposed by Professor Kielhorn, (ante, Vol. IV. p. 107f.), with whom Dr. Bühler agrees (K. B. p. 71). Preads °लेन्यादेशं तस्मात्तदागमन् for which Kielhorn conjectures °लेन्या देशान्तरात्तदागमन्. स्वं च व्याकरणं P. C.

¹⁷⁷ °विषादिनाम् P. For references to the *Dārvas* and *Abhisāras* see ante, Vol. XIV. p. 321, and Böhtlingk and Roth.

¹⁷⁸ रक्षितारमहीभरम् P. °देवाहस्तपस्तेषु विजयतः P.

¹⁷⁹ सज्जविषयः P. C. The first half of this verse refers to a passage of the *Nīlamata-Purāṇa*, an extract of which has been given by Dr. Bühler, K. B. p. 40. There *Kāśyapa-Chandradēva* is said to have delivered the country, with *Nīla*'s help, from cold and from the *Piśāchas*, for whom *Kalhaṣa* substitutes the *Yakhas*.

- 11 jīvēna jīvē nō pusitaviyē [...] tīsu chātummāsīsu* tisāyaṁ puṁnamāsiyaṁ
 12 timni divasāni chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ paṭipadāyē dhuvāyē chā
 13 anupōsatham machhē avadhiyē nō pi vikētaviyē [...] ētāni yēvā divasāni
 14 nāgavanasi kēvaṭabhōgasi* yāni amnāni pi jīvanikāyāni
 15 nō haṁtaviyāni [...] aṭhamipakhāyē chāvudasaṁ paṁnaḍasaṁ tisāyē
 16 paṇāvasunē tāsu chātummāsīsu sudivasaṁ gōnē nō nilakhitaviyē¹⁰
 17 ajakē ēḍakē sūkalē ēvāpi amnē nilakhiyati nō nilakhitaviyē [...] tisāyē
 18 tisāyē punāvasunē chātummāsīyē chātummāsipakhāyē asvasā gōnasā
 19 lakhanē nō kaṭaviyē [...] yāva saḍvimsativasaabhisitēna mē ētāyē
 20 amtalikāyē paṁnavisati baṁdhanamōkhāni¹¹ kaṭāni [...]

NOTES.

1. The neuter *jātān* can only be taken here in the meaning of *jāti*, 'race,' 'species,' of animals. I have drawn attention elsewhere to another example of this use of the word (*Mahāvastu*, I. 593). *Avadhiyāni kaṭāni*, 'have been established, specified' as not to be slain.

2. This enumeration of names of animals constitutes one of the principal difficulties of the present edict. Several words for which lexicographers provide us with no Sanskrit equivalents, remain obscure, and, as we are dealing with technical terms, etymology, even when it does appear with probable clearness, cannot lend us assistance. Fortunately this ignorance, much though it may be regretted, does not interfere with the general comprehension of the passage; the more exact identification of some of the animals to which we cannot assign names, would be of small importance to us. The future, as it extends the range of our knowledge, will doubtless fill up many of these *lacunæ*. What we are now certain of is that the enumeration which commences with *sēyathā* includes the words *saṁvē chatupadē—khādiyati*. It is there only that the general prohibition ceases. What follow are temporary or special interdicts, and accordingly the first word of the next sentence can only be *ajakā*. We thus find classed under the general heading not only aquatic animals and birds, but also terrestrial animals, quadrupeds. The *śuka* and *śārika* are well known; and it is with *aluna*, i.e. *aruṇa*, that our doubts commence. I do not know what connection Prinsep (p. 965) claims to exist between *aruṇa*, the mythical half-bird charioteer of the Aurora, and the species of crane known to Anglo-Indians as the *adjutant bird*; but I am willingly disposed to admit that his Paṇḍits saw correctly in identifying our *aluna* with this bird. The St. Petersburg Dictionary only so far recognizes *aruṇa* as an animal, by describing it (after Śaṁsṛta) as 'a little poisonous animal.' The names on each side of *aluna* here scarcely allow us to imagine such a meaning, but refer us to some kind of bird. *Nandī-mukha*, according to Śaṁsṛta, appears to be applied to an aquatic bird; I have no means for determining the real name. *Gēlāṭa* is altogether uncertain, the identification with *grīdhra*, allowed by Prinsep's paṇḍits, cannot be upheld. The origin of the word, however, does not appear to be particularly obscure. Sanskrit has many names of birds into the formation of which *aṭa* appears as a second member. Such are *vyāghrāṭa*, *dhāmyāṭa*; and we have in this word probably a new example, which I would transcribe as *gairāṭa*, from *giri*, 'a mountain.' *Jatūkā* 'a bat,' offers no difficulties. This word appears to wind up for the present the enumeration of birds; not because the word *ambākapilikā* (*kipilika*, at Allāhābād) is clear, but because the Pāli *kipillika*, the Sanskrit *pipilikā*, seems to give us the key to the second member of the compound. With regard to the first member, I cannot agree with Prinsep either in recognising the Sanskrit *ambā*, or in adopting, for the whole compound, the meaning "mother-ant," i.e. "Queen-ant;" The legislative specification would become, through its minuteness, too difficult to grasp. I am hence driven to choose between *āmra*, 'a mango-tree,' (which we shall, by the way, meet subsequently under the feminine form *anbhā*), and *ambu*, 'water.' In the latter case, the termination would be a cause of surprise, but the inexactitude of the vocalic notation in our texts gives us some margin, and, subject to correction, I imagine that what is here alluded to is some animal designated by the periphrase 'water-ant.' From one point of view the conjecture is satisfactory, for the name appropriately heads a series of aquatic animals. Thus, the word which immediately follows, and

of which the correct form (cf. M. and A.) is *dudī*, means "a small species of tortoise." We next have certainly to deal with a fish, *machha*, i.e. *matsya*; as for the former part of the compound I would not take it, with Prinsep, as corresponding to *anarīhika*, but as the equivalent of *anasthika*. The fish in question is named as "the boneless one," perhaps figuratively, and on account, for example, of its extreme suppleness. The cerebral *fh* appears to me to recommend this etymology. I learn from Mr. Grierson that, at the present day, in Magadha, the *prawn* is said to have no bones. It is not eaten by Vaishnavas. I can imagine only one possible transcription for *vēdavyāka*,—*vaidarvāka*. *Darvi* means the expanded hood of a snake, and we can suppose that *vidarvi*, or, which comes to the same thing, its patronymic form *vaidarvāya*, might allude to some fish as resembling a snake 'less the hood.' It could thus, for example, mean "an eel;" but this is a pure hypothesis, for I do not meet the word in the Sanskrit dictionaries. From the sense of 'swelling' given for *puppūṭa*, it is natural to think that *gaṅgāpupūṭaka* is applied to a particular fish of the Ganges, remarkable for some protuberance. The *saṅkujamachha* should be the same as the *śaṅkuchi*, or 'skate-fish' of Sanskrit lexicographers. There is only between them; a shade of pronunciation which is sufficiently explained by the Prakrit weakening of *ch* into *j*. The next word heads the list of terrestrial animals,—at least it does so in its second half, *sayaka*, which is, I think, in Sanskrit *śalyaka*, 'the porcupine.' The first member is doubtful. We, however, meet in Yājñavalkya, I. 177, the porcupine (under the form *śallaka*) associated with the tortoise (*kachchhapa*), and one is strongly tempted to search for a similar association here, and to take *kaphaṭa* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *kamaṭha*. I admit that the phonetic transition is the reverse of regular, but the objection would not be absolute, especially for a kind of proper name, which was in frequent use, and which, even under its classical form, bears all the characteristics of a popular origin. Moreover, these two animals are mentioned in the verse of the Dharmaśāstra above quoted, as being allowed to be eaten, and it is therefore natural that they should not be included here in the final category of *śavē chatupadē*, &c. The same verse speaks of the hare, *śāśa*, which we also meet in our *paṇṇasasē*, whether the latter word is a mere equivalent of *śāśa*, or whether the addition of *parṇa* marks a particular species. For *śimala*, I cannot discover any Sanskrit equivalent, the correspondence of which would be either phonetically regular, or at least justifiable. *Sanḍaka* is the Sanskrit *śaṇḍa*, and means a bull living at liberty. For *śkapīṇḍa* I cannot offer a certain translation. At least the form and the existence of the word are vouched for, for we meet it elsewhere in Pāli. In *Mahāvagga*, vi. 17, 6, it is narrated how the Bhikkhus leave outside the monasteries the provisions which have been brought to them, and *ukkapiṇḍakāpi khādanti chōrūpi haranti*; 'the *ukkapiṇḍakas* eat them, the thieves carry them off.' The two last items in the list, *sētakopōta* and *gāmakopōta*, which admit of no hesitation, and evidently referring to two species of pigeons, appear to authorise the restoration of *palasatē* to *palapatē*. i.e. 'turtle-dove.' The correction of *ḷ* into *Ḷ* is very easy, and, no matter how well these inscriptions are engraved, in our reproductions there is no want of clear instances in which corrections are necessary. If the new revisions definitely guaranteed the reading *palasatē*, we should be driven to recognize the Pāli *parasatō*, and to translate it by 'rhinoceros' (cf. Trenckner, *Pāli Miscell.*, I. 50), which would look very singular here.

3. Prinsep, while construing the sentence wrongly, correctly recognized the meaning of the expression *paṭibhōgaṃ ēti*, 'to enter into, to serve for consumption.' The king, who wished to restrain as much as possible the slaughter of animals, naturally forbade in general terms the killing of all those which did not serve for urgent needs, and of which therefore the slaughter was not indispensable. I suppose that *paṭibhōga* does not refer exclusively to nourishment, but in general to all the needs which dead animals could serve to satisfy. If it were otherwise, *na cha khādiyati* would only repeat the idea without adding anything new.

4. After the general and absolute prohibitions come those which are accidental and temporary. *Ajakaṇāṇī* gives no sense. We require a feminine singular, and there is no place here for a neuter plural. The slight correction of *ḷ* to *+* gives the reading *ajakā kāṇī*

equivalent to *ajakā khu*, which is completely satisfactory (cf. I. 161). The particle *kāni* reappears in the next phrase. The paṇḍits of Prinsep, warned by the neighbouring *gabhini*, hit upon the true meaning of the following adjective. We cannot, however, transcribe it as *payastinī*, but prefer to read *piyamānā*, which easily gives the meaning of 'in milk, suckling.' We should also read *avadhiyā* and not *avadhāya*, and, with R. and M., *pōtaka* instead of *pātaka*. *Āśanmāsa* is necessarily formed from *ā-shad-māsa*; and it is therefore, in short, forbidden to slaughter the mothers (goats, ewes, and sows) when they are with young, or when they are suckling, and their young when they are less than six months old.

5. *Vadhri* means 'a eunuch,' and *vadhi-kukkuṭa* can only be taken as a compound signifying, 'capon.'

6. *Tusē sajiśē* has an exact counterpart in the expression *sajīśēni prāṇahāni* of *Mahāvastu*, I. 22, 5, 'one may not roast alive any living thing.'

7. This *vihūṣā* refers to the destruction of game, brought about by burning down the forest in which it lives.

8. We have here, at the conclusion of the edict, three series of dates, the accurate explanation of which offers more than one difficulty. We shall consider them together. We must first compare them with two parallel indications taken from the detached edicts of Dhauli and Jangada. Shown in a tabular form these series are:—

A	B	C
<i>tisū chāturmāsīsu</i>	<i>aṭhamāpakhāyē</i>	<i>tisāyē</i>
<i>tisāyāṣ puṇnamāsīyāṣ</i>	<i>chāvudāsāyē</i>	<i>punāvasunē</i>
<i>tisāni divasāni—</i>	<i>pañṇadāsāyē</i>	<i>chāturmāsīye</i>
<i>chāvudāsāṣ</i>	<i>tisāyē</i>	<i>chāturmāṣpakhāyē</i>
<i>pañṇadāsāṣ</i>	<i>punāvasunē</i>	
<i>paṭipadāyē</i>	<i>tisū chāturmāsīsu</i>	
<i>dhuvāyē chā anupōsathāṣ</i>	<i>sudivasāyē</i>	

With which compare the following in the Detached Edicts:—

I.	II.
<i>anuchāturmāsāṣ tisēna nakhatēna</i> (Dh.)	<i>tisanakhatēna</i> (Dh.)
<i>anuchāturmāsāṣ tisēnaṣ</i> (J.)	<i>anutisāṣ</i> (J.)

I must first warn my readers that, in spite of the analogy of the words, the passages in the Detached Edicts do not appear to me to have an exact similarity with those in the above Table. I do not consider that in the two cases the meanings are the same, and moreover, the forms used, differ. But if we begin by comparing between each other the expressions of the two Detached Edicts, we shall find that the second omits the word *anuchāturmāsāṣ*. As both instances refer to the public recitation of the edicts themselves, it is impossible to imagine any reason for suggesting an intentional difference between the two passages. It appears to me to be indisputable that the *tisanakhatēna* or *anutisāṣ* of the second means exactly the same as the more developed phrase of the first. I first, therefore, conclude that *anuchāturmāsāṣ* does not restrict the sense, but merely calls attention to the particulars defined by the simple expression *tisēna nakhatēna*. The relation between the two expressions cannot be the same as that which ought to exist here between the first two in our list A., for, as a matter of fact, if the thematic elements are the same in each case, the grammatical forms used are very different. The feminine *chāturmāsī* and *tisā* can only, conformably to usage, mean 'the full-moon corresponding to each of the festivals called *chāturmāsīyas* (four-monthly)' and 'the full-moon in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Tishya' (cf. the formation of *Śrāvaṇā*, according to Pāṇini, IV. 2, 5); while, on the other hand, *tisēna nakhatēna* cannot mean 'the full moon of Tishya,' but signifies literally 'under the *nakshatra* Tishya.' Again, *anuchāturmāsāṣ* cannot be analysed as *anuchaturmāsāṣ*, and translated 'every four months' for the *ā*, in this hypothesis, would be unexplainable. The only possible transcription is *anuchāturmāsīyāṣ*, 'at each of the festivals called *chāturmāsīyas*,' and so in fact we find the same *anu* actually combined with the name of

an undoubted festival in *anupôṣathan*, 'at each upôṣatha.' After this analogy, and being given the fact that *anutisaṇ* (J.) and *tisanakhatēna* are equivalent terms, we must render all these expressions, *tisēna nakhatēna*, *tisēna*, &c., as 'at the festival of Tishya.' The addition of *anuchātumāsāṇ* proves, in short, that a festival, corresponding in date to that of the three annual sacrifices of the Brāhmaṇs is referred to; and it is clear that the dates of these sacrifices, being fixed by the occurrences of three definite full-moons, could not regularly, in accordance with astronomical rules, correspond with one and the same *nakshatra*. My two-fold conclusion is therefore; (1) that the quotations from the Detached Edicts must be translated 'at the festival of Tishya' and 'at the festival of Tishya, which is celebrated at each of the *chāturmāsya* festivals'; and (2) that these data are without importance in regard to our present passage, in the interpretation of which they cannot help us. It is this interpretation which principally interests us at present.

In the series A., a group at first separates itself off by its syntactic form. This is the words *tiñni divasāni*, &c., that is to say 'three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth (of the month), and the *pratipad* (or first day of the following half month).' It is evident that this indication must depend on what precedes for the necessary specification of what particular month or months is or are referred to; and regarding this the only doubt which can be raised is whether it depends only on *tiṇḍyaṇ puñnamāsiyaṇ* (I accept this reading provisionally) or whether also on *tiṇḍu chātumāsīsu*. If we depended merely on grammar, we might hesitate, but the data following, *dhuvāyē chā anupôṣathan*, settle the question. These words can only be translated by 'and on the fixed day, each upôṣatha,' or in other words, 'and, generally, on each day of upôṣatha.' The use of *dhruva* in the first of the fourteen (rock) Edicts may be compared with this. Now, as each day of the full-moon is necessarily a day of upôṣatha, to separately mention the three full-moons of the months in which the festival called *chāturmāsya* is celebrated, would be merely superfluous, and we must therefore look upon the whole of the first part of the sentence down to *dhuvāyē* as a single compound, and translate 'Besides the full-moons of the months in which the festival *chāturmāsya* is celebrated, and the full-moon of Tishya, the fourteenth and fifteenth days, and the day following.' I admit that hitherto the reading *puñnamāsiyaṇ* has been considered as certain, but I must confess that I am very far myself from thinking it to be so. I shall have more to say about this, after having explained the two last series.

Of these, the third presents scarcely any uncertainty. It includes 'the full-moon in conjunction with Tishya, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasū, and the full-moon which corresponds to each of the *chāturmāsya* sacrifices.' As for the last term, *chātumāsīpakkhāyē*, *chāturmāsīpaksha* means, according to custom, the half-lunation which follows the full-moon (each full-moon) called *chāturmāsī*; and, as here one day in particular is referred to, the feminine *chātumāsīpakkhā* (which, of course, is to be construed with *tithi* understood) certainly represents the first day of this half-lunation. It is thus exactly equivalent to the *paṭipadāyē* of the first list, inasmuch as this word depends on *tiṇḍu chātumāsīsu*. I may add that the difference of form between the singular *chātumāsīyē*, which we have here to designate each of the *chāturmāsī* full moons, and the plural *tiṇḍu chātumāsīsu* of series A., would naturally (if it were necessary) add confirmation to the explanation which I have just given of the latter phrase. It establishes an intentional distinction between the two cases, and, the sense being certain in the present enumeration, we are left no alternative except to adopt for the phrase in series A. the interpretation, which for independent reasons we have already adopted.

The three first terms of series B. give no room for doubt. *Aṭhamīpakkhā* is the equivalent, in a slightly irregular form of construction, of *pakshāṣṭhamī*, "the eighth day of the half lunation" (cf. e.g. *Dhammap.*, p. 404: *chātuddasī pañchadasī yāva pakkhassa aṭhamī*), that is to say, of each lunation. To this the Sinhalese expression *atawaka* (*aṣṭapaksha*) (Sp. Hardy, *East. Monach.* p. 236) exactly corresponds. But it is doubtful if the 14 and the 15 refer only to the 14th and 15th of the month, i.e. of the first half, thus corresponding to the full-moon, or whether they apply also to the second fortnight of each month. To judge from modern customs

(cf. Sp. Hardy, *loc. cit.*), one would be inclined to the first solution; but, as the idea of a triple *upôsatha* in each half lunation is expressly borne witness to by the *Mahāvagga* (II. 4, 2), I have no hesitation in considering that such is also the intention of the king in this passage. It is true that great uncertainty appears to have prevailed in the tradition about the *upôsatha*. The same work, a little further on (II. 14, 1) only admits 'two *upôsathas*, those of the 14th and of the 15th,' but, on the other hand, another passage (II. 34, 3—4) speaks expressly of the *pātipada upôsatha*, that is to say, that which corresponds to the first day of the month (the *amavaka* of Sinhalese terminology). I do not doubt, however, that Piyadasi considered this day as hallowed by a religious consecration. It is on this one day that the difference between the generic expression, *dhuvāyē anupôsathan*, of series A., and our series B., depends; if this more concise expression is not repeated here, it must necessarily be so in order to exclude some element which it contains, and that element can only be the *pratipad*. With regard to the rest of the list, I would refer to what has been said about series A. and the plural *tiṣu chātummāsīsu*; here again, all the full-moons being comprised in the dates *chāvudāsāyē* and *pañnadasāyē*, the terms *tiṣāyē* and *chātummāsīsu* have no use except as determinatives of the last word, *sudivāsāyē*. I regret that this last term is obscure to me, for I know of no parallel examples of the technical use of the word. We evidently want here something different from a vague astrological expression corresponding, I suppose, to the Vedic *sudinatrē ahnāh* (cf. Weber, *Die Véd. Nachrichten von den Nakṣ.* II. 315). A comparison with the other lists ought to guide us. We shall subsequently see that the acts successively forbidden by the king necessarily constitute a series of decreasing gravity. It is therefore *a priori* more than probable that the lists of reserved days, admitting the fact that there is a distinction) should be reduced in parallel lines: the second should contain less than the first; and the third less again than the second; but all the days excepted in the two last should be included in the first. In a general fashion, this conjecture is at first sight justified. Between list B. and list C. it is verified in detail, provided that *chātummāsīpakkhā* can be included under the last head of B.—*tiṣu chātummāsīsu sudivāsā*, for the full-moons of Tishya, Punarvasū and the *chāturmāsīyas* are included under the two first terms *chāvudāsā* and *pañnadasā*. On the other hand, to establish an analogy between A. and B. the last portion of B., *tiṣāyē to sudivāsā* must be included in A., either in the last term, *dhuvāyē chā anupôsathan*, or in the last but one, *tiṣu—paṭipaddāyē*. In the first case, the three first terms of B. include all the days of *upôsatha* except the *pātipada upôsatha*, and *sudivāsā* ought to designate the first of the month, the first of the light half (of the month of which the full-moon is in conjunction with Tishya, or Punarvasū, or one of the three months of *chāturmāsīya*). In the second case, it would designate the first of the dark half which follows (the full-moons in question). To sum up, therefore, C. appears to require that *sudivāsā* should designate the 16th of the months above referred, and A. permits this interpretation. The conclusion follows that we are driven to admit that B. practically had in view 'the days which come after the full moons in conjunction with Tishya and with Punarvasū, and after the full moons of the months of *chāturmāsīya*.' It may seem, perhaps, somewhat surprising that the name *sudivasa*, 'lucky day' should be applied to the first of the dark half for in general it is the light half, which is considered as particularly auspicious; but the scruple must necessarily vanish before the positive fact, witnessed by the perfectly clear testimony of our first list, that the day in question, at least in the lunations specified, was considered as having a religious consecration.

This necessary agreement between our three lists upon which I have just insisted, leads us to one last remark. The expression *tiṣāyāṃ puṇnamāsīyāṃ* of A. should surprise the reader: *tiṣāyāṃ* alone would be sufficient, as all the following lists attest. We should rather expect to find *puṇnamāsī* added to *tiṣu chātummāsīsu*, the first full-moons indicated, if it were added anywhere. On the other hand, the full-moon in conjunction with Punarvasū plays so important a part in the subsequent lists that it is out of the question that it should not be here also. How could it be permissible to slaughter animals on a day on which it was not permissible even to mark them? I have therefore no hesitation in maintaining that, instead of *puṇnamāsīyāṃ*, *puṇavasūyāṃ* should stand here. I do not deny that such a correction may appear bold, in the

face of the agreement, which, at least apparently, exists between different versions dispersed in different places; but nevertheless, whatever the difficulties may be; whether this agreement actually exists; or whether it is less real than the eyes of explorers, led away by a first reading, in appearance very simple, of the Dehli pillar, believed; to whatever medium, to whatever accident it may be due, I cannot prevent myself from seeing in *punāvasūyāṣ* a certain error for *punāvastūyāṣ*. This last word, it may be added, has itself had a very unlucky fate. In the two following lists, our facsimiles give *vasunē*. The first reproduction in the *Asiatic Researches* is the only one which indicates, at least in the second instance, the true reading, and gives *punāvapuyē* for *punāvastūyē*. If need be, the form *punāvastunē* could be explained, but it would be with difficulty; and considering the close resemblance which exists between the signs \perp and \perp , I have little doubt but that we ought to restore the only normal form, *-vasūyē*.

9. The two words *nāgavana* and *kēvaṭabhōga* offer some difficulty. The derivation is clear (*kaivartabhōga*), but neither appears to be used in the literature known to us. They might without violence be treated as proper names, but why should the king mention particularly two specified localities, in the vicinity, for instance, of his capital, in edicts intended to be published over his whole empire? This conjecture is therefore improbable. What does appear to me to be certain is that of these two terms the former relates to hunting, and the latter to fishing. A passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, in the *Mahāvastu* (I. 24 and notes) leads me to think of the kinds of parks in which game was preserved either to protect it from theft or for gradual consumption: *nāgavana* "elephant park," might refer to an enclosure of this description; and *kēvaṭabhōga* might mean a fish-pond, such as exists in all countries. The king would prohibit the slaughter, on certain specified days, of any kind of animal whatever, whether quadrupeds or fishes, even those which their dwelling-place destines to an early death.

10. The only obscure word here is the verb *nīlakhiyati*. Prinsep naturally thought of the verb *rakṣ*, but I do not see how it is possible to explain a *nīrakṣhati*, nor, if we elude this difficulty, how to draw any reasonable sense from it. We must try the verb *lakṣ*. There can be no doubt that the next sentence turns on the prohibition of *lakṣhaṇa*, which is used in a well-known *sūtra* of Pāṇini (VI. 3, 115) to mean the marks, *svastika*, *maṇi*, &c., which, as the scholiast explains, they make on the ears of cattle to distinguish the owner of each. This meaning exactly suits our word *lakṣhana*, for bullocks and horses are, in fact, domestic animals, and consequently fitted for receiving marks of this kind. But what are we to do with *nīlakhati* in the present sentence? It is natural to look again for the Sanskrit *lakṣ* in the root *lakṣ*; but, on the other hand, it is evident that there is a considerable difference between the two operations successively enumerated. This follows not only from the difference in the terms used, in the prefix added in the first case, and omitted in the second, but also from the circumstance that in both, partly at least, the same animals, bullocks (*gōnasa*), are dealt with. The long *ī*, which occurs almost consistently throughout all the versions, of *nīlakhiyati*, shows that the true transcription can only be *nīrlakṣ*, and this analysis does, in fact, admit of a very simple translation. If we refer to a recognized meaning of *lakṣhaṇa*, 'the sexual parts,' a denominative *nīrlakṣhay* would mean 'to cut,' 'to castrate,' and, as a matter of fact, all the animals mentioned, being domestic ones, are of that class which could be so mutilated. I believe that I can identify the same meaning in *nīrlakṣhaṇa* as opposed to *lakṣhaṇavānt* in a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gorr., II. 118, 5) which is quoted by the St. Petersburg Dictionary, but interpreted, wrongly as I think, in a much vaguer fashion. It will now be seen why I spoke above of a decreasing gradation in the series of cases dealt with by our edict. The first prohibitions deal with the slaughter of animals; the second series interdicts their castration; and the third, the infliction upon them of a much lighter suffering, which might consist, for example, in slitting the ear.

11. The meaning of this last sentence has, I think, been well defined by Lassen (II. 272, n.), although I do not adopt the meaning of 'execution' which he claims directly for *bandhana*. *Bandhanamśikkha* means literally 'deliverance from bonds,' 'setting at liberty,' but if the king only spoke of setting at liberty twenty-five prisoners in twenty-five years, the royal

clemency would appear but moderate, while, on the other hand, the repetition of twenty-five general amnesties in as many years would be equivalent to the suppression of all punishment. I consider, therefore, remembering the connection in the fourth edict between the words *bamdhana* and *patavadha* while they are nevertheless not synonyms, that Piyadasi here speaks only of important prisoners, and that, as in the last edict, this qualification is here applied exclusively to those condemned to death. This is indeed, also, the only interpretation which would justify the presence of this declaration in this place, at the end of an edict consecrated to recommending a general respect of life.

The following translation results from the preceding observations :—

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas :—In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation have I forbidden the slaughter of any of the animals belonging to the following tribes ; that is to say,—parrots, *mainas*, *aruṇas*, *chakravākas*, flamingos, *nandī* *mukhas*, *gairāṭas*, bats, water-ants(?), the tortoises called *duḍi*, the fishes called *anasthikas*, *vaidarēyakas*, *puppūṭas* of the Ganges, the fishes called *śaṅkujā*, turtles and porcupines, *parṇasāśas* (?), *śimalas* (?), bulls which wander at liberty, foxes (?), turtle-doves, white pigeons, village pigeons, and all kinds of quadrupeds which do not enter into consumption and which are not articles of food. As for she-goats, ewes, and sows, they may not be slaughtered when they are with young or are in milk, nor their offspring when less than six months old. Caponing fowls is prohibited, nor is it allowed to roast alive any living being. It is forbidden to set fire to a forest either in malice or in order to kill the animals which dwell therein. It is forbidden to make use of living beings in order to feed living beings. At the three full-moons of the *chāturmāsya*s, at the full-moon which is in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* Tishya, at that which is in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* Punarvasū, on the 14th and the 15th and on the day which follows the full-moon, and generally on each day of *upōsatha*, it is forbidden either to kill fish or to offer them for sale. On the same days it is forbidden to kill either animals confined in gameparks or in fishponds or any other kind of living being. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th of each lunar fortnight, and on the days which follow the full-moons of Tishya, of Punarvasū and of the three *chāturmāsya*s, it is forbidden to castrate ox, he-goat, ram, boar, or any other animal, which is usually castrated. On the day of the full-moon of Tishya, of Punarvasū, of the *chāturmāsya*s, and on the first day of the fortnight which follows the full-moon of a *chāturmāsya*, it is forbidden to mark either ox or horse. In the course of the twenty-six years which have elapsed since my coronation, I have set at liberty twenty-five [men condemned to death].

(To be continued.)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 174.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE TIME OF AJAYAPALA.—VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1231.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in April, 1883, from the Bombay Secretariat. I have no information as to where they were found, or as to the owner of them.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring about 14½" by 9½". The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing ; and the inscription is well preserved and very legible throughout.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings ; but only one ring is now forthcoming. It is a plain copper ring, about ¼" thick and 2½" in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice ; but there are no indications of a seal having been attached to this ring and abstracted from it. In the first plate, the ring-holes were originally

made at the top; but they were filled in again with circular pieces of copper. The seal, if there was one attached to either of the rings, is not now forthcoming. In the lower proper left corner of the second plate, however, after the end of the inscription, there are engraved the sun and moon, and the figure of a god, seated, and facing full-front. As the god is four-faced, as well as four-armed, and seems to be seated on a water-lily, it must be a representation of Brahman.—The weight of the two plates is 10 lbs. 1 oz., and of the ring, 3 oz.; total, 10 lbs. 4 oz.—The characters are Nāgarī, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 31, the decimal figures 1, 2, and 3. The engraving is good; the interiors of the letters are so filled in with rust, that any marks of the working of the tool cannot be observed. The plates are thick and substantial; and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all.—The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout; except for two invocatory verses at the commencement, and nine benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 14 to 16 and 23 to 31. The text contains some technical fiscal terms which require explanation; *talabhēdyāghāṇakamalakavundhaka*, in lines 19-20: and *sarv-ābhyantara-siddhi*, in line 20. And in line 19 we have the word *kaṅkaṭa*, which has been met with in other passages in the sense of 'boundary,' in which it is used here.¹—In respect of orthography the only points that call for notice are—(1) the preferential use of the *anusvāra* instead of the proper nasal, *e. g.* in *paripañthayati*, line 7; *daṇḍanāyaka*, line 9; and *aṅgūṛīṭya*, line 17; though the proper nasal is used in *maṇḍalam*, line 8, and *vinḍu*, line 15, and elsewhere; and (2) the use of *v* for *ḍ* throughout, *e. g.* in *vibhartī*, line 1; *vṛāhmaṇapātaka*, line 2; and *lavḍha*, line 5; except once, in line 23, where a distinct form for *ḍ* seems to be used in the word *bahubhir*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Ajayapala of Anhilwād. But the grant recorded in it was made by one of his feudatories, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijalladēva, who, as we learn from line 17, belonged to the Chāhumāna lineage,—or, as the name is actually written here, Chāhuyāna,—and who had the government of the maṇḍala or province on the banks of the river Narmadā; and the charter was issued from the city of Brāhmaṇapātaka. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of a village to a *sattrāgāra* or charitable alms-house, for the purpose of feeding Brāhmaṇas.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Anahilapātaka, the capital of Ajayapala and his ancestors; Brāhmaṇapātaka, the town from which Vijalladēva issued the charter; Alaviḍagāmva, the village granted, which is defined as being in the group of villages known as the Mākhulagāmva Forty-two-villages, belonging to the Pūrṇa pathaka; and Khaṇḍōhaka, the village in which was situated the *sattrāgāra* to which the grant was made. Anahilapātaka, or, as the name was sometimes written, Anahillapātaka, is perhaps better known under the somewhat later and slightly corrupted name of Anhilwād or Anhilwād-pāṭan. It is said, in the Jain chronicles, and elsewhere, to have been founded in Vikrama-Samvat 802 by the Paramāra king Vanarāja;² and it appears to have passed from the possession of the Paramāras into that of the Chāwāḍa kings; and to have been acquired from the latter by the first Chaulukya king, Mūlarāja, in Vikrama-Samvat³ 997. It was subsequently laid waste; but the date of this event appears not yet to have been properly fixed; for, whereas Col. J. W. Watson⁴ seems to attribute the destruction of the city to the armies of Alā-ud-dīn in Vikrama-Samvat 1297, we find it still mentioned, as the capital of Viśaladēva,⁵ in Vikrama-Samvat 1317. It is now represented by the modern town of Pāṭan,⁶ the chief town of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Gaikwār's Dominions, about sixty-five miles in a north-westerly direction from Ahmadābād. The other places remain to be identified.

The record contains two dates. In line 11ff., in connection with the making of the grant, we have the details of Vikrama-Samvat 1231, expressed fully in words, and not distinctly

¹ *e. g.* ante, Vol. XVI. p. 255, line 23. The only meaning given in Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary are 'mail, defensive armour; an iron hook to goad an elephant.' It is said to be derived from the root *kaś*, 'to go.'

² ante, Vol. XI. p. 253; Vol. IV. pp. 145f., 147.

³ ante, Vol. IV. p. 147f.

⁴ ante, Vol. IV. p. 148.

⁵ ante, Vol. VI. p. 212.

⁶ The 'Patan, Pattan, Puttun, Anhalwada, Anhalwar Patan, and Anhilwara Pattan,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 21. Lat. 23° 51' N.; Long. 72° 10' E.

specified either as current or as expired, the month Kārttika, the bright fortnight, the eleventh *tithi*, and Sômadina or Monday; and we are told that, when Vajjalladêva made the grant, he had fasted on this day, and had done worship to the gods Śiva and Vishṇu at the Kārttik-ôdyâpana festival. And in line 31 we have the details, for either the writing or the assignment of the charter, of the same month, fortnight, and year, here expressed in decimal figures; and of the thirteenth civil day (and, with it, the thirteenth *tithi*), coupled with Budha, i.e. Budhavāra or Wednesday. The English equivalents ought to be found in A.D. 1173 or 1174, according as the given year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. And we have to note that the first of the given *tithis* is the well-known *prabôdhini* or *utthāna-êkâdasi*, when Vishṇu wakes up from his four-months' slumber; and that the text distinctly intimates that the grant was made to celebrate this *tithi* and its festival. The results, however, are not altogether satisfactory. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1231 current, Kārttika śukla 11 ended on Thursday, 18th October, A.D. 1173, at about 51 *ghaṭis* after mean sunrise, for Aphilwāḍ; and Kārttika śukla 13 ended on Saturday, 20th October, at about 43 *gh.* 2 *p.*

And in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1232 current (1231 expired), Kārttika śukla 11 ended on Tuesday, 8th October, A.D. 1174, at about 32 *ghaṭis*; and Kārttika śukla 13 ended on Thursday, 10th October, at about 19 *gh.* 25 *p.* The *tithis* began respectively on Monday, 7th October, at about 38 *gh.* 8 *p.*, and on Wednesday, 9th October, at about 25 *gh.* 39 *p.* And these dates would do, if we could apply the *tithis* as current *tithis*. But there is no justification for the quotation of the current *tithi*, in recording the writing or the assignment of the charter. And both Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit and Prof. Kielhorn have informed me that there is no rule by which the fasting and ceremonies, connected with the *prabôdhini-êkâdasi*, can have been performed in this case on the Monday. Accordingly, even the eleventh *tithi* cannot have been quoted here as a current *tithi*. And the dates thus obtained for the commencement of the two *tithis* are not admissible.

But, in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Samvat 1233 current (1232 expired), Kārttika śukla 11 ended, as required, on Monday, 27th October, A.D. 1175, at about 37 *gh.* 23 *p.*; and Kārttika śukla 13 ended on Wednesday, 29th October, at about 25 *gh.* 30 *p.* These results satisfy the requirements of the case, viz. that both the given *tithis* should have been quoted, and must be applied, as ended *tithis*; and these seem certainly to be the real days that were intended. Accordingly, as there is nothing to raise a suspicion that the grant is other than an authentic one, we must conclude that, in spite of the distinct record in words as well as in figures, we have here a genuine mistake in respect of the given year; and that 1231 was wrongly written for 1232, which is to be applied as an expired year, and, in consideration of the locality to which the record belongs, is to be referred to the southern reckoning of the era.

TEXT.*

First Plate.

- 1 Ôm[†] Svasti || Jayô-bhyundayas=cha || Jayati¹⁰ Vyômakêśô=sau yah sarggâya vi(bi)bhartti tām i[†] aindavim śirasâ lêkhām jagad-vij-âṅkur-â.
- 2 kṛitim || Tanvaintu vah Smarârâtêḥ kalyāṇam-anisam jatâḥ | kalp-âṁta-samay-ôddâma-taḍid-valaya-piṅgal[â*]ḥ || Śrī-Vra(bra)hmanapâṭakât [i*] Śrī-A-
- 3 nahilapâṭakâdhishṭhita-samastarâjâvalivirâjita-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva(êva)ra-parama-bhaṭṭâraka-Varvarakajishṇu-êrī-Jayasimhadêva-
- 4 pâdânudhyâta-Umâpativaralavdha(bdha)prasâda-praṇḍhapratâpa-nijabhujavikramarâṇâṅga-vinirjitaSakambharibhûpâla-paramabhâṭṭâ-

[†] The times here are for Aphilwâḍ, all through.

^{*} From the original plates.

^{*} Represented by a symbol.

¹⁰ Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the next verse.

- 5 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Kumārāpālādēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā r a k a-
mahārājādhirāja-paramamāhēśvara¹¹-śrī-
6 mad¹²-Ajayapālādēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē [1*] tat-pādapadm-ōpajlvinī mahāmātya-śrī-
Sōmēśvarō śrī-śrīkaraṇ-ādan samasta-mudrā-
7 vyāpārān=paripamthayati sat=ity=ētasmin=kālē pravarttamānē [1*] Samadhiगतपाम्च-
mahāśavdā(bdā)lāmākārōpēta-samastaprakriyāvirājamāna-mahā-
8 maṇḍalēśvara-śrī-Vaijallādēvaḥ śrīmad-Ajayapālādēvēna prasādīkṛitya Narmmadā-
tāta-maṇḍalam=anuśāsan vijay-ōdayi || Pūrṇa-pathaka-pra-
9 tiva(ba)ddha-Mākhulagāmva-grāma-dvichatvāriṃśat grāmāpām¹³ madhyāt Ālavaḍa-
gāmva-grāmē samasta-damḍanāyaka-dēśathak[k*]ur-ādhiśhṭhānaka-kara-
10 ṇapurusha-śāyypāla-bhaṭṭaputra-prabhṛiti-niyukta-rājaparushān vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān
pratīnīvāsi-vishayika-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīmē=cha
11 vō(bō)dhayaty=Asu vaḥ samviditām yathā || Asmābhiḥ śrī-Vrā(brā)hmaṇapāṭaka-
sthita[h*] nripa-Vikrama-kālād=arvvāk ēka-triṃśad-adhika-dvādāśa-sa-
12 ta-samvatsar-āntarvarttini Kārttikē māsi sukla-pakṣhō ēkādāśyam Sōmadinō
upōshya Kārttik-ōdyāpāna-parvvaṇi char-āchara-gurum bhagavam-
13 tam Bhavāni-patim Purushōttamam cha Lakshmi-patim samabhyarohchya
samsārasy-āsaratām pariṇāya nalinī-gata-jala-lava-taralātaram jivi-
14 tam=ākalayya mada-vivasi(śi)kṛita-kari-karṇa-tāla-taralām śriyam=anuchi[m*]tya cha ||
Tathā hi [1*] Vāt¹⁴-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=ātāpa¹⁵
15 mātra-madhurō viśay-ōpabhōgam(h) prāṇas=triṇ-āgra-jala-vindu-samā narāṇām dhar-
mmaḥ sakhā param=aḥō paralōka-yānē || Api cha [1*] Bhra-
16 mat¹⁶-samsāra-chakr-āgra-dhār-ādharām=inmām¹⁷ śriyam prāpya yē na dadus=tēśhām
paśchāt[t*]āpaḥ param phalam || Iti jagatō vinasvaram svarūpam=āka-
17 layya dṛiṣṭ-āḍṛiṣṭa-phalam=aṃgīkṛitya cha mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-
bhivṛiddhayē Chāhuyān-ānvayē[na*] mahāmāṇḍalē-

Second Plate.

- 18 śvara-śrī-Vaijallādēvēna¹⁸ Khamḍōhakō dakṣhiṇa-dig-vibhāgē apūrvva-paṃchāśat
vrā(brā)hmaṇānām¹⁹ bhōjan-[ā*]rtham uparī likhita Āla-
19 viḍagāmva-grāmāḥ sa-vṛikṣa-mālā-kulāś=chatuḥ-kamkaṣa-viśuddhaḥ khany-ākara-nidhi-
nikṣhēpa-sahita[h*] talabhēdyāghāṇakamalaka-
20 vumdhaka-damḍa-dōsha-prāpt-ādāya[h*] abhinava-mārggaṇaka-prabhṛiti-sarvv-ādāyair-
upētha sarvv-ābhyanāra-siddhyā dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjām
21 ā-chamdr-ārka-yāvat āsanīkṛitya Khamḍōhakētya-satragārāya²⁰ udaka-pūrvvakatvēna
pradattāḥ 1(1) Tad=asmin grāmē samutpadyamāna-bhā-
22 gabhōga-kara-hirany-ādikam=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair-bhūtvā bhavaḍbhīr=asmai samupanē-
tavyam | sāmānyam ch=aitat=puṇya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā asmad-vaśsa-
23 jair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktrībhīr=asmat-pradatta-dharmmā(rmma)dāyō-yam=anumam-
tavyaḥ | pālanīyaś=cha 1(1) Uktam cha || Bahubhir²¹=vvasudhā bhuktā
rājabhiḥ Sa-
24 gar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhāmīś=tasya tasya tadā phalam 1(1) Yān²²=jha
dattāni purā narēndrāir=dānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśas-karāṇi | nirmālya-vām-

¹¹ As shown by other grants of this family, e.g. ante, Vol. VI. p. 194, No. 3, line 8, read mahārājādhirāja-paramāvara-paramamāhēśvara.

¹² Here, and in line 8, śrīmat is used, instead of śrī, in conformity with the custom of preferring the use of śrīmat before a name commencing with a vowel (see Corp. Inscr. Indic. Vol. III. p. 10, note 4). But śrī occurs, and with hiatus instead of junction by sandhi, in the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1280, ante, Vol. VI. p. 197, line 13; and in some other places in the same series; and also at the end of line 2 in the present grant.

¹³ Read dvichatvāriṃśad-grāmānām.

¹⁴ Read apātā.

¹⁵ Read imām.

¹⁶ After the use of asmābhiḥ in line 11, the introduction of this instrumental singular is unnecessary.

¹⁷ Read paṃchāśad-vrā(brā)hmaṇānām.

¹⁸ Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁹ Metro, Vasantatilaka.

²⁰ Metro, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

²¹ Read satragārāya.

²² Metro, Indravajrā.

- 25 ti(ta)-pratimāni tāni kô nāma sādhu[h*] punar=ādadita 1(11) Asya²² kula-
kramam=udāram=udāharadbhir=anyais=cha dāma(na)m=idam=apy=anumōdanīyam 1
lakshmyā-
- 26 s=taḍid-valaya-vudvuda-chañchalāyā ēvañ phalañ para-yaśaḥ-paripālanam cha 11
Sarvvān²³=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthivēdrān bhūyō-bhūyō
- 27 yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ 1 sāmūyō=yam dharmma-sētur=uripāqām kālē-kālē pālanīyō
bhavadbhiḥ 1(11) Sva²⁴-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta
- 28 vasumdharañ shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāgi viśṭāyām jāyatē krimiḥ 1(11) Iha²⁵ hi jalada-
llā-chañchalē jīva-lōkē triṇa-lava-la-
- 29 ghu-sārē sarvva-samsāra-saukhyē 1 apaharatu dur-āśaḥ śāsanam dēvatānām naraka-
gahana-gartt-āvarṭta-pāt-ōtsukō yaḥ 1(11) Iti²⁷
- 30 kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śrīyam=anuchi[m*]tya manushya-jīvitam cha sakalam
=idam=udāhṛitam cha vudvā²⁸ na hi purushaiḥ para-
- 31 kirttayō vilōpyā iti 11 Samvat 1231 varshē Kārttika su di 13 Vu(bu)dhē 11
Maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ 11 Dā²⁹ prati-
- 32 hāra-Sōbhanadēvaḥ 11 Sva-hastō=yam mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-śrī-Vaijalladēvasya 11
Uparō³⁰ ri³¹ Vāmadēvaḥ 11

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After two verses in praise of the god Śiva, under the names of Vyōmakēśa (line 1) and Smarārāti (l. 2), the inscription gives the following genealogy:—The *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the glorious *Jayasimhadēva* (l. 3), who was established at the famous (city of) *Anahilapātaka* (l. 2), and who was victorious over the *Varvarakas*. His successor (*lit.* 'he who meditated on his feet'; *pād-ānudyāta*) was the *M. P. P.*, the glorious *Kumārāpālādēva* (l. 5), who acquired the favour of a boon from the god *Umāpati* (Śiva), and who conquered in battle the king of *Śakambhari*. And his successor is the *M. P. P.*, the glorious *Ajayapālādēva* (l. 6), a most devout worshipper of the god *Mahēśvara* (Śiva) (l. 5).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 6), and while his feudatory (*lit.* 'he who subsists like a bee on the water-lilies that are his feet'; *pādapadm-ōpajivin*), the *Mahāmātya*, the illustrious *Sōmēśvara* (l. 6), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*śrīkaraṇa*) and other departments:—

From the famous (city of) *Brāhmaṇapātaka* (l. 2), the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious *Vaijalladēva* (l. 7), who has attained the *pañchamahāsabha*, and who through the favour of the glorious *Ajayapālādēva*, is governing the province on the banks of the river *Narmadā* (l. 8), informs the *Danḍanāyaka*, *Dēśāṭhakkura*, *Ādhishṭhānaka*, *Karaṇapurusha*, *Sayyāpāla*, *Bhaṭṭaputra*, and all the other royal officials at the village of *Ālaviḍagāmva* (l. 9) in the middle of the group known as the *Mākhulagāmva* Forty-two-villages, belonging to the *Pūrpa pathaka* (l. 8), and the neighbouring *Vishayikas*, *Paṭṭakilas*, and other people, headed by the *Brāhmanas*:—

"Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, while stationed at *Brāhmaṇapātaka* (l. 11),—having fasted on Monday, the eleventh tithi in the bright fortnight in the month *Kārttika*, in the year twelve hundred, increased by thirty-one, after the time of king *Vikrama*; and having done worship, at the festival of the *Kārttik-ōdyāpana*, to (Śiva) the divine lord of *Bhavānī*, the father of all things animate and inanimate, and to *Puru-śhōttama* (Vishṇu), the lord of *Lakshmi* (l. 13),—for the increase of the religious merit and

²² Metre, *Vasantatilaka*.—The metre is faulty here; and we must correct *asya* into *śahāna*.

²³ Metre, *Śālinī*.

²⁴ Metre, *Mālinī*.

²⁵ Read *buddhē*.

²⁶ and ²⁷ What offices are denoted by these two abbreviations, is not apparent. Possibly the two words are a mistake for one word, *upari*, which would stand for *uparikō*.

²⁸ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anuśṭubh).

²⁹ Metre, *Pushpitāgrā*.

³⁰ i.e. *dātaka*.

the fame of Our parents and of Ourselves (l. 17), (by Us, viz.) by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious *Vaijalladēva*²² (l. 18), who belongs to the *Chāhuyāṇa* lineage (l. 17), for the purpose of feeding fifty new Brāhmanas²³ in the southern division in (the village of) *Khaṇḍōhaka* (l. 18), the above-mentioned village of *Ālaviḍagāmva*, with certain rights and privileges that are specified, but exclusive of the rights of enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas, is given by this charter to the charitable alms-house (*sattrōgāra*) at *Khaṇḍōhaka* (l. 21).

"[In lines 21 to 31 the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers to continue the grant; and quotes seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And his speech ends with the word *iti*, in line 31.]"

Line 31 contains the date of the year 1231, the month *Kārttika*, the bright fortnight, the civil day 13, on Wednesday; which must denote the day on which the charter was written or assigned.

And the inscription ends with the record that the *Dūtaka* is the *Pratīhāra Sōbhanadēva*; followed by the words "this is the sign-manual (*sva-hasta*) of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious *Vaijalladēva*; and by the mention of an official named *Vāmadēva*, whose post and connection with the grant are not quite clear.

SUDI AND VADI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

As regards the true signification of the expressions *su. di.* and *va. di.*, and their use in ancient records, I, of course, entirely concur in the views expressed by Mr. Fleet, in a note on p. 147 of Vol. XVI of this Journal. But there can, in my opinion, be no doubt that, in more modern times, the Hindus have looked upon *sudi* or *sudī*, and *vadi* or *badi*, as words, and have taken the former to be equivalent to *śukla-pakṣhē* 'in the bright half,' and the latter to *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē* 'in the dark half' of a month.

In grammar, one would naturally look for these terms, if they should have been regarded as independent words, in the *gaṇa svarādi*; and it is instructive to note that, while in the *Kāśikā-Vṛitti*, composed about A.D. 650, there occurs neither *sudi* nor *vadi* among the *svarādi*, the *Gaṇaratnamahōdadhī*, which we know to have been compiled about A.D. 1140, does contain *sudi*, explained by *śukla-pakṣhē*, in that *gaṇa*; and the quite modern *Gaṇaratnāvalī* enumerates among the *svarādi* both *sudi* and *vadi*, explained by *śukla-pakṣhē* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē* respectively.

And I am even able to quote several dates in which the terms *sudi* and *vadi* have actually been coupled with a *tithi* or lunar day; a proceeding which may be utterly illogical, but which shows that the writers had altogether forgotten the original meaning of *sudi* and *vadi*, and that, to them, these terms were synonymous with *śukla-pakṣhē* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣhē*, and nothing else.

1.—From a photolithograph in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XX. plate xxii., we learn that on the pillar of a temple at 'Dubkund,' about 76 miles south-west of Gwālior, there is a short inscription, dated—

Saṁvat 1152 Vaiśāṣa(kha)-sudi-paṁchamyām,—

i.e. 'on the fifth (lunar day) of *sudi* (i.e. the bright half) of Vaiśāṣa, of the year 1152.'

2.—In Professor Peterson's valuable *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1884-86, Appendix. p. 156, the date of the completion of a commentary on the *Bhavaḥḥavanā* is given in the following verse,—

Saptatyadhik-aikādaśa-varṣaśatāir-Vikramād-atikrāntaiḥ |
nishpannā vṛittir-iyam Śrāvaṇa-vadi-paṁchamī-divasē ||

²² See note 17 above.

²³ The exact force of *apūras* is not evident. But it seems to indicate fifty fresh Brāhmanas, who had not been fed on any previous occasion, and who perhaps had just come to establish themselves in the village, or at the *sattrōgāra*.

i.e. 'this commentary was completed on the day (on which ended) the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (i.e. the dark half) of Śrāvaṇa, when eleven hundred years increased by seventy had gone by since Vikrama.'

3.—From my own *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 46, it will be seen that a copy of Hēmachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana-laghuṣṛīti* was completed, at Stambhatirtha,—

Saṁvat 1313 varṣe Chaitra-vadi-chaturthi-dinē Vu(bu)dha-vārē,—

i.e. 'in the year 1315, on the day (on which ended) the fourth (lunar day) of *vadi* (i.e. the dark half) of Chaitra, on a Wednesday.'

4.—From Silaratnasūri's commentary on Mērutuṅga's *Mēghadūta*, an extract of which is given in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 249, we learn (verse 4) that the author completed his work, at Anahillapātaka,—

Varṣe chaṁdra-nidhāna-pūrva-1491-kalitē śrī-Vikramārkāt=tathā

Chaitra-āntar=vadi-pañchami-Badhadinē śrēṣṭh-Ānurādhā-yutē । —

i.e. 'in the year, (reckoned) from the glorious Vikramārka, (which is) made up of the moon (1); the treasures (9), and the *Pāras* (14, i.e. in) 1491; in (the month) Chaitra, on a Wednesday, the fifth (lunar day) of *vadi* (i.e. the dark half), coupled with the excellent (*nakṣatra*) Anurādhā.'

5.—In Professor Peterson's *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 94, we read—

Saṁvat=grah-āśva-muni-bhū-jñātē māse Madhau sudi ।

trayōdaśyām Sōma-vārē samāptō-yaṁ Sukh-ōdadhiḥ ॥

i.e. 'this ocean of pleasure was completed on a Monday, on the thirteenth (lunar day) in *sudi* (i.e. the bright half) in the month Madhva (i.e. Chaitra), in the year known by the planets (9), the horses (7), the sages (7), and the earth (1; i.e. in 1779).'

These dates, the wording of three of which, at any rate, is proved by the metre to be indisputable (and the number of which might easily be increased), will suffice to show that from about A.D. 1100 *sudi* and *vadi* were really interchangeable with *śukla-pakṣe* and *kṛishṇa-pakṣe*, and that they were used in these senses both by themselves and also in composition with preboding or following words. And such being the case, we cannot be surprised to find *sudi* and *vadi* also coupled with the new-moon and full-moon *tithis*, and with the *tithi* called *pratipad* or *pratipadd*, as, e.g., in the following dates:—

6.—A copper-plate grant of Virasimha, published by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Jour. Americ. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 542, is dated—

Saṁvat 1177 Kārttika-vadi amāvāsyām¹ Ravi-dinē,—

i.e. 'on Sunday, on the new-moon (*tithi* or lunar day, in) *vadi* (i.e. the dark half) of Kārttika, of the year 1177.'

7.—The 'Raiwān' plate of Gōvindachandradēva, published by Dr. Führer in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, is dated, in line 18,—

Saṁvat 1187² Mārgga-sudi paurṇī(rṇa)māsyām tithau Sōma-dinē,—

i.e. 'on Monday, on the full-moon *tithi* (or lunar day, in) *sudi* (i.e. the bright half) of Mārgaśīrṣa, of the year 1187.'

8.—The Alha-Ghaṭ inscription of Narasimhadēva, of which a photolithograph is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. plate xxviii., and of which I owe a rubbing to Mr. Fleet, is dated—

Saṁvat 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipadā Ravau,—

i.e. 'the first lunar day of *sudi* (i.e. the bright half) of Bhādrapada of the year 1216, on a Sunday.'

Although dates like these prove that the later grammarians certainly did not invent the meanings which they have assigned to *sudi* and *vadi*, in actual usage the connection of these terms with a *tithi* must nevertheless be regarded as exceptional; for, in the majority of cases *sudi* and *vadi* are even in later dates followed by a numeral figure, while the word denoting a

¹ Dr. Hall has altered *amāvāsyām*, unnecessarily, to *amāvāsyādyā*.

² See page 57 above.

tithi is as regularly preceded by *śukla-pakṣa*, *krishṇa-pakṣa*, *śukla*, *krishṇa*, *sita*, *asita*, or some similar expression. And judging from the large number of dates before me, I feel little hesitation in saying that the two terms retained their original signification, and were felt to be what they really are, abbreviations of two separate words, up to about the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. At any rate, I may be permitted to point out that, if an expression like *sūdi-pāñchamīyām*, which we have met with in the date No. 1 above, had been habitually employed in earlier times, we might certainly expect to read *sūdi-pāñchamīyām*, instead of *sita-pāñchamīyām*, in the following verse, which occurs in my *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 9, and in Professor Peterson's *Report* for 1884-86, Appendix, p. 149:—

Samvatsara-śata-navakē dvishasṭi-sahitē=tilaṅghitē ch=āsyāḥ ।

Jyēshthē² si(si)ta-pāñchamīyām Panarvasau Guru-dinē [samāptir=abhūt ॥]

i.e. 'and this (work) was completed when nine hundred and sixty-two years had gone by, in (the month) Jyāishṭha, on the fifth (lunar day) of the bright (half), on a Thursday, (the moon being) in (the *nakṣatra*) Panarvasu.'

In conclusion, I may add that some of the dates quoted above are of considerable interest, for various reasons, which I shall have occasion to state fully in a separate paper.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 29.

THE JESSAMINE KING.

In a certain country there lived a petty king called the **Jessamine King** (Mallikairājan), because when he laughed the country, for ten *kōs* round, became fragrant with the scent of jessamines; provided his laughter was not forced, but came naturally to him. His fame soon spread throughout the world, and many came to see him, and to wait for a chance of enjoying the scent he gave out. The Emperor, however, to whom the Jessamine King paid his tribute, sent for him in the pride of his superiority, and in obedience to the mandate, the Jessamine King went to his master, who tried in several ways to make him laugh, but in vain. After trying all he could the Emperor grew hopeless of success, and thinking that his vassal was impertinent, sent him to prison. So the poor Jessamine King, for no fault of his own, was imprisoned.

Now just opposite the prison there lived a deformed cripple with whom the Emperor's wife had an unlawful intimacy. She was in the habit of going to him at the tenth *ghaṭikā* of every night with pudding and sweetmeats, and remaining with him the whole night. Several people knew of this, and the Jessamine King was informed of it by the jailor, but he never seemed to take any notice of it.

One night the emperor's wife came rather later than usual, at which the cripple became highly enraged, and kicked and struck her with his deformed legs and hands. She bore it all patiently and without a murmur, and gave him the sweetmeats and other things as before. After eating his fill, the cripple thought within himself:—"What have I been doing to-day! I have severely punished a woman who is my protectress. Notwithstanding my intimacy with her, she is a woman of high rank. Perhaps she will discontinue her visits to me."

Thinking thus he spoke to her:—"My dear! you must excuse my kicks! Were they very severe?"

"No, my love!" said she. "I am as happy after them, as one who has travelled over the fourteen worlds."

² Not *Jyēshthēsitapāñchamīyām*, i.e., *Jyēshthē asita-pāñchamīyām*, as given in Professor Peterson's Report. The corresponding day, for the bright half of Jyāishṭha, of the southern Vikrama year 962, expired, is Thursday, 1st May, A.D. 906, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Panarvasu up to about 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

Now below the verandah in which this conversation was held, there was wandering about a washerman, who had lost an ass some days before. He had searched everywhere, but was not able to find it. After spending the earlier part of the night in looking for it, he rested himself under the verandah for a short time, and there he heard a woman saying that she was as happy as one who had travelled over the fourteen worlds, and he mistook her for a great traveller.

"Surely she must have met my ass somewhere or other," thought he, and getting up as once, he fell at her feet with tears in his eyes, saying "Mother! have you seen my lost ass?"

The Jessamine King had been watching all this, and as soon as the washerman fell at the wicked Empress's feet saying "Mother, have you seen my lost ass?" he could not contain his laughter. He laughed till his sides were like to split, and lo! all around the sweet jessamine scent began to play.

The servants of the emperor, who were ordered by his Majesty to rouse him at the first sign of the jessamine scent at whatever time it might appear, now aroused him from his sleep. The emperor got up and thought to himself, "I tried my best to make my vassal laugh, and used all the means I could, but I failed altogether. What can be the reason for his laughter at this hour of the night? I will send for him."

As soon as the Jessamine King was sent for, he made his appearance in due obedience to the Emperor's mandate, and did his best to conceal the reason of his laughter from him. But finding at last that his life was at stake he told the whole story. So the end of it all was that the Emperor sent his wife and the cripple to the gallows, and the Jessamine King to his own country.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP. No. XIV.

Journal-Asiatique for 1887 (Vols. IX. and X).

(1) *January 1887*.—M. Urbain Bouriant describes an interesting find of three leaves of a Coptic Romance of Alexander. These were discovered amongst a number of Theban MSS. purchased at Akhmim by M. Maspero for the Bibliothèque Nationale. They are three detached fragments, and the rest of the work cannot be found. This is the first work of fiction of Coptic origin which has been discovered. M. Bouriant gives the text and translation of the fragments. The MS. is doubly interesting because the Romance of Alexander appears to have had its origin in Egypt, whence it was at least partly borrowed and translated into Greek by the Pseudo-Callisthenes, from which the various western versions of the legend have sprung. An Oriental version of the story of Alexander had its origin in Persia, and has been recorded by many authors, from Firdûsi downwards. This version is, however, almost certainly, to be referred ultimately to the western version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes for its origin. The present Coptic MS. appears to be probably a modernized edition of the ancient Egyptian original of both these versions.

The next paper consists of translated extracts

by M. De Harlez of the Tchou-tze-tsieh-yao-tchuen, or summary of the essential principles of the philosophy of Tchou-tze.¹ It was written in the year 1602 by a disciple of that philosopher, named K'ao-pen-long. The extracts translated are Chapter III., on the perfecting of instruction, and Chapter V., on the obligation to subdue and correct oneself.

The number concludes with an examination of the text of the Moabite Stone, by M. Clermont-Ganneau, with special reference to a recent work on the same subject by MM. Smend and Socin. The paper being one of textual controversy cannot be summarised.

(2) *February-March, 1887*,—opens with an account of another Coptic MS. by M. E. Amélineau, of the French Archaeological Mission in Egypt. The document is historical, written in the 13th century, and deals with the martyr John of Phanijôit. The author was a priest named Mark, a disciple of Michael, Bishop of Bubastis (or Zagazig) and Belbéis. The martyr John was a Christian, who turned Musalmán in order to marry a woman of that faith. On her death he returned to Christianity, and, filled with remorse, endeavoured to persuade 'the king' at Cairo to return him the documents relating to his first apostasy. He was at first treated as a

¹ I spell these words as they are transliterated in French. I have not ventured to spell them in the English fashion.—G. A. G.

madman, but finally made himself so obnoxious, that he was put to death. The king referred to is Muhammad Abû'l-Fatî, surnamed Al-Malik al-Kâmil. The paper contains notices of contemporary history and geography, together with the text and translation of the whole work.

Next follows a continuation of M. Abel Bergaigne's *Researches into the history of the Rig-Vêda*. These have been already referred to more than once. His main theory may briefly be described as follows:—He takes the well known *adhyâya* division of the *Rig-Vêda*. There are 64 of these divisions, all of which should be of about equal length. Some *adhyâyas*, however, exceed the proper length in a degree which cannot be explained in any satisfactory way, and it hence follows that they contain interpolations of later date. By a series of elaborate and ingenious calculations, he is able to point out the passages which he suspects to be interpolated. It would be impossible to give a satisfactory account of his full theory in a summary like the present. I may add here that his conclusions are combated by Dr. H. Oldenberg in the 41st Vol. of the *Zeitsch. des Morgenland. Gesell.* (p. 508 and ff.); and that on p. 488 of Vol. X. of the *Journal Asiatique*, M. Bergaigne replies to Dr. Oldenberg, and also denies that he is indebted for any portion of his theory to Mr. Pincott.

(3) *Volume X.*—commences with an interesting paper by M. J. Darmesteter, on *Points of Contact between the Shâh Nâma and the Mahâbhârata*. He takes for his text the *Mahâ-prasthanikâparva* of the later work, and the account of the Renunciation of Kai Khusrû in the former. There is a great resemblance between the final scenes of the life of Yudhishtîra, and of the Persian hero, and M. Darmesteter, after dealing with them in some detail, comes to the conclusion that the portion of the *Mahâbhârata* in which the episode is described is a later addition, and that the original version is the Persian one contained in the *Shâh Nâma*. The legend probably filtered into India between the Scythic invasion and the 6th or 7th century of our era, but nearer to the earlier than the later epoch. The story of the renunciation and the ascent into heaven of Kai Khusrû, has not only travelled eastwards from Persia, but has also been adopted in the East. We find it, in the 12th century, attached to the patriarch Enoch, in a Jewish work, the *Book of the Just* (*Sefer Hayyashar*), which collects all the legends formed round the *Book of Genesis*.

The next article, by M. Victor Loret, deals with the *Sacred Perfume of the ancient Egyptians*,

called *kyphi*. The Greek authors Dioscorides, Plutarch, and Galen, have transmitted to us *recipes* for its composition; and similar formulae have also of late been discovered in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, dating from the reign of Ptolemy VII. The author utilizes these two sets of directions for the identification of a number of Egyptian names of plants and drugs.

A note by M. Clément Huart on the Musalmân religious movement called Bâbism, and another by M. de Rochemonteix on the identification of some Egyptian place-names, conclude the number.

(4) The second number of Vol. X. commences with a study on the Arabic dialect of Damascus, by Mgr. David, Syrian archbishop of that city. The article is supplementary to one written on the same subject by M. Huart in 1883. It includes notes on pronunciation, orthography, inflexion, and vocabulary.

The next article is a summing up by M. H. Sauvaire of his series of papers on the numismatics and metrology of the Musalmâns. The article principally consists of valuable lists of prices of necessities from the 7th to the 17th centuries A. D.

This is followed by the text and translation of the *History of King Na'amân of Khurasân*, an Arab tale in the vulgar dialect of Syria. It is communicated by M. A. Barthélemy. It is a story worthy of the *Arabian Nights*.

M. Urbain Bouriant next gives us some further fragments of the *Theban Romance of Alexander* already mentioned. Three more leaves of the MS. have been discovered at Akhmîm, by the author, who gives text, translation, and notes.

Two reviews conclude the number. One refers to Dr. W. Radloff's examples of the popular literature of the North Turkish tribes, and the other deals with two grammars of the dialect of Algeria.

(5) *Part III. of Vol. X.*—commences with three vocabularies of Dialects of Berber by M. René Basset. They were collected in the course of two missions on which the author was sent by the Governor-General of Algeria. The first dialect is that spoken in Gourara and Touat. The second is the *argot* of Mزاب, and the third the dialect of the Youaregs Anelimmiden.*

This is followed by notes by M. Barthélemy, principally on Grammar, on the *Arabic Story of Na'amân* dealt with by him in the previous number.

In the next paper, as already mentioned, M. Abel Bergaigne, writes a postscript to his paper on the division of the *Rig-Vêda* into *adhyâyas*

* These words are spelt as in the original.—G. A. G.

in which he replies to the criticisms of Prof. Oldenberg, and rejects the claims to the discovery put forward by Mr. Pincott in *J. R. A. S.*, Vols. XVI. and XIX.

M. Clermont Ganneau gives a fourth instalment of his notes on Arab Epigraphy and History. The present paper contains a critique of Dr. Gildemeister's article on an Arabic inscription found at Baniās, the ancient Paneas, in Galilee, which appeared in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. X., pp. 168 and ff., and a note on the bridge constructed at Lydda by Sultān Baibars.

A transcription and translation by M. Oppert, of a Babylonian contract concerning a slave, is the most interesting portion of the miscellaneous notes which conclude the volume.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 24.

In the Bagumrā copper-plate grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa Mahāsāmantādhipati Kṛishṇarāja II. of Gujārāt, published, with a Plate, by Dr. Hultsch in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff., the date (from the published text and lithograph; Plate ii. b, line 11 f.) is — Śaka-nripa-kāl-ātīta-savatchhara (read saṁvatsara)-satēshv-ashtasu dah-ōtarēshu (read daś-ōtarēshu) Chaitrē amāvāsya (read Chaitr-āmāvāsya)-sūryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi, — “in eight centuries, increased by ten, of the years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; at the conjunction of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Chaitra.” And the charter records a grant of the village of Kaviṭhasāḍhi, — which has been identified¹ with the modern Kōsāḍ in the Ōlpād Tālukā of the Surat District, — by Kṛishṇarāja II., on this occasion, after bathing in the Narmadā at the Bhagavat-tirtha.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year 810 as an expired year.

Thus in Śaka-Saṁvat 810 current, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended on Sunday, 26th February, A.D. 887, at about 40 *ghaṭis*, 4 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and the *amānta* *tithi*, on Tuesday, 28th March, at about 22 *gh.* 30 *p.* And on neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun.

¹ ante, Vol. XVI. p. 100 f.

But, in Śaka-Saṁvat 811 current (810 expired), while the *pūrṇimānta* *tithi* ended at about 24 *gh.* 11 *p.* on Saturday, 16th March, A.D. 888, on which day there was no solar eclipse, the *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 15 ended on Monday, 15th April, A.D. 888, at about 5 *gh.*; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,² which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

This result corroborates that obtained under No. 22 of these Calculations; and shews that by this period the *amānta* southern arrangement of the lunar fortnights had permanently superseded the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement with the years of the Śaka era in Gujārāt.

No. 25.

In the Haḍḍalā copperplate grant of the Chāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharanivarāha, the feudatory of a king named Mahipālādēva, from the eastern part of Kāthiāwād, published by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. XII. page 190 ff., it is recorded that Dharanivarāha, who was residing (Plate ii. line 1 f.) at Vardhamāna, which has been identified by Dr. Bühler with the modern Wadhvān in the Jhālāwād Prānt in Kāthiāwād, granted the village of Viṅkala to a Brāhmaṇ, — (Plate ii. line 12) udagayana-mahāparvaṇi, — “at the great festival or conjunction of the udagayana,” i.e. at the winter solstice, which is to be taken as represented by the Makara-saṁkrānti or entrance of the Sun into Capricornus. And towards the end, we have the full details (Plate ii. line 21) of — Śaka-Saṁvat 836 Pausha śu di 4 uttarāyāṇe, — “the Śaka year 836; (the month) Pausha; the bright fortnight; the (civil) day 4, (and, with it, the fourth *tithi*); at the uttarāyana,” i.e., again, at (the festival of) the winter solstice.

Here, again, a correct result can be obtained only by taking the given year as an expired year.

Thus, in Śaka-Saṁvat 836 current, Pausha śukla 4 ended at about 45 *ghaṭis*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), on Saturday, 4th December, A.D. 913; eighteen days before the Makara-saṁkrānti, which occurred at about 52 *gh.* 31 *p.* on Wednesday, 22nd December.

² Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 200, 201, and Plate 100.

But, in Śaka-Saṃvat 837 current (836 expired), Pausa śukla 4 ended on Friday, 23rd December, A.D. 914, at about 36 gh. 58 p.; and the Makara-saṃkrānti occurred on the same day, at about 8 gh. 4 p.; and any rites and ceremonies connected with it would be performed on that same day.

Dr. Bühler's published text gives the year 839; which is also quoted in his introductory remarks; though in his translation the year is given as 836. For the year 839, however, whether it is taken as current or as expired, correct results cannot be obtained. Thus, in Śaka-Saṃvat 839 current, Pausa śukla 4 ended at about 34 gh. 22 p. on Saturday, 30th November, A.D. 916; twenty-two days before the Makara-saṃkrānti, which occurred at about 39 gh. 7 p. on Sunday, 22nd December. And in Śaka-Saṃvat 840 current (839 expired), Pausa śukla 4 ended at about 41 gh. 59 p. on Saturday, 20th December, A.D. 917; two days before the Makara-saṃkrānti, which occurred at about 54 gh. 39 p. on Monday, 22nd December, and the rites and ceremonies of which, moreover, would not be celebrated till the following day, Tuesday. The published text fortunately includes a reproduction of the original figures; of which the last seemed to me, at first sight, clearly to mean 6, and to be a transitional form between the numerical symbol and the decimal figure. And the results shew that the real reading undoubtedly is the year 836.

No. 26.

In the Surat copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya prince Trilōchanapāla of Lāṭa-dēsa, published with a Plate, by Mr. H. H. Dhruva in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 196 ff., the date (from the published lithograph; Plate iii. line 3 f.) is — Śākē nava-śatair yuktē dvi-saptaty-adhikē tathā Vikritē vatsarē Paushe māse pakshē cha tāmasē amāvāsyā-tithau sūrya-parvany=Āṅgaravārakē, — "in the Śaka (year) that is possessed of (the number of) nine centuries and is increased by seventy-two; in the year Vikrita; in the month Pausa, and in the dark fortnight, on the new-moon tithi; at the conjunction (of an eclipse) of the sun; on Āṅgaravāraka, or Tuesday." And the charter records a grant

of the village of Erathāṇa, — identical, as pointed out by Mr. H. H. Dhruva, with the modern Erthāṇ in the Ōlpād Talukā of the Surat District, — to a Brāhman, on this occasion, by Trilōchanapāla, who was then at the Agastya-tīrtha on the shore of the western ocean.

That the given Śaka year 972 is to be applied as an expired year, is shewn by the mention of the Vikrita saṃvatsara of the Sixty-year Cycle of Jupiter, which by the mean-sign system of the cycle was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṃvat 971 current, but by the southern luni-solar system was coincident with Śaka-Saṃvat 973 current (A.D. 1050-51). In this year, the pūrṇimānta Pausa kṛishna 15 ended, not on a Tuesday, but on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1050, at about 52 ghafis, 49 palas, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); and on this day there was no eclipse of the sun. But, in accordance with what we have now found to be the regular arrangement of the lunar fortnights for the years of the Śaka era in Gujarāt, in this period, the amānta Pausa kṛishna 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 15th January, A.D. 1051, at about 24 gh. 28 p.; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun,³ which seems to have been visible in the south of India.

In publishing this inscription, Mr. H. H. Dhruva translated the words amāvāsyā-tithau sūrya-parvany by "on the day of the new-moon, that of the solstitial festival." But, that this is not correct, and that sūrya-parvany is only used, under metrical necessities, for the more complete and more customary expression sūrya-grahana-parvany, is shewn by the fact that in the same year the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-saṃkrānti or entrance of the sun into Capricornus, occurred at about 19 gh. 31 p. on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1050; which day is not in agreement with the given tithi by either the amānta or the pūrṇimānta arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

J. F. FLEET.

THE SPURIOUS GURJARA GRANTS OF THE SAKA YEARS 400, 415, AND 417.

At page 56 above, I have stamped the Āntrūli-Chhārūli grant of Śaka-Saṃvat 679 (expired) as giving the earliest reliable instance, that I can

³ Von Oppolzer's Canon der Finsternisse, pp. 216, 217 and Plate 198.

find, of the use of the Śaka era in Gujarāt, in a date that affords details for calculation.

In doing so, I excluded intentionally the Bagumrā grant of Dadda-Prasāntarāga, which purports to be dated in Śaka-Samvat 415 (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 183 ff.), and the IIAḥ grant of the same person, which purports to be dated in Śaka-Samvat 417 (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 115 ff.). For, even after full consideration of the arguments put forward by Dr. Bühler in his article on the Bagumrā grant, I cannot see my way clear to admitting the genuineness of these records; and of the Umētā grant of the same person (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 61 ff.), which purports to be dated in Śaka-Samvat 400, but with no details that can be tested.

I have, however, no leisure to consider this matter from all the points of view that are concerned. And therefore, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī being now deceased, I hope that someone else will take up the general question. Meanwhile, I would draw attention to the following points:—

(1) There was no solar eclipse at all, visible or invisible, on the date, Jyēṣṭha kṛishṇa 15, mentioned in the Bagumrā grant of Śaka-Samvat 415, whether the year is applied as current, or as expired.

In the year 415 current, the given *tithi* corresponds, either to Tuesday, the 12th May, or to Wednesday, the 10th June, A.D. 492, according as the *pūrṇimānta* or the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is applied. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 10th July;¹ which date corresponds to the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvāṇa, or the *amānta* Āshāḍha, kṛishṇa 15.

In the year 416 current (415 expired), the given *tithi* corresponds in the same way, either to Saturday, the 1st May, or to Monday, the 31st May, A.D. 493. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 29th June;² which date corresponds again to the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvāṇa, or the *amānta* Āshāḍha, kṛishṇa 15. And this eclipse was taken by Dr. Bühler as the one that is probably intended; with the suggestion that "the discrepancy in the name of the month" may have been caused by a mistake of the "writer, or by an erroneous intercalation." This suggestion would apply equally well to the eclipse of the 10th July, A.D. 492. But there was no intercalary month either in Śaka-Samvat 415 current, or in 416. And therefore it is difficult to see how the mistake can be

justified, for either year, on that score at any rate; unless by some backward calculation, such as I shall suggest further on.

(2) As regards the date, again Jyēṣṭha kṛishṇa 15, and again with an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the IIAḥ grant of Śaka-Samvat 417:—

In the year 417 current, the given *tithi* corresponds in the same way, either to Thursday, the 21st April, or to Friday, the 20th May, A.D. 494. On neither of these days was there an eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The nearest solar eclipse was that of the 19th June;³ which date corresponds to the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* intercalated Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 15.

If the intercalary month could be placed before Āshāḍha, this date would then correspond, in the same way, either to the *pūrṇimānta* natural Āshāḍha, or to the *amānta* natural Jyēṣṭha, Kṛishṇa 15. But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, by actual calculation of the places of the sun and the moon according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, and also by the rule for mean intercalations, that the intercalary month was Āshāḍha, and no other; and that the intercalated fortnights must have been named Āshāḍha, as according to the present practice. Only by the verse *Mēsh-ādi-sthē savitari* &c., could they receive the name of Jyēṣṭha; and then the 19th June would be the new-moon day of Jyēṣṭha by the *amānta* arrangement, and by that only. By no means whatever can the date in question be made to correspond to the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Jyēṣṭha.

In the year 418 current (417 expired), the given *tithi* corresponds, in the same way, either to the 10th May, or to the 8th June, A.D. 495. On each of these days there was an eclipse of the sun.⁴ And, subject to the question as to whether an eclipse should be visible or need not be so, either of these eclipses might be accepted as the one intended, according as we apply the *pūrṇimānta* or the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

(3) But, a uniform process must be followed in respect of the two grants; considering that the charters purport to be issued by the same person, and that there is only an interval of two years between them. And we must also see how they can be made to harmonise, without any change in the name of the given month, which is the point in respect of which there is the least likelihood of a mistake.

¹ See von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 162, 163.—It was not visible in India. But this point need not, for the present, be taken into consideration.

² This eclipse, also, was not visible in India; see von

Oppolzer's *Canon*, pp. 162, 163, and Plate 81.

³ This eclipse was visible in Gujarāt, and in other parts of India.

⁴ Neither of these eclipses was visible in India.

If the year 417 of the Ilāo grant is taken as expired, we have either the eclipse of the 10th May, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *pūrṇimānta* Jyēshṭha kṛishṇa 15; or that of the 8th June, A.D. 495, which day corresponds quite regularly to the *amānta* Jyēshṭha kṛishṇa 15. But, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumrā grant as expired, we have only one eclipse, that of the 29th June, A.D. 493. And if, by the introduction of an erroneous intercalation, the new-moon of Jyēshṭha is brought to this date, this can only be effected by using the *amānta* month.

Again, if the year 417 of the Ilāo grant is taken as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 19th June, A.D. 494. If, by assuming an erroneous intercalation, or by adopting the more ancient rule of the *Brahma-Siddhānta* for naming the intercalated fortnights, the new-moon of Jyēshṭha is brought to this date, this again can only be effected by using the *amānta* month. And, to match it, taking the year 415 of the Bagumrā grant as current, we have only one eclipse, that of the 10th July, A.D. 492. And, if the new-moon of Jyēshṭha is brought to this date, this can only be effected again by introducing an erroneous intercalation, and again by using the *amānta* month.

(4) Thus, whether the years are taken as current or as expired, the possibility of obtaining uniform results rests entirely upon the use of the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, for a period in which it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Śaka era, even in Gujarāt: supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible.

(5) On the other hand, the *amānta* arrangement is the one that, irrespective of the scheme of the year for the civil reckoning in any particular part of the country, was habitually used by Hindu astronomers for purposes of calculation. This is the arrangement that would, as a matter of course, be applied by the calculator, employed by the forger of a grant, to reckon back for a real, or possibly real, eclipse. And so, if we only refer the fabrication of these grants to the period when the *amānta* arrangement had permanently superseded the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement for the Śaka years, everywhere except in Northern India and in those parts of Central India in which the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement is still preserved,—in consequence of which fact, even if he had any means of ascertaining that the arrangement had been different in the period, and in the particular part of the country, for which he was calculating, the calculator might easily

forget to substitute the *pūrṇimānta* for the *amānta* months in his results,—then, admitting, in respect of the Bagumrā grant, an erroneous intercalation, or even a mistake of a month, either of which would be quite possible in calculating back for so long a time, we have a very simple explanation of the circumstances under which these grants were fabricated with a plausible approach to accuracy.

J. F. FLEET.

THE YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

Some time ago,¹ I heard from Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar, of Bhaunagar, that, in the western part of Kāthiāwād, there is current a year commencing with the Āshāḍha sūkla 1 that precedes the Kārttika sūkla 1 with which the Vikrama year of the rest of the Province commences; and that this year is called the Hālārī year, as belonging specially to the Hālār Prānt or Sub-Division of Kāthiāwād.

Since then, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has ascertained from a merchant of the Hālār Prānt, now resident at Bārai, that, in addition to that part of the country, this year is at present in use at Amrēli, Dāmṇagar, and Jaitpur or Jētpur, in Kāthiāwād. And he has seen letters from Kāthiāwād, addressed to the same merchant, in which, before the month of Āshāḍha of Śaka-Samvat 1810 (expired) (A.D. 1888-89), the Vikrama year is quoted as 1944 (expired); and after Āshāḍha sūkla 1, as 1945 (expired). He has also ascertained that the same year is in use at ūḍar in the Mahi-Kāṇṭhā Agency, about sixty-four miles north-east of Ahmadābād, and within a radius of about fifty miles round that place; but that there the year commences, according to one informant, with the *amānta* Āshāḍha kṛishṇa 2, and according to another, with Āshāḍha sūkla 2. And in a *Pañchāṅg* for A.D. 1888-89, printed at the Union Press, Ahmadābād, he has found in the *saṁvatsara-phala* the passage—*saṁvat 1944 Āshāḍh-ādi-saṁvat 1945 Śaka 1810 asmin varshē Śārvari-nāma-saṁvatsaraḥ agrē Kārttika-śu-12-Guruvāsarē Plava-saṁvatsara-pravēśaḥ*,—"the (southern Vikrama) year 1944 (expired), the (Vikrama) year, beginning with Āshāḍha, 1945 (expired); Śaka 1810 (expired); in this year (i.e. on Chaitra sūkla 1), (there is) the *saṁvatsara* named Śārvari [by the mean-sign system]: later on, on Thursday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, there commences the Plava *saṁvatsara*."

These notes are now issued in the hope that they may lead to the collection of additional

¹ See *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 79, note 1.

information regarding the origin and use of this curious year; its initial day in different parts of the country, and the reason for any differences in that respect; and whether the *pāṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights is anywhere used in connection with it.

J. F. FLEET.

THE AMBARNATH INSCRIPTION OF MAMVANI.

In the stone inscription of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Māmvaṇīrājādēva*, at the temple of Ambarnāth¹ near Kalyāṇ in the Thāṇā District, the details of the date, according to Dr. Bhau Daji's published text (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 219, line 1) are—Śaka-Saṃvat 782 (in decimal figures), not specified either as current or as expired; Jyēṣṭha śukla 9; on Śukra, i. e. Śukravāra or Friday. And according to his translation, altering only the name of the other *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* mentioned in line 6, which he misread, the inscription records that, on this day, certain officials of Māmvaṇī constructed a house of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chhittarājādēva; the concluding words being *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara - śrīma [ch*] - Chhittarājādēvasya bhavanāṁ saṃpāditaṁ*.

While, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's published text (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 329), the details are—Śaka-Saṃvat 982 (in decimal figures); Śrāvaṇa śukla 9; on Śukra, i. e. Śukravāra or Friday. And, according to his translation, with the reading in line 6 which I have given above, on the day in question there was constructed a temple of the god of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chhittarāja.

Thus, while agreeing in respect of the lunar fortnight, the *tithi*, and the week-day, Friday, all of which items were quite certain,—the two versions of this record differ in respect of the month, and, by two centuries, in respect of the year.

By calculation, from Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In Śaka-Saṃvat 782 current, the *tithi* Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 14th May, A.D. 859, at about 35 *ghaṭis*, 1 *pala*, after mean sunrise, for Kalyāṇ;² and Śrāvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 12th July, at about 25 *ghaṭis*, 12 *p*.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 783 current (782 expired), Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended, as required, on Fri-

day, 3rd May, A.D. 860, at about 16 *ghaṭis*, 34 *p*; with the month Āshāḍha intercalary, as entered in the Tables, Śrāvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Tuesday, 30th July, at about 15 *ghaṭis*, 42 *p*; and, with Śrāvaṇa itself intercalary, or any subsequent month, instead of Āshāḍha, Śrāvaṇa śukla 9, of the intercalated or of the ordinary month as the case may be, ended on Sunday, 30th June, at about 52 *ghaṭis*, 8 *p*.

In Śaka-Saṃvat 982 current, Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended on Sunday, 23rd May, A.D. 1059, at about 45 *ghaṭis*, 29 *p*; and Śrāvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Wednesday, 21st July, at about 52 *ghaṭis*, 43 *p*.

And in Śaka-Saṃvat 983 current (982 expired), Jyēṣṭha śukla 9 ended on Thursday, 11th May, A.D. 1060, at about 48 *ghaṭis*, 27 *p*; and Śrāvaṇa śukla 9 ended on Monday, 10th July, at about 3 *ghaṭis*, 33 *p*.

Now, as regards the merits of the published readings of this date, each of which is accompanied by a lithograph,—Dr. Bhau Daji read the name of the month as *Jēṭha*, i. e. Jyēṣṭha; and, in reading it as Śrāvaṇa, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji marked the second and third syllables as doubtful. But both the lithographs shew distinctly that, where the former read *ṭha* and the latter *vaṇa*, there is only one *akṣhara*, and that it is *ṣṭha*. And it follows that the preceding *akṣhara* can only be *jyē* or *jyāi*; formed rather carelessly or anomalously in the original, or else not represented properly in the lithographs. As to the given year, the second and third figures are undoubtedly 8 and 2. The first figure is represented in both of the lithographs without any essential difference; except that in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's it is rather more square and upright than in Dr. Bhau Daji's. And, in altering the interpretation of it from 7 to 9, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, while admitting that it closely resembles the modern Nāgarī 7,³ relied on the arguments (1) that a similar "figure" occurs in the Valabhi grants and in them represents 9; and (2) that a very similar figure is to be found in the record of the year in an inscription of Bhōjadēva of Gwālior,⁴ dated in the (Vikrama) year 933, in which its value is distinctly given in words as 9. To these he might have added (3) that, in lines 4 and 5 of the same inscription of Bhōjadēva, in the details of the lands that were granted, we have forms of

from every point of view, we require a proper mechanical facsimile, and a critical edition, of this inscription.

² The times here are for Kalyāṇ all through.

³ The whole inscription is in Nāgarī characters; and it is of interest in furnishing one of the earliest instances of the use of those characters in Southern India.

⁴ The reference is to the Gwālior inscription, dated (Vikrama)-Saṃvat 933, Māgha śukla and *śu di* 2; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 407 f., and Plate II. No. 4 (see ante, Vol. XV. p. 108, notes 24, 25).

¹ This is the modern name of the temple, as given, for instance, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, p. 29. In Dr. Bhau Daji's text, line 5, and in his translation, the name of the god is given as *Amraṇātha*. In his lithograph, it is rather doubtful whether the first two syllables are *amra* or *amva*. In Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's text, the name is given as *Amvaṇātha*; and in his translation as *Ambanātha*; while, in his lithograph, the first two syllables are *amva*. It is evident that

the figure 7, explained in words, which cannot be taken as closely resembling the first figure as given in either lithograph of the date now under discussion; though they do belong to the general type of the Nāgari figure 7 of the period, and resemble pretty closely the figure 7 as it occurs in the date of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga, of Śaka-Saṁvat 675 expired, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 112, line 30, and Plate. But, omitting this last point, his conclusion, on the grounds actually put forward by him, was that "the date can be inferred to be 982;" the only difficulty,—which he sought to explain away by the supposition that, at this time, there were two figures in use for the same number,—being, that a totally different figure, to which no value but that of 9 can be assigned, is used in this record to denote the number of the *tithi*.

In the Valabhi grants, however, we are concerned with numerical symbols; not with decimal figures, as in the present record; and no analogy can be founded on them, beyond the general fact that the decimal figures were developed from the numerical symbols. Further, in the process of this development, the decimal figures that were arrived at, were not absolutely identical in different parts of the country; and we are dealing with very different parts, in respect of the Ambarnāth and Gwālior inscriptions. Also, not one of the lithographs of the three inscriptions is a reliable mechanical reproduction; so that we do not know what are the exact forms, differing perhaps very slightly, though certainly in some detail of vital importance, which we have to compare or to contrast. Again, even if two forms of one and the same figure were ultimately arrived at, and were used, in one and the same part of the country, it is still impossible to believe that the risk of confusion would be incurred, by employing them in one and the same record. And finally, whatever may turn out to be the exact form of the figure now under discussion in the Ambarnāth inscription, both the lithographs, even as they stand, distinctly shew that it belongs to the general type of the Nāgari 7, and not to that of the Nāgari 9.

With the calculated results before us, which

shew that a Friday cannot be obtained for Śrāvaṇa śukla 9 in any of the four years, even if the *tithi* were used as a current *tithi*,—for which application of it, however, there is in this case no justification,—on a consideration of all the facts of the case, it cannot be doubted that Friday, 3rd May, A.D. 860, is the proper English date; and that the real reading of the text is Śaka-saṁvata(t) 782 Jyēshṭha-śuddha-9-Su(śu)krē.

With his own reading of the date, Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,—relying also on the fact that the Ambarnāth inscription mentions a certain *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgaṇaiya as an officer of Mām-vāpi, while the other record, now to be referred to, gives the name of a *Sareddhikārin* Nāgaṇaiya as an officer of Chhittarāja,—proceeded to identify these two officials as one, and to suggest that, "if this reading of the date be correct," the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chhittarāja of this inscription might be identified with the Śilāhāra *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chhittarāja who issued the Bhāṇḍūp grant,² dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 948; and that Mām-vāpi was probably his son or successor. And, in publishing the Khārēpāṭan grant of the Śilāhāra *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Anantadēva,³ dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1016, Mr. K. T. Telang identified Mām-vāpi with the Mummūpi who is given in that record as a younger brother of the Chhittarāja by whom the Bhāṇḍūp charter was issued. The similarity in the names of Mām-vāpi and Mummūpi,⁴ coupled in each instance with the proximity of the name of Chhittarāja, was sufficiently tempting to justify this identification; on the facts of the case, as they were then understood. But we must now abandon these identifications; the first two of which plainly were in reality factors that helped to induce Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's alteration in the interpretation of the Ambarnāth date, rather than deductions from that interpretation. And, if Mām-vāpi belonged to the Śilāhāra family at all, he must be placed very much earlier in the genealogy; and perhaps before Kapardin I., with whom the list given in the Bhāṇḍūp grant commences, and who was eight generations anterior to Śaka-Saṁvat 948.

J. F. FLEET.

BOOK NOTICES.

COLLECTIONS SCIENTIFIQUES de L'INSTITUT des LANGUES ORIENTALES DU MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. III. MANUSCRITS Persans, décrits par le Baron Victor Rosen. St. Petersburg, Eggers and Co. 1886. 8vo. pp. IV., and 369, with 3 photolithographs.

References to this work will have been met with

² Published by Dr. Bühler, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 276 ff.

³ *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 33.

⁴ It may be noted that Dr. Bühler (*Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1877, p. 52) preferred to read the name in

more than once in the pages of this Journal in the notes on the Progress of European Scholarship. The Catalogue, it is hardly necessary to repeat, is a work of immense industry and learning, and in every way worthy of its author. It describes

the Ambarnāth inscription as simply Vāpi; viz. by taking *irīmān*-Vāpi, instead of *irī*-Mām-vāpi. But I think that, taking into consideration the construction in the text, both the lithographs are sufficiently reliable to shew that the real name is undoubtedly Mām-vāpi.

minutely, with many an interesting *excursus*, the contents of 132 MSS., several of which are of great value. Most interesting of all is a copy of the *Dīdā* of Jāmi, believed to be in the poet's own handwriting, and three illuminated specimens of celebrated works remarkable for their exquisite calligraphy. Of the latter may be mentioned a copy of Nizāmi's five poems, which is adorned with several frontispieces, and twenty-four vignettes. Five of the latter have the remarkable peculiarity that the rocks, stones, trees, &c., are designed so as to present at the same time pictures of men and of animals. The effect is said to be most comical. No. 130, a small collection of *ghasals* by different authors, is noteworthy as being a perfect specimen of the handwriting of Mir 'Ali Al-Husaini, one of the most celebrated scribes of the 10th century. The collection of Bābi MSS. is complete, and gives Baron Rosen an excellent opportunity for a full description (with extracts) of their contents.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

DIE HANDSCHRIFTEN VERZEICHNISSE DER KÖNIGLICHEN BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN. Fünfter Band, Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften, von A. Weber. Zweiter Band, Zweite Abtheilung. Berlin, A. Asher & Co. 1883. 4to. pp. i-x., 355-627.

The second section of the second volume of Prof. A. Weber's Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS. in the Berlin Library, follows the first after a short interval. It is in every way worthy of its predecessors. The present work deals with Jaina Literature falling under the head of Siddhānta: Full particulars will be found in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of the *Indische Studien*, and ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 279 and ff. The third section of the volume, which deals with non-Siddhānta Jaina Literature, and which will contain the Indices to the whole catalogue, is in the press, and will be looked forward to with interest as completing this great work. The section now under consideration describes 155 MSS. with all the care and minuteness which distinguishes previous volumes. The twelve *aṅgas* occupy one hundred and eighty-one pages, the twelve *upāṅgas* seventy-two, the ten *paññas* (*prākṛiṅgas*) fifteen, the six *chhēdasūtras* forty-nine, the *nandī* and the *anuyogadāra-sūtraṃ* (*anuyogadvārasūtraṃ*) forty-four, the four *mūlasūtras* one hundred, and miscellaneous texts five pages. Notices are also given of texts which form part of the *Siddhānta*, but which are not in the Berlin Library, and of the *Siddhānta* of the Digambaras. The greater portion of the work has been read in proof by Prof. Leumann, whom the author thanks not only for the correction of several misprints, but also for many suggestions.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXIII. Report of a Tour in the Pañjāb and Rājputānā in 1883-84. By H. B. W. GARRICK, Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, under the Superintendence of Major-General Sir A. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., &c., Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1887. Royal 8vo. pp. IV. and 142; with 28 plates.

This twenty-third volume of the Reports of the Archæological Survey of India closes the series edited by Sir A. Cunningham. It is altogether the work of Mr. Garrick, and does not contain a line written by his late chief, and it is, therefore, hardly necessary to add that the volume is of very slight value or interest. It is, perhaps, not quite so bad as the notorious Volume XIX. by the same writer. Still, it is so bad that it is almost impossible to pick out from the text any fact or observation deserving of notice.

The following passage, however, if the facts are correctly reported, is of some interest to students of rude stone monuments:—

"At Kūchēra, about two marches from Nāgaur (in Jōdhpur State), I observed some stone circles which measured from 12 to 15 feet in diameter, but the peasants informed me that their occurrence was due to a favourite recreation of the Rājput youth called *tāhar* or *evārs*. This game—the mention of which quickly divested these circles of a mystical, or indeed any other significance, and which may perhaps account for the origin of such circles in other parts of India—is played in the following manner:—A sufficient number of large stone boulders (some of which would take a strong man to lift) are first arranged in a circle, and this circus is called *dānānī*, 'a small village.' The young shepherds then heave smaller stones into this mock village, and he whose stone falls nearest the centre of the circle, where, it is said, the fattest cattle of the village are kept, gains a certain advantage over his fellows. I understand that the game is of very early origin, and it is locally said to be one of the *lūd*, or field sports, of the pastoral incarnation, Kṛishṇa."

This note is curious, but it obviously affords no explanation of megalithic circles, the sepulchral character of which has been abundantly proved.

I can find nothing else in the text which is worth quoting. The Plates are of some value, and include fairly good representations of buildings, both Muhammadan and Hindu, and a few inscriptions. Plate xxviii. gives a photographic reproduction of a squeeze of the rock-cut inscription at Tuṣām in the Hisār District, which is included in Mr. Fleet's volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta period. An imperfect inscription of late date from Bhatindā, badly reproduced in Plate xxvii., is wrongly labelled as a Gupta inscription. The scale of the Chitōr inscriptions, given in Plates xx., xxi., and xxv., is inconveniently small.

25th August 1888.

V. A. SMITH.

EXTRACTS FROM KALHANA'S RAJATARAMGINI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

(Continued from p. 73.)

No. 2.—EXTRACTS FROM THE FIRST TARANGA; CONCLUDED.

THE remainder of the first Taranga treats of the dynasty of Gōnanda III., and introduces us to what purports to be a much more definite history, inasmuch as from this point there is given the duration of the reign of each king, and we have also the assumed starting-point of the accession of Gōnanda III. in Kaliyuga-Samvat 1919 (expired), or B. C. 1182. For the period commencing with this point, Kalhana does not quote any particular previous writers as his authority; and probably we come now to the details which, as he tells us in verse 15, were put together from his examination of the charters (*śāsana*) of previous kings recording the consecration of temples and grants to them, the laudatory inscriptions (*prastiti-paṭṭa*), and manuscripts (*śāstra*).

I subjoin a list of the twenty-one kings of this dynasty, with the supposed duration of the reign of each of them, and,—without at present entering on the question of adjustment,—with the year of the accession of each of them as deduced from the starting-point of the commencement of the reign of Gōnanda III.

CONTINUATION OF LIST OF THE KINGS OF KASHMIR.

V. The Dynasty of Gōnanda III.	Length of reign.		
	y.	m.	d.
1. Gōnanda III.; B.C. 1182; verses 185 to 191	35	0	0
His connection with his predecessor, Abhimanyu, is not stated. He continued the worship of the Nāgas (185), and restored the rites proclaimed by Nīla, thereby breaking the power of the <i>Bhikshus</i> or <i>Bauddhas</i> (186). He is mentioned (190) as an ancestor of Pravarasēna I., who will be introduced in Taranga iii. verse 97.			
2. Vibhishana I., son of the preceding; B.C. 1147; verse 192.....	53	6	0
3. Indrajit; B.C. 1094; verse 193	35	0	0
His connection with his predecessor is not explained.			
4. Ravana, son of the preceding; B.C. 1059; verses 193 to 195	30	6	0
He set up the <i>linga</i> called <i>Vaṭeśvara</i> (194), and endowed it with the whole country of Kashmir (195).			
5. Vibhishana II., son of the preceding; B.C. 1028; verse 196	35	6	0
6. Nara I., also called <i>Kimnara</i> , son of the preceding; B.C. 993; verses 197 to 274	40	9	0
He was a wicked king, and brought much misfortune on the country (198). In consequence of his mistress being carried away by a <i>Śramana</i> , who dwelt at the village of <i>Kimnaragrāma</i> (199), he burnt thousands of <i>vihāras</i> , and gave to the <i>Brāhmanas</i> the villages that had belonged to them (200). He built a town, which was called after him <i>Narapura</i> (244) or <i>Kimnarapura</i> (274), on the bank of the <i>Vitastā</i> (202 and 260). This town was situated near <i>Chakradhara</i> (261 and 270), a <i>Vaishṇava</i> temple, whose name survives in the mound of <i>Chākhdhar</i> near <i>Bijbihāra</i> (K. R. 18). King <i>Nara</i> fell in love with <i>Chandralēkhā</i> , the daughter of the <i>Nāga</i> <i>Suśravas</i> , and the wife of a <i>Brāhmaṇ</i> named <i>Viśākha</i> , who dwelt at the town of <i>Narapura</i> (203 to 253). Failing in his attempts to seduce her, he tried to take her by force from her husband (254 to 256). The <i>Brāhmaṇ</i> and his wife escaped and fled for protection to <i>Suśravas</i> , who destroyed the king and his town by thunderbolts (257 to 259). After the destruction of the city, the <i>Khaśas</i> became powerful (317).			

		Length of reign.		
		y.	m.	d.
7.	Siddha, son of the preceding; B.C. 952; verses 275 to 285.....	60	0	0
8.	Utpalāksha, son of the preceding; B.C. 892; verse 286.....	30	6	0
9.	Hiranyāksha, son of the preceding; B.C. 861; verse 287.....	37	7	0
He built a town named after himself, i.e. Hiranyākshapura (287).				
10.	Hiranyakula, son of the preceding; B.C. 824; verse 288.....	60	0	0
He founded (the town of) Hiranyōtsa (288).				
11.	Vasukula, son of the preceding; B.C. 764; verse 288.....	60	0	0
12.	Mihirakula, son of the preceding; B.C. 704; verses 289 to 324.....	70	0	0
[He was in reality the son of a king named Tōramāṇa, belonged to the Hūṇa tribe, and came to Kāśmīr and finally established himself there, about A.D. 530, after a career in India that was terminated by Bālāditya of Magadha and by Yaśōdharman, see <i>ante</i> , Vol. XV., pp. 245 to 252]. He was a cruel and vindictive king. During his reign, the country was overrun by the Mlêchchhas (289). He invaded Sīṃhala, i.e. Ceylon, and overthrew the king of that country (294 to 299). On the way back, he put to flight the Chōla, Kārṇāṭa, Lāṭa, and other kings, and ruined their cities (300, 301). He installed the god Mihirēśvara at Śrīnagarī; and in (the district of) Hōlādā he built a great city named Mihirapura (306). He gave <i>agrahāras</i> to outcaste Brāhmaṇas from the Gāndhāra country (307). He diverted the river Chaudrakulyā (318). So hateful was he, that it was only the power of the gods that prevented his subjects from rising and slaying him (324). And yet he was not altogether wicked; for, even when the country was overrun by the Dāradas and Bhauṭṭas, and the national religion was destroyed, he still insured the maintenance of pious observances (312); and at Vijayēśvara he granted a thousand <i>agrahāras</i> to the Gāndhāra Brāhmaṇas (314). Finally, in his old age, he became much afflicted with disease (309); and eventually he atoned for all his sins and acts of cruelty, by immolating himself in the flames, on a plank studded with razors, swords, and knives (315).				
13.	Baka, son of the preceding; B.C. 634; verses 325 to 335.....	63	0	13
He restored justice and security (328). He founded the temple of Bakēśa, diverted the river Bakavati, and built the town of Lavaṇōtsa (329), where he reigned (330). His death was caused by the witch Bhaṭṭā, who slew him, with a hundred sons and grandsons, as a human sacrifice to the Divine Mothers at Khēri (331 to 335).				
14.	Kshitinanda, son of the preceding; B.C. 571; verse 336.....	30	0	0
15.	Vasunanda, son of the preceding; B.C. 541; verse 337.....	52	2	0
He was the author of a <i>Kāmasāstra</i> or work on the science of love (337).				
16.	Nara II., son of the preceding; B.C. 489; verse 338.....	60	0	0
17.	Aksha, son of the preceding; B.C. 429; verse 338.....	60	0	0
He established the village of Akshavāla (338).				
18.	Gōpāditya, son of the preceding; B.C. 369; verses 339 to 345.....	60	6	0
He bestowed Sakhōla, Khāgi, Kāhādigrāma, Skandapura, Samāṅgāsa, and other <i>agrahāras</i> (340). He consecrated the temple of Jyēsthēśvara on the Gōpādri hill, and granted the Gōpa <i>agrahāras</i> (341). He banished neglectful Brāhmaṇas to Bhūkshīravāṭikā and Khāsatā (342); and induced others, of purer habits, to immigrate, and settled them in Vāschika and other <i>agrahāras</i> (343).				
19.	Gōkarṇa, son of the preceding; B.C. 308; verse 346.....	57	11	0
He founded the temple of Gōkarṇēśvara (346).				

28 days, the difference between both totals. This would, however, necessitate an identical deduction from the 2268 years of the first Taramga (verse 48), which seem to have been one of the bases of Kalhaṇa's chronology. Therefore, it will be necessary to assume the second alternative, that Kalhaṇa gained his 'rough' number of 2330 years by disregarding the odd months and days which are found in the totals of the reigns of the third and fourth Taramga. If the extra 10 months and 1 day of the third, and the extra 5 months and 27 days of the fourth Taramga, are left out of consideration, the result of the second series of items will be 1328 years, as it ought to be theoretically according to the first calculation. To sum up, it seems very probable that Kalhaṇa placed the end of the reign of Yudhishtira I. and the accession of Pratāpāditya I. in Kaliyuga-Samvat 2921 (expired), or B. C. 180.

TRANSLATION.

(185) King Gōnanda III., who obtained the kingdom at this juncture, caused the processions, sacrifices, &c., to the Nāgas to take place just as before. — (186) After this king had restored the rites proclaimed by Nīla, the Bhikṣhus and the detrimental effects of the snow passed altogether away. — (187) Whenever there is a time of need, the good deeds of subjects produce kings who re-organize the far-decayed country. — (188) Those who strive to oppress the people, perish together with their lineage; but prosperity attends the race of those who will repair the loss. — (189) Having observed this (*foreboding*) sign at every event (*which has happened*) in this country, the wise are able to foresee the good or bad luck of future kings. — (190) Pravaraśēna (I.) and other virtuous and immortal descendants of this (king) who renewed the country, enjoyed this earth for a long time. — (191) This prince (Gōnanda III.), who was the first of the race of Gōnanda, just as Raghu was the first of the race of Raghu, ruled over the earth for thirty-five years.

(192) The son of Gōnanda, called Vibhishana (I.), protected the earth for sixty years, diminished by six years and six months.

(193) There ruled successively Indrajit and Rāvapa, father and son, for thirty-five and for thirty and a half years. — (194) The *līnga* (called) Vaṭṣvara, which Rāvapa (*founded*) for the purposes of worship, is (*still*) resplendent; the colour of its line of dots has been observed to foretell coming events. — (195) That prince gave the whole country of Kāśmīra to Vaṭṣvara, whom he had placed in a *maṭha* with four halls.

(196) The long-armed Vibhishana II., the son of king Rāvapa, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five and a half years.

(197) Then Vibhishana's son, called Nara, whose other name was Kīrnara, and whose prowess was praised in song by the Kīrnaras, became king. — (198) Though (*at first*) of good conduct, this prince produced a series of great misfortunes, through the bad luck of his subjects, and through the vice of sensuality. — (199) An ascetic (*śramaṇa*), who dwelt alone in a *vihāra*, which was situated at Kīrnaragrāma, carried off his (*the king's*) mistress by the power of magic. — (200) Angry on account of this (*act*), he (*the king*) burnt thousands of *vihāras*, and bestowed their villages on Brāhmins, who resided in the *maṭhas* (*which were situated in their*) midst. — (201, 202) On the bank of the Vitastā, he built, with the riches which he had acquired by conquering the world, a town, which appeared to be a synonym of "Heaven" and surpassed the town of Kuvēra. Its market was full of roads; its river resplendent with navigation; and its gardens teeming with flowers and fruits. —

¹⁸⁵ Here, and in 191, 192, P reads गोनन्द, as opposed to the गोनर्द of C and T. This mistake of the Calcutta Paṇḍita was first rectified by Dr. Bühler, K. B. p. 54.

¹⁸⁶ हिमदोषाच्च P. T.

¹⁸⁹ देशे P. T.

¹⁹⁰ वंशदैरियं T. Pravaraśēna was the name of two kings of Kāśmīr; it is here mentioned as a representative of the restored line of Gōnanda III., viz., of the kings from Meghavāhana to Balāditya (see Taramga iii.).

¹⁹³ °सहाधीन P.

¹⁹⁵ कश्मीर° P.

¹⁹⁶ °कोणि° P. सार्धमन्यो P. T.

¹⁹⁹ °श्रेयः P.

²⁰³ °चित्तम् P; °चित्तः C T; read चित्तम्. Instead of नाचो, which is also the reading of P, read नाचा.

(203) In a garden at that (*town*) there was a lake filled with clear and sweet water, the dwelling-place of a **Nāga**, **Suśravas** by name. — [(204 to 253) The Brāhmaṇ **Viśākha** marries **Chandralēkhā**, the younger daughter of the **Nāga** **Suśravas**, and lives with her at **Narapura**. **King Nara** falls in love with **Chandralēkhā**]. — (254) Having cast off the fetter of shame, he frightened that woman by trying to seduce her through messengers, who pleaded (*his*) desire. — (255) When (*he found that*) she was not to be persuaded by any means, the libidinous (*king*) asked even her husband, the Brāhmaṇ, for her. Of what are those ashamed, who are blinded by passion? — (256) After the king had been repeatedly rebuked also by that (*Brāhmaṇ*), he despatched soldiers, to carry her away by force. — (257) Attacked by these from the front of the house, the Brāhmaṇ escaped with his wife by another way, and fled to the palace of the **Nāga** for protection. — (258) When the two had arrived and reported that event, the lord of snakes, who was blind with rage, rose from the lake. — (259) Having produced dense darkness by roaring and lowering clouds, he burnt the king with his town by a shower of terrible thunder-bolts. — (260) Carrying away the oily fat and blood, which dropped from the burnt human bodies, the **Vitastā** became, as it were, marked with the eyes of a peacock's tail. — (261) Thousands of frightened people, who entered for refuge the presence of (*the god*) **Chakradhara** (**Vishṇu**), were burnt in an instant. — (262) Just as formerly the fat of the thighs of (*the demons*) **Madhu** and **Kaitabha**, thus many bodies of burnt people then covered **Chakrin** (**Vishṇu**). — (263) At that time the sister of **Suśravas**, a **Nāgi** called **Ramaṇī**, came from a cave in the hills, to help (*her brother*), carrying heaps of rocks. — (264) When more than a *yōjana* of the way remained, and she perceived from afar that her brother had been successful, she pelted a shower of rocks on the villages. — (265) Then the ground of the villages became stony for five *yōjanas*. This (*ground*), called "**the forest of Ramaṇī**," is even now covered with huge rocks. — (266) Having produced a terrible destruction of people, the snake (**Suśravas**), filled with remorse and depressed by the censure of the world, left that place next morning and went away. — (267) A lake, white as the milk-ocean, which he created on a distant mountain, is even now seen by the people at the procession to **Amarōśvara**. — (268) At the same place, another lake, (*viz.* that) of the Brāhmaṇ, who had become a **Nāga** by the favour of his father-in-law, is known by the name of "**the lake of the son-in-law**." — (269) Fiendish (*kings*), who fearlessly produce destruction, under the pretext of protecting their subjects, suddenly fare thus. — (270) Even now people remember this story, when they behold, near **Chakradhara** that town which was burnt and that lake which became a (*dry*) hole. — (271) How great a vice must passion be considered in short-sighted kings! Through it there happened to him that which has never happened to another. — (272) We hear that even the three worlds were lost in every case through the anger of even a single virtuous wife, deity, or Brāhmaṇ. — (273) Having enjoyed the earth for forty-one years less by three months, that king perished through his bad conduct. — (274) That town of **Kimnara**, the circle of whose walls and watch-towers had been visible (*only*) for a very short time, became similar to the town of the **Gandharvas** (*i.e.* it faded away like a *mirage*).

257 सञ्जानिः P C.

261 Chakradhara was the name of a temple of Vishṇu near Bijbihāra (Vijayōśvara). Its site has been identified with the mound of Chākhḍhar by Dr. Bühler, K. R. p. 18. See also *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, Vol. XL, p. 7.

262 मन्दः P T. Madhu and Kaitabha are the names of two demons, who were killed by Vishṇu.

264 सा P T.

270 अप्रमीयते P. The town referred to is Narapura (244) or Kimnarapura (274), which king Nara or Kimnara had built on the bank of the **Vitastā** (202) and which was burnt by the **Nāga** **Suśravas** (259). The dried-up lake is that, in which the latter was originally living (203). The present verse shows, that Narapura was situated near the temple of **Chakradhara** (see note on verse 261). It appears to have been destroyed by one of the earthquakes which are frequent in **Kāśmīr**.

271 मतः P. भूत्कपि P T.

273 मासैश्चानां, मुक्ता and दुर्भेदेन P.

274 अत्यल्पं P.

(275) Through the wonderful diversity of the course of fate, his only son, who had been brought to **Vijayakshêtra** by his nurse, did not lose his life. — (276) This king, called **Siddha**, refreshed the exhausted people, just as the cloud a mountain, which is parched by a forest-fire. — (277) Thus the strange fate of his father became to this magnanimous one a beneficial instruction in the knowledge of the vanity of the world. — (278) Though in the midst of enjoyment, he could not be led into sin by it, just as the spotless image of the moon remains undefiled, though it is reflected in a quagmire. — (279) In the midst of princes, who were hot with the fever of pride, he alone recovered (*from it*) by meditating incessantly on **Śiva**. — (280) Abandoning gems like trifles, this virtuous one found (*the only*) perfect ornament in the worship of **Śiva**. — (281) The royal splendour of this king followed him to another world, because he cunningly combined it with unfailing virtue. — (282) Having ruled over the earth for **sixty years**, he, accompanied by his near attendants, ascended with his body to the worlds of **Śiva**. — (283) Having sought refuge with (*the preceding king*) **Nara**, the servants had got into a deplorable state; but, depending on his son (**Siddha**) as their lord, they became worthy of praise in the world. — (284) A dependant shares the fate of his lord, be it blamed in the world or praised by all men. A rope of straw descends, if it is attached to the bucket of a well; if it is tied to flowers, it ascends on the head of a god. — (285) "Here is **Siddha**, (*who has become*) a demi-god (**Siddha**) with his body;" this announcement was proclaimed by the gods in heaven, with beating of the drum, for seven days.

(286) His son, who received the name **Utpalāksha** (*i.e.* the lotus-eyed) on account of his lovely eyes, ruled over the earth for **thirty and a half years**.

(287) His son **Hiranyāksha**, who enjoyed the earth for **thirty-seven years and seven months**, built a town, which was designated by his name.

(288) His son **Hiranyākula**, who founded **Hiranyōtsa**, was (*king*) for **sixty**, (*and*) his son **Vasukula** (*likewise*) for **sixty years**.

(289) Then, when the country was (*again*) overrun by a **Mlêchchha** tribe, his son **Mihirakula**, who was of cruel deeds and resembled **Kāla** (or Death) (*in destructiveness*), became king. — (290) In him the northern region possessed another **Antaka** (or Death), thus rivalling the southern region, the regent of which is (*the god*) **Antaka**. — (291) His approach was always heralded by the flights of vultures, crows, &c., that flew before him, eager to devour those who were being slain among his troops. — (292) He was a very ghoul of a king, surrounded day and night by thousands of slaughtered beings even in his pleasure-houses. — (293) This cruel murderer had no pity or respect for children or women or aged men. — (294 to 299) One day he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who wore a muslin bodice from **Sinhala** (or Ceylon), were marked with golden foot-prints. Burning with wrath, he questioned the chamberlain, and was told that, in the **Sinhala** country, it was customary to impress the material with the stamp of the king's foot. This explanation failed to appease him; and he set out on a campaign as far as the southern ocean, and ousted the king of **Sinhala**. Instead of him, he set up another king; and he brought away a woven cloth called **yamushadêva**, stamped with an image of the sun. — (300, 301) On his way back, he put to flight the **Chôla**, **Karṇāṭa**, **Lāṭa** and other kings, whose ruined cities announced their

275 वैशिष्ट्या° and स्वधाम्या P.

277 विषयं P T. °ताशाने P.

279 °उवरोध्म° and °तोषयौ P.

281 °दूर्तो P.

285 प्राचीनयन्त्रादयन्तः P.

288 सार्धं P.

289 हिरण्योत्सुकदन्मजः and वसुकुलं P.

289 to 301. I use here Mr. Fleet's abridged translation, from the Calcutta edition, published ante, Vol. XV. p. 247E; altering some details and the numbering of the verses according to the Śārada MS.

295 °मदायतः P.

299 °शक्तिरयं T; °शक्तिरुपा° P; °शक्तिमया° C. As the first part of the king's name, Mihira, is doubtlessly of Iranian origin. The term *yamusha* might be derived from the same source; perhaps it is a corruption of *amēsha*, 'immortal,' which occurs in the Avesta as an attribute of the sun.

300 °महादीर्घ P. गन्धर्भो P T. व्यवहारयन् P C.

capture to their rulers when these returned into them on his departure. — (302, 303) As he came to the "Gate" of Kasmira (Kasmira-Dvāra), he heard the terrified cries of an elephant that had fallen into a chasm; and the sounds gave him such exquisite pleasure, that he caused a hundred other elephants to be wantonly destroyed in the same way. — (304) As the touch of the sinful defiles the body, so does a description of them defile the speech; accordingly, all his other cruel deeds are not detailed, (*lest they should pollute the narrator*). — (305) But who can fully comprehend the behaviour of men whose minds are uncultivated, and who do evil deeds? for even he made an assumption of religion, for the sake of acquiring merit. — (306) Thus, evil-minded as he was, he installed (the god) Mihirēśvara at Srinagari, and in Hōlādā he built a great city named Mihirapura. — (307) And he gave *agrahāras* to Brāhmins of the Gandhāra country, the lowest of the twice-born, resembling himself in character. — (309, 310) At length when he, a very Bhairava incarnate, had reigned for seventy years, he became afflicted with much disease, and immolated himself in the flames; and a voice from the sky was heard to proclaim that, though he had slain three crores of people, yet he had attained final emancipation, in consequence of the disregard that he had shewn for his own sufferings also. — (311) Those, who report this, consider that he made amends for his cruelty, by his gifts of *agrahāras*, and similar deeds. — (312 to 316) For, even when the country was overrun by the Dāradas (and) Bhaūṭas, (*who were*) Mīśchohhas of impure rites, and all (*the national*) religion was destroyed, yet he insured the maintenance of pious observances. And he firmly established the countries of the Āryas, and then performed a terrible penance, ordaining, as expiation for his sins, the burning of himself; in accordance with which he bestowed a thousand *agrahāras* at Vijayēśvara on Brāhmins born in the Gandhāra country, and then gave his body to the flames, on a pyre which was a flat plank studded with razors, swords, and knives, and thus atoned for all his cruelty. — (317) Others excuse all his cruel acts by asserting that he performed them only in order to destroy the Khasas, who had become powerful when the city was burned by the Nāga. — (318 to 324) As a final instance of his cruelty, one day, when he was diverting the river Chandrakulā, the work was hindered by a large rock that could not be uprooted and removed. Having performed austerities, he was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yaksha dwelt in the rock, observing the vow of chastity, and that the obstacle could be removed only by the touch of a chaste woman. Next day he had his dream put to the test; but no woman was found who could prevail against the rock, until a potter's wife, named Chandravati, touched it and displaced it. Whereupon, filled with anger, he caused three crores of virtuous women to be slain, with their husbands and brothers and sons. It was only the power of the gods, who caused him to do this act, that prevented his subjects from rising of one accord and slaying him.

(325) When at length he (Mihirakula) had perished through the good luck of his subjects, the citizens anointed his virtuous son Baka. — (326) Through the influence of (*their*) previous (*experiences*), which (I) have told, the people were afraid even of his rule, as of a pleasure-house built on a cemetery. — (327) Begotten by one who had caused excessive pain, he became a bestower of delight on men, just like a downpour of water, which follows on a cloudy day of the rainy season. — (328) Then people fancied that justice had arrived from another world, and that safety had returned from an inaccessible exile. — (329) Having founded (*the temple of*) Bakēśa and (*having conducted*) the river Bakavati to a (*dry*) valley, the illustrious Baka built a town called Lavaṇōtsa. — (330) There the prince passed sixty-three years and

305 को वेत्सुद्रुत्तचैदानां कृत्यां P.

306 होलादायां P.

307 गान्धारा P. After this verse, C and T insert two spurious verses which are omitted in P.

313 दारदभट्टि P. The Dāradas are the inhabitants of Dārdistān, and the Bhaūṭas are the Tibetans.

315 क्षुरखकुलिषेन्वादि P.

317 The reference is to the story of Naga I. and the Nāga Sutravas, verses 203 to 274 above.

319 यक्षः P. T.

320 न स P.

325 बकस्त P.

328 रादुकाचारं दधे P. जनः P. T.

327 मात्तपात्यय P.

329 बकेश P. C.

330 वासरा

thirteen days, ruling the earth. — (331) Then, having assumed the appearance of a beautiful woman, a witch, called *Bhaṭṭa*, approached the king at nightfall. — (332) Having weakened his memory by various pleasing words, she invited him, who was delighted, to witness the greatness of the festival of sacrifice. — (333) When the emperor, accompanied by his hundred sons and grandsons, went there next morning, she made him an offering to the circle of the goddesses. — (334) Even now there are visible on a rock the impressions of two knees, which mark the ascension to heaven of her, who became a demi-goddess in consequence of that action. — (335) Even now the god *Satakapālēśa*, the circle of the (divine) Mothers, that rock, and that story, are remembered in the *maṭhas* of *Khēri*.

(336) Then his son *Kshitinanda*, who, (like) a bulb of the family-tree, had been spared by the goddess, ruled over the earth for thirty years.

(337) His son, called *Vasunanda*, the author of a celebrated *Kāmasāstra*, ruled over the earth for fifty-two years and two months.

(338) His son *Nara* (II.) was king for sixty (years); and his son *Aksha*, who caused the village of *Akshavala* to be built, for the same number of years.

(339) Thereon his son *Gōpāditya*, who exhibited the return of the primitive age by his care for the castes and orders, ruled over the earth together with the islands. — (340) He gave away *Sakhōla*, *Khāgi*, *Kahāḍigrāma*, *Skandapura*, *Samāṅgāsa*, and other *agrahāras*. — (341) Having consecrated (the temple of) *Jyēsthēśvara* on (the hill called) *Gōpādri*, this virtuous (king) granted the *Gōpa agraḥāras* to *Brāhmaṇs* born in the countries of the *Āryas*. — (342, 343) Having banished to *Bhūkshiravāṭikā* those who ate garlic, he placed at *Khāsaṭā* those *Brāhmaṇs* who neglected their rules of conduct; and, having imported other holy *Brāhmaṇs* from pure countries, he caused them to settle in *Vaschika* and other *agrahāras*. — (344) He, who obtained the title of "the uppermost guardian of the world" in panegyrical poems, did not permit the slaughter of animals except at a sacrifice. — (345) Having ruled over the earth for sixty years and six months, he went to the worlds of the virtuous, in order to enjoy the results of his good deeds.

(346) His son *Gōkarṇa*, who founded (the temple of) *Gōkarṇēśvara*, held the earth for fifty-eight years diminished by thirty days.

(347) His son was *Narēndraditya* (I.), whose other name was *Khinkhila*, and who caused the consecration of (the temple of) *Bhūtēśvara* and (the conducting of) the *Akshayini*. — (348) His *Guru*, *Ugra* by name, who possessed the divine favour, and whose appearance was full of splendour, built (the temple of) *Ugrēśa* and a circle of the (divine) Mothers. — (349) Having been the lord of the earth for thirty-six years and a hundred days, the virtuous (king) obtained the sinless worlds in consequence of his prolonged good conduct.

(350) Then his son, *Yudhishtira* (I.), whom people called "the blind (*Andha*)-*Yudhishtira*" on account of his small eyes, became king. — [(351-372) He loses the throne

332 °ग्लोपित° P.

333 On *dēvīchakra* and *mātrichakra* (verse 335) see note on verse 122.

334 दृषययापि T.

335 खेरी° P. It appears from this verse that the Śaiva temple at *Khēri* was called *Satakapālēśa*, "the lord of a hundred skulls," and that tradition explained that name by the sacrifice of king *Baka* and of his hundred sons and grandsons (verse 333).

338 भुषोमं P T.

340 °काहादिभाम° P T. °समाङ्गादि° C T; read °समाङ्गास°. On *Khāgi* (the modern *Kākapur*) and *Samāṅgāsa*, see K. E. verses 90 and 100.

341 On *Jyēsthēśvara* see note on verse 124, on *Gōpādri*, K. E. p. 17.

343 व्यधात्वि° P; व्यधात्वि° C T; read व्यधादि°.

344 According to i. 15, panegyrical poems (*prastāvi*) were used by *Kaṭhāna* as correctives of his narrative. On *prastāvi* see now Dr. Bühler's remarks in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. II. p. 86.

345 सधर्मासा° P. °परीपाक° P C.

346 खेरी° P. °रथे P T. °त्याहा° P.

347 °मतिहायामख° P; °मतिहायामख° C T; read °मतिहाया अख°. A temple of *Bhūtēśvara* or *Bhūtēśa* was already existing at the times of *Aśoka* and *Jalauka* I.; see i. 107, 148. In ii. 123 and v. 46, it is mentioned along with *Vijayēśa*. *Akshayini* must have been the name of a river; compare note on verse 150, and *Bakavati* in verse 329.

through a conspiracy of his ministers with neighbouring kings and has to leave the country with his wives.] — (373) Some benevolent kings, whose country the king visited, kindly alleviated his grief for the loss of his kingdom by various acts of courtesy, (*which appeared*) important (*as they were accompanied by*) strict obedience to his orders, (*and*) by hinting the cessation of his sorrow in words, which were pleasing through friendliness and earnestness.

Thus ends the first Taramga of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the work of Kalhaṇa, the son of the lord Chappaka who was the great minister of Kāśmīra.

REMARK.

In the Calcutta and Paris editions, the first Taramga contains 375 verses. Deducting the two spurious verses 308 and 309, which are omitted by P, there remain 373 verses. This actual number differs only by one from the colophon of P, according to which the first Taramga consists of 372 verses.

(To be continued.)

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.O.S., and revised by the Author.

(Continued from p. 80.)

SIXTH EDICT.

Prinsep, l. c. pp. 596 ff.; Kern, p. 92 ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dēvānāmpiyē piyadasi lāja hēvaṃ ahā [.] duvāḍasa
- 2 vasa-abhisitēna mē dhammalipi¹ likhāpitā lōkasā
- 3 hitasukhāyē [.] sē taṃ² apahatā taṃtaṃ dhammavaḍḍhi pāpōvā
- 4 hēvaṃ lōkasā hitasukhēti paṭivēkhāmi atha iyaṃ
- 5 nātisu hēvaṃ patiyāsaṃnēsu hēvaṃ apakaṭṭhēsu
- 6 kimāṃ kāni³ sukhaṃ avahāmiti tatha cha vidahāmi [.] hēmēvā
- 7 savanikāyēsu⁴ paṭivēkhāmi [.] savapāsaṃdā pi mē pūjitā
- 8 vividhāya pūjāyā [.] ā chu iyaṃ atanaṃ pachūpagamanē⁵
- 9 sē mē mōkhyamatē [.] sadvāsativasa abhisitēna mē
- 10 iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpitā [.]

NOTES.

1. Misled by the following sentence, the meaning of which he completely failed to grasp, Prinsep interpreted the absence of the pronoun *iyam* from beside *dhammalipi*, as indicating that the edict of the thirteenth year must have been conceived in terms opposed to those of the present one, and inspired by doctrines which the king now repudiates. Lassen (II^e 276 n. 2) adopts this strange idea with some reserve. The text in no way authorises such an explanation. Translated literally, the sentence gives this meaning and no other:—'It was in the thirteenth year after my coronation that I had an edict engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people,' that is to say, plainly, 'I had engraved for the first time.' Such an idea being aimed at, can alone explain the introduction of the sentence here. We shall see that this very simple observation has a conclusion at once extremely unexpected, and very important.

¹ स्वर्यदक्षितं P. °शाल्या P T. इति काश्मीरिकमहामान्यवर्णकप्रमुक्तोः कल्हणस्य कृतौ राजतरंगिण्या प्रथमस्तरंगः P. The form Kāśmīrika occurs in all the colophons, while Kāśmīraka is used throughout the text. Kalhaṇa's father, Chappaka, is erroneously called Champaka in the Calcutta and Paris editions. It is a curious coincidence that, in Tamil, the two forms *chappaka* and *chappaka* are used besides *chappaka*, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *chappaka* (*Michelia Champaca*, L.).

It will be remembered that the concluding words of the 12th (Rock) edict are immediately followed at Khālsi by characters which I have been able to correct with certainty into *athavāsā-bhisitasa*, the certain equivalent of which, though greatly altered, reappears at Kapur-di-Giri (L. 253). Deceived by the divisions introduced into the reproductions of the *Corpus*, which I supposed to depend on positive traces preserved by the rock itself, I connected these words with the 12th edict; but a kind communication from Dr. Kern allows me to rectify this passage so as to leave no further doubt. We must, according to his ingenious conjecture, separate the words in question from the 12th edict and transfer them to the commencement of the 13th, the genitive *-abhisitasa*, being in agreement with *Piyadasisa*. The words in brackets should therefore be struck out from the end of my translation of the 12th (Rock) edict, and the commencement of the 13th should be modified in the following manner:—'In the ninth year of his coronation, the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas, conquered the immense territory of Kālīṅga.' Now, it will have been seen from my translation, that it was to this conquest, and to the horrors of which it had been the occasion, that the king attributes 'his religious conversion. We have, therefore, two facts:—(1) that the conversion of the king dated from the ninth year of his coronation, and (2) that he only commenced to have the edicts which were inspired by his new opinions engraved in the thirteenth. This, I may add, very well agrees with the statement in the 5th edict of Gīrnār, according to which the creation of *Dharmamahāmātras* dates from his fourteenth year. Now let us compare the commencement of the edicts of Sahasrām and of Rūpnāth with these two facts. According to the version of this passage, as corrected by Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahāvagga*, I. p. xxxviii. note, *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, xxxv., 473) the king, who speaks, declares that he had passed 'more than two years and a half after his conversion without showing his zeal actively, but that, at the moment when he was speaking, he had manifested such zeal a year ago.' If we add these figures together, we find, on the one hand, that Piyadasi passed eight years and a fraction, say eight years and a half, after his coronation, before he was converted; and that he was then more than two years and a half, say two years and three-quarters, before giving effective proofs of his religious zeal. This makes an approximate total of eleven years, plus a fraction, of religious coldness: and it was accordingly only in the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign that his zeal became outwardly manifest. It is exactly at this period that his evidence in the present passage fixes his first religious edicts. This is a coincidence which no one could consider to be accidental, and there follows this important conclusion that, contrary to the doubts expressed in various quarters and to the theory so ably upheld by Dr. Oldenberg (*Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, loc. cit.) the author of the inscriptions of Sahasrām and of Rūpnāth was indisputably the same Piyadasi as he who published the rock tables of Gīrnār, and the Columnar edicts, and that, in dealing with these inscriptions, we are certainly on Buddhist ground. It follows, moreover, that the edicts of Sahasrām and of Rūpnāth, belonging, as they do, to the thirteenth year after his coronation, are certainly amongst the first which he had engraved, and probably the very same as those to which he makes allusion in the passage before us.

2. This phrase contains two difficult words. One is *pāpovā*, which has been definitely explained by Dr. Kern as equivalent to *prāpnuyāti*. With regard to the first, *apahāṣā*, I think that the learned Leyden professor has been less happy in his suggestions. He takes it as equivalent to *a-prahartā*, from the verbal noun *prahartar*, with *taṇ* for its direct object. But, besides such a construction, awkward enough under any circumstances, being repugnant to the style of our monuments, it does not give a very satisfactory sense. Not mutilating these edicts is too small a thing to cause one to acquire, as the sequel shows, various virtues. In the first place, I think that the phrase runs down to *-sukhēti*. The *cha*, which in line 6 follows *tatha*, proves that the entire sentence is to be divided into two parallel halves, the former part of each forming the thoughts of the king, marked and completed by an *iti*, the latter being the two verbs *paṭivēkhāmi*, and *tatha vidāhāmi*. This construction makes the explanation of the initial *sē* more simple. It refers necessarily to *lōkē* understood from the preceding *lōkasa*. This being settled, the general sense to be expected from the entire proposition is something to the

effect that, by instructing themselves by these edicts, men will practise certain virtues, and will be happier and better. It appears to me that we shall easily arrive at this translation by taking *apahatā* as the participle absolute, for *apahṛitya* or even *apahṛitvā* (we might venture to correct the reading to *apahṛīti*, cf. above I. 53, or even to *apahṛītu*). The meaning 'to carry off for one's own appropriation,' which *apa-har* exactly expresses, could, it appears to me, be applied without too great boldness in the king's ideas to the fact that passers-by might carry away in their memories some scraps of his exhortations, and would improve in such and such a way. (The distributive idiom *tañ-tañ* will be noticed). In this manner the meaning appears to me to be much more natural.

3. To *atha iyañ* corresponds exactly the Pāli idiom *yathayidañ*, which is also known in Buddhist Sanskrit. For the characters *kimañkāni*, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the really desperate correction *kāmakālī*. The conjunction *kāni* is now familiar to us, and the next edict (I. 18) affords another instance of its association with an interrogative pronoun; *kimañ* may remain. As observed on a former occasion (I. 18-19) we are authorised to understand it as *kim u*, a common strongly interrogative formula. If we reject this reading, the only other alternative which I see, is to admit that *kūñ*, degraded to the rôle of a simple particle, has in some way doubled its final letter by the addition of a neuter adverbial termination, so that we obtain *kimañ*, very much as the Pāli has *sudañ* for *svidañ*, i.e. *svid*. I must avow my preference for the former solution.

4. A comparison with the 12th (Rock) edict appears to me to fix the meaning of *nikāya* for the present passage, where it is, as in the other, closely connected with *pāsāṇḍa*. *Nikāyas* form the body of functionaries or royal officers over whom Piyadasi exercises a supervision, the personal character of which we have just seen the 4th (Columnar) edict emphasizing.

5. The 12th (Rock) edict again helps us to arrive at the exact meaning of this last phrase. The obscurity consists in the words *atanañ pachupagamanañ*, although the substantive *pachupagamana* does not lend itself to much uncertainty. It can hardly mean anything except the action of approaching with respect, and while we admit that *prati* adds a distributive or individual shade of meaning, it can easily be translated as 'personal adherence to.' But what is the relation between the two words? Dr. Kern transcribes the first word as *atana* and sees in it a genitive. In that case we should except *atanañ*, but if we pass over this difficulty, the translation which he proposes, 'my own belief' (*mijne eigene belijdenis*) supposes a very peculiar meaning for *pachupagamana*, which is a bold deviation from the etymological sense in a word for which we have no proof of any technical use. In the 12th (Rock) edict, we have a thought altogether analogous to the passage under review:—'Piyadasi . . . honours all sects . . . by honours of different kinds.' Then follows a sentence which the particle *tu* at first sight places in a certain antithesis to what precedes:—'But less importance is attached to that than to the desire of seeing their essence (the virtues which constitute their essentials) reign.' Now, here also, the particle *chu* gives a shade of antithesis to the second member of the sentence. If we take the form *atanañ* as correct, and translate literally, we get, 'but it is the personal adherence (to the sects) which I consider as the essential requisite.' The deliberate personal adherence to the doctrines of the various religions is evidently the necessary condition of their *sārasaḍhi*, as the 12th edict expresses it. This explanation, therefore, without touching the text as handed down to us, leads us directly and without violence to a thought which makes a fitting supplement to the idea of the 12th edict. This consideration appears to me to be of such a nature as strongly to recommend it, above all in a text which, like ours, is far from avoiding repetitions, as we shall be better able to judge in dealing with the 8th edict.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dévas:—In the thirteenth year after my coronation did I [for the first time] have edicts engraved for the welfare and happiness of the people. I trust that they will carry away something from them, and thus, in such and such

respects, will make progress in the religion, so that this will be for the welfare and happiness of the people. I also make such arrangements as I believe suited to provide for happiness, whether amongst my distant subjects or amongst those who are near to me and amongst my relations. Hence it is I who watch over the whole body of my officers. All sects receive from me honours of different kinds, but it is the personal adherence [to their doctrines which] I consider to be the essential requisite. In the twenty-seventh year after my coronation had I this edict engraved.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 175.—BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF BHIMADÉVA II. SIMHA-SAMVAT 93.

I edit this inscription, which has not previously been published, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1878, from the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 17.

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number; each measuring about $9\frac{1}{4}$ " by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ". The edges of them were slightly raised into rims, to protect the writing; and though the surfaces of the plates are a good deal corroded by rust, the inscription is legible, without any points of doubt, throughout. — In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the second, there are holes for two rings to connect them. The rings are plain copper rings, each about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. They had both been cut, when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a seal having been attached to either of them, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming. — The characters are Nāgarī, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include, in line 1, the decimal figures 1, 3, and 9. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The engraving is bold and good. — The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 13-14. In line 6 we have the Prākṛit word *vachchha*, for the Sanskrit *vatsa*. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the *anusvāra* instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in *maṇḍal-āntahpāti*, line 3; (2) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *vṛāhmaṇa*, lines 4 and 8, and in *vōdhayaty*, line 4; and (3) the use of *ś* for *s*, in *śva*, line 3; *nivāśi*, line 4; and *sahasrāṇi śvargā*, line 13.

The inscription is one of the Chaulukya king Bhimadēva II. of Aṇhilwād. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of some land to a Brāhmap.

The places mentioned in the inscription are, the city of Aṇahilapātaka, where Bhimadēva II. was, when he notified this grant; Sahasachāṇa, the village in which the land granted was situated; Vēkariyā, a village mentioned in defining the boundaries of the land; and Prasannapura, the town from which the family of the grantee came. And, as we learn from the preamble, Sahasachāṇa and Vēkariyā are to be looked for in the Kachchha maṇḍala or province of Kachchha; which must have been more or less identical with the modern 'Cutch' State; and which the record describes as being enjoyed by Bhimadēva II. himself, as if the province were private property of his, assigned to him apart from the general revenues of the kingdom.

As regards the date of this record, in line 1 we have the details of the year 93, in decimal figures, of an unspecified era; the month Chaitra; the bright fortnight; the civil day 11 (and with it the eleventh *tithi*); and Ravi, i. e. Rāvivāra or Sunday. And from line 5 we learn that the grant was made on that day, at the festival of a saṁkrānti, which can only be the Mēsha-Saṁkrānti or entrance of the Sun into Aries. The era that is quoted, is the Simha era; which is mentioned under that name in the Verāwal inscription of Arjunadēva of Aṇhilwād.¹

¹ See ante, Vol. XI. p. 242, Text, line 3; and Vol. XVI. p. 147.

dated in Valabhi-Samvat 945, and again in No. 176 below. The exact epoch of this era, and the scheme of its years, as also its historical starting-point, have not yet been properly considered. To these points I will revert on another occasion. And meanwhile it is sufficient to state that the month of Chaitra in Simha-Samvat 93 should be coupled with Vikrama-Samvat 1262 or 1263; and that the English equivalent of the given date is to be found in A. D. 1204, 1205, 1206, or 1207, according as the Vikrama year is treated as a northern or as a southern year, and is applied as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that—

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Saturday, 13th March, A.D. 1204, at about 44 *ghaṭis*, 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Aphilwād;² eleven days before the Mēsha-Samkrānti, which occurred on Wednesday, 24th March, at about 31 *gh*. 37 *p*.

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1263 current (1262 expired) and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1262 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Friday, 1st April, A.D. 1205, at about 47 *gh*. 58 *p*.; seven days after the Mēsha-Samkrānti, which occurred on Thursday, 24th March, at about 47 *gh*. 8 *p*.

In northern Vikrama-Samvat 1264 current (1263 expired) and southern Vikrama-Samvat 1263 current, Chaitra śukla 11 ended on Wednesday, 22nd March, A.D. 1206, at about 29 *gh*. 52 *p*.; three days before the Mēsha-Samkrānti, which occurred on Saturday, 25th March, at about 2 *gh*. 40 *p*., and would be celebrated on the same day.

And finally, in southern Vikrama-Samvat 1264 current (1263 expired), Chaitra śukla 11 ended, as required, on Sunday, 11th March, A.D. 1207, at about 59 *gh*. 5 *p*. But this was fourteen days before the Mēsha-Samkrānti, which occurred on Sunday, 25th March, at about 18 *gh*. 11 *p*., and would be celebrated on that day. This calculation, of course, is for the *nirayana* or non precessional *samkrānti*. And the discrepancy cannot be adjusted by assuming that this record intends to quote the *sāyana* or precessional *samkrānti*; for, the *sāyana* Mēsha-Samkrānti occurred, roughly, either very late on Tuesday, 13th March, or very early on Wednesday, 14th March. There seems, therefore, no room for doubting that this day, Sunday, 25th March, A.D. 1207, is the one that is intended. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, at about 55 *gh*. 58 *p*., was the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Chaitra, by the *amānta* arrangement, which is the proper one for this locality and period. And, to reconcile the results, we must assume a genuine mistake in the preparation of the record; and, though *śu*, 'the bright fortnight,' is distinctly the reading in the text, we must alter it into *ba*, 'the dark fortnight.'

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ Rājāvalī pūrvva-vat || Samvat 93 Chaitra su di 11 Ravau
ady=ōha śrīmad-A-
- 2 nahilapātakē samasta - rājāvalī - virājita - mahārājādhirāja - śrī-
- 3 Bhīmadēvaḥ śva(śva)-bhujyamāna-Kachchha-maṇḍal-āntahpāti-samasta-
rājapurushā-
- 4 n vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān tam(n)-nivāsi(si)-janapadā[m*]ś=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=
Astu vaḥ samviditām
- 5 yathā || Adya samkrānti-parvvaṇi char-āchāra-gurum bhagavantaṁ
Bhavāni-patim=abhya-
- 6 rchya saṁsārasy=āsārātām vichimtya Prasamṇna⁵pura-sthāna-vinirgatāyaḥ⁶
Vachchha(tsa)-sa-

² The times here are for Aphilwād, all through.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Read *prasanna*.

⁵ Represented by a symbol.

⁶ Read *vinirgatāya*.

- 7 gôtrāya Dāmōdara-suta-Gōvīndāya Sahasachāṇa-grāmē⁷ vāpī-putakē
bhūmi-halavāh[ā*] 1
8 ēkā śulkēna sahā(ha) śāsanē pradattā [u*] Asyās=cha pūrvvatō
vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Dāmō-
9 dara-satka-vāpī dakṣiṇatō Vēkariya-kshētra[m*] pāśchimē mahām⁸-Kēśa-

Second Plate.

- 10 va-satka-vāpī uttaratō mārgaḥ iti chatur-āghāt-ōpalakṣitā⁹ ॥ Bhū-
11 mim=ēnām=avagamyā asmadu(d)-vaṁśa-jair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktrībhīḥ a-
12 smat-pradattā¹⁰ va(dha)rma-dāyō=[ya*]m=anumaṁtavayāḥ pālaniyās=cha ॥
Uktam cha bhagava-
13 tā Vyāsēna [i*] Shavyir¹¹-vvarva¹²-sahasrā(srā)ṇi śva(sva)rgē tishṭha(shṭha)ti
bhūmi-daḥ āchchhētā
14 ch=anumaṁtā cha tāṁny¹³=ēva nacha(ra)kaṁ vasēt ॥ Likhitam=idam
kāyastha-
15 Kāñchana-suta-Vaṭēśvarēṇa ॥ Dūtako=tra na(ma)hāsāndhivigrahika-śrī-
16 Chāṇḍasarmmaḥ(rmmā) ॥ Śrī-Bhīmadēvasya¹⁴ ॥

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After the words "the line of kings (is) as on previous occasions," which refer to the full genealogy as given in, for instance, No. 176 below, the inscription proceeds to record that:— In the year 93 (line 1), in the month Chaitra, in the bright fortnight, on the civil day 11, and on Sunday, to-day, and here at the famous (city of) Anahilapataka, the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Bhīmadēva (II.) (l. 3), informs all the king's servants, and the people, headed by the Brāhmaṇs, in the Kachchha maṇḍala, which is being enjoyed by himself:—

"Be it known to you (l. 4) that to-day, at the festival of a saṁkrānti (l. 5), having done worship to (Śiva) the divine lord of Bhavāni, the father of all things animate and inanimate, one plough (halavāh) of land, in the hollow ground below an irrigation-well (vāpīputaka), at the village of Sahasachāṇa (l. 7), is given by this charter, to Gōvinda, the son of Dāmōdara, of the Vatsa gōtra, who came from the locality of Prasannapura.

"The boundaries of this land (l. 8) are:— On the east, an irrigation-well in the holding (vatka) of the Brāhmaṇ Dāmōdara; on the south, the fields of the (the village of) Vēkariya;¹⁵ on the west, an irrigation-tank in the holding of the Mahattara, or Mahattama, Kēśava; and on the north, a road.

"[In lines 11 to 14, the grantor gives an injunction to future rulers, to continue this grant; and quotes one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which is allotted to the venerable Vyāsa. And his speech apparently ends with the word vasēt, in line 14.] "

Lines 14 to 16 record that the charter was written by the Kāyastha Vaṭēśvara, the son of Kāñchana; and that the Dūtaka was the Mahāsāndhivigrahika Chāṇḍasarmaṇ.

And the inscription ends with the words "of the glorious Bhīmadēva;" referring to his sign-manual, which is supposed to be attached here.

No. 176.—ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE TIME OF BHIMADEVA II.
VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1266, AND SIMHA-SAMVAT 96.

This inscription again, which has not previously been published, I edit from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1879, from the Library of the Royal Asiatic

⁷ This word, *sahasachāṇa-grāmē*, was omitted here, and stands below line 9, with marks at both places to indicate its proper position in the Text.

⁸ i. e. *mahattara*, or *mahattama*. Instead of using the *anuvāsa*, the word would more properly have been written *maha*.

⁹ Read *āghāt upalokṣitā*.

¹⁰ Read *śaśāṇi-torṣha*.

¹¹ Read *tāny*.

¹² Read *pradattā*.

¹³ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁴ The words *śaśāṇi-torṣha* are understood here.

¹⁵ This village-name still exists in the Sōrath Prant of Kāchiāwād, in the Mahī-Kāpṭhā State, and in the Viram-gaum Tāluka of the Ahmadnagar District. Also, the names of Vēkra and Vēkrā exist in Kachchh.

Society. I have no information as to where they were found. A lithograph of the inscription will be published hereafter, in *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 11.

The plates, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; each measuring about $11\frac{3}{16}$ " by $7\frac{1}{8}$ ". They are quite smooth; the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. But they are in an excellent state of preservation; and the inscription is perfectly legible throughout. The plates are numbered, in the margin after the end of the writing on the first and third plates, and on the second side of the second plate.—In the lower part of the first plate, and the upper part of the other two, there are holes for a ring to connect them. The ring is a plain copper ring, about $\frac{5}{16}$ " thick and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It had been cut when the grant came under my notice. There are no indications of a seal having been attached to it, and abstracted from it. And the seal of this grant, if there was one, is not now forthcoming.—The characters are Nāgarī, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the inscription refers itself. They include in lines 2 and 29, and in the numbering of the plates, the decimal figures 1 to 6, and 9. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ "; but it is not preserved very uniformly. The engraving is good and clear.—The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for one benedictive and imprecatory verse quoted in line 47-48. There are a good many mistakes; but, curiously enough, in mentioning Nāgārjuna, the king of Kāvi, in line 17, this inscription supplies a satisfactory reading, which has not been found in the previously published grants of this dynasty. The text contains, in lines 2, 3, 23 ff., many abbreviated words, not all of which are recognisable; and in some instances, as in *sula*°, *pañḍita*°, and *īrēṣṭi*°, in lines 52-54, the mark of abbreviation seems to be used unnecessarily. It also contains some words that require explanation; *pallāḍikā*, in line 43; *kasthaka*,¹ in line 55, which probably stands for *kachchhaka*, since in line 43 we have *kachhaka*² or more properly *kachchhaka*; and *vahaṇi*, in lines 35, 38, 41, 42, which, from the mention in line 41 of "the *vahaṇi* of the village (of Bhūharaḍā)" and in line 41-42 of "the *vahaṇi* of (the village of) Sivaliyā," seems to be not a village-name, as otherwise it might have been understood.—In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the constant use of the *anusvāra* instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in *chāmunaḍa*, line 6; *āvanṭi*, line 10; and *raṇḍaṅgaṇa*, line 12; (2) the omission, throughout, to double consonants after *r*, except in *karṇa*, line 9; *dharmmeṇa*, line 44; and *dharmārtha*, line 48; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, in *prativaddha*, line 28; *vrahmajā*, line 50; and *vrahmapuriya* and *vrahmaṇa*, line 52.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II. of Anhilwād. But the charter contained in it refers only to certain arrangements made by some subordinate persons. The inscription is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record some grants of land for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough attached to it.

The places mentioned in this inscription, in addition to Anahilapātaka, or, as the name is written here and in some other records, Anahillapātaka, at which city the record was drawn up in writing, are, Ghaṇṭelāṇa, the village in which were situated the irrigation-well and the watering-trough; the villages of Ākavalīya, Bhūharaḍā, Sākali, Samaḍiyā, Sivaliyā, and Varāḍi, and the river Sōshaḍi, mentioned in connection with the details of the grants; the village or hamlet of Brahmapuri, mentioned in the list of witnesses; and Dharmavarhika, apparently a town or village, at which place the written charter was delivered by the Dūtaka, and was engrossed on copper-plates. And the neighbourhood in which they are to be found, is indicated by the mention, in the preamble, of the Surāshṭraḥ maṇḍala, which is the modern province of Kāthiawād, and of the city of Vāmanasthali, which is the modern

¹ *chcḥh* is frequently represented by *sth*. But it must be noted that the proper *chcḥh* is used in *gachchhamāna*, line 38.

² This, at least, is the word that I think is intended. But the sign which I interpret here as *chh*, and which does represent *chh* in *gachchhamāna*, line 38, is used for *th* in *sthāna*, line 51 and other places; though not in *atrārth*, line 49. It also occurs in *chhāḍa*, line 52, where it is rather differently formed; and in *machhīya* (unless we should here read *mathīya*) by mistake for *mathīya*, line 50.

Wanthali³ in the Junāgadh State in Kāthiāwāḍ. Dharmavarhikā, however, may possibly be another name of Anhilwāḍ itself. Of the places mentioned in the genealogical passage, Avantī is another name of Ujjain, in Mālwa; Śakāmbhari is supposed to be the modern Sambhar or Sāmbhar, in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 59, note 6; and Vol. X. p. 161); the Sapādalaksha country has been identified by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji with the region of the Sivalik Hills, in the Pañjāb (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 345); and Kāvi is evidently the modern Kāvi, in the Broach District.

The date of this record, in lines 1 to 4, is given fully in words and in decimal figures; and the details are Vikrama-Saṃvat 1266, not distinctly specified either as current or as expired,⁴ and Simha-Saṃvat 96; the month Mārga, *i.e.* Mārgaśīrsha; the bright fortnight; the fourteenth *tithi* and civil day; and Gurudina or Thursday. And the English equivalent is to be found in A.D. 1208 or 1209, according as the given Vikrama year, whether referred to the northern or to the southern reckoning of the era, is to be taken as current or as expired. By Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that —

In (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1266, current, Mārgaśīrsha śukla 14 ended on Sunday, 23rd November, A.D. 1208, at about 5 *ghaṭis*, 58 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Anhilwāḍ.

And in (northern and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1267 current (1266 expired), Mārgaśīrsha śukla 14 ended, as required, on Thursday, 12th November, A.D. 1209, at about 22 *gh.* 31 *p.* And this, therefore, is the proper English equivalent of the given date.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti Śrīmad-Vikrama-nripa-kāl-ātita-saṃvatsara⁷-satēshu dvādasasu śhaṭa shashty⁸-ādihikē.
- 2 shu laukika⁹ Mārgga-māsasya śukla-paksha-chaturdaśyām Guru-dinē str-
amkatōḥ-pi¹⁰ śrī-
- 3 Vikrama-saṃvat 1266 varshē śrī-Simha-saṃvat 96 varshē lauki⁹ Mārgga
su di¹¹ 14 Gurav-a-
- 4 syām saṃvatsara-māsa-paksha-dina-vāra-pūrvāyām tithāv-ady-ēha śrīmad-Anahilla-
pāṭakē sama-
- 5 sta - rājāvalī - virājita - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvara - śrī - Mūlarāja-
- 6 dēva - pād - ānudhyāta - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvara - śrī - Chāmu-[m*]-
rājadēva-
- 7 pād - ānudhyāta - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja - paramēśvara - śrī - Durlabharāja-
dēva-pād-ā-
- 8 nudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhimadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-pa-
- 9 ramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Trailōkyamalla-śrī - Karṇadēva - pād - ānu-
- 10 dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvar - Āvaṃtinātha - Varvaraka - jishṇu-
Siddhaoha-
- 11 kravartti-śrīmaj-[J*]ayasīrhadēva-pād-ānudhyāta - paramabhaṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja-
paramē-

³ The 'Banthly, Vanathali, Vanthli, and Wanthali,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 13, Lat. 21° 28' N.; Long. 76° 28' E.

⁴ The expression that is used is analogous to one of constant use for the Śaka era, on which I have commented, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.

⁵ From the original plates.

⁶ Represented by a symbol; so also at the end; but the symbol there is not the same as here.

⁷ This letter, *ra*, was omitted: and was then inserted above the line, with a mark, which has run into the following *sa*, to indicate the omission.

⁸ Read *śaṭa-shashty*.

⁹ This word, with the mark attached to it, seems to stand for some such expression as *laukika-gaṇanayā*.

¹⁰ Read *amkatōḥ-pi*.

¹¹ The form that is used here for *d*, might ordinarily represent *ḍ*. Almost the same form occurs in the second syllable of *dvādasasu*, line 1.

- 12 śvara-praṇḍhapratāpa-Chaturbhujavikrama-raṇāṅgaṇa-vijita-Nakamrari¹²bhūpāla-śrī-
 13 Kum[ā*]rapāladēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
 14 ra-Kalikāla-nikva(śka)lank-āvatārita-Rāva(ma)-rāja-prāptā(pta)-karadikṛita-Sapa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 15 dalaksha-Lakshmāpāla-śrīmad¹³-Ajayapāladēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabha-
 16 ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka¹⁴-āhava¹⁵-parā-
 17 bhūta-durjaya-Nāgarjuna-Kāvīrāja¹⁶-śrī-Mālarājadēva-pād-ānudyā-
 18 ta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvar-Ābhinava-Siddharāja-
 19 dēva-Vōla¹⁷-Nārāyaṇ-āvatāra-śrī-Bhimadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē [1*]
 20 Tat-pādapadm-ōpajivini mahāmātya-śrī-Ratanapālē śrī-śrīkaraṇ-ā-
 21 dau samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān-upari-paṇḍhayaṭ-ity-ēvaṃ kālē pravarttamānē
 22 asya prabhōḥ prasād-āvāpta-pattalaya¹⁸ bhujyamāna-śrī-Surāshṭrā-maṇḍalē
 23 mahā¹⁹-prati¹⁹-śrī-Sōmarājadēvō kṛi(ta)n-niyukta-Vāmanasthal-īśrika-
 24 raṇē mahām²⁰-śrī-Sō(Sō)bhanadēva-prabhṛiti-paṇḍha-kula-pratipattau śāsanam-a-
 25 bhilikhyatē yathā Prāgvāt-jūṭi²¹-mahām²⁰-Vālaharā-suta-mahām²⁰

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 26 Mahipālēna Ghaṇṭelāṇa-grāmē dakṣiṇa-diśu(śa)-bhāgē kārāpit[ā*] vāpī tathā
 27 prapāyām cha saṃjāta-bharitāyām tithau Nāgara-jūṭi²²-du²²-Pārāsa(śa)ra-suta-du²³.
 28 Mādhavāya Ghaṇṭelāṇa-grāmē vāpī-pratīva(ba)ddha-kshētraṃ bhūmi-pāsa-vṛi²³
 saṃkhyā-
 29 yām pāsa 50 paṇḍhāṣata(t) pāsā[h*] asy-āghāṭā [yathā*] pūrvatō jyō²⁴.
 Sumachamḍa-kshētra[m*] i
 30 tathā Sōshaḍi-nāma-nadī simā[1*] dakṣiṇatō=pi Sōshaḍi-nāma-nadī simā paścima-
 31 tō rāu²⁵-Vēdagarbha-sakta(tka)-kshētra[m*] simā uttaratō rāja-mārgga[h*]
 simā (11) Tathā prapā-kshē-
 32 traṃ dvitīyām tathā grāmē ut[t*]ara-diśāyām vā[ya*]vya-kōṇ-āsrita-bhūmi-pāsa-vṛi²⁶
 saṃkhyā-
 33 yām pāsa 100 śatam=ēkaṃ asya cha āghāṭā yathā pūrvatō rājakiya-bhūmi
 simā i
 34 dakṣiṇatō Mōha²⁶-Sōlūyā-kshētra-bhūmi simā paścimatō Bhūharaḍa-grāma-simā-
 35 yām simā ut[t*]aratō vahaṇi-simāyām simā (11) Tathā Ākavalīyā-grāmē grāmāt
 36 ut[t*]ara-diśi(śa)-bhāgē bhūmi-khamḍa i saṃkhyāyām vṛi²⁷ pāsa 100 śatam=ēkaṃ i
 asya cha
 37 āghāṭā [yathā*] pūrvvatō Sakali-grāma-simāyām simā dakṣiṇatō Varāḍi-
 simā i pa-
 38 śchimātō Ghaṇṭelāṇa-grāmasy-ōpari gachchhamāna-mārgga[h*] simā ut[t*]aratō
 vahaṇi-simā [11*]
 39 Tathā Bhūharaḍa-grāmō(mē)=pi bhūmi-kha[m*]ḍa i saṃkhyāyām vṛi²⁸ pāsa 100
 śatam=ēkaṃ i asya

¹² Read śākhābhāṭ.¹³ See page 83 above, note 12.¹⁴ This title has already occurred, and is unnecessarily repeated here.¹⁵ Read bhāṭṭāraka-āhava; subject, however, to the preceding note.¹⁶ In the grant of Vikrama-Samvat 1263, ante, Vol. VI. p. 194, line 10-11, and elsewhere, Dr. Bühler's published reading and translation are garjanak-ādhirāja, 'the ruler of the Garjanakas.' The reading given by me is quite distinct in the present grant.¹⁷ This should probably be corrected into vōla for bōla. Perhaps the mark before the vō, which turns it into vō, is only due to a slip of the engraver's tool.¹⁸ We should probably correct this into pattalāyām. But it is possible that the word is here used in a different sense, and that the instrumental case is correct; the meaning then being "in the province of Surāshṭrā māṇḍala, which is being enjoyed by him under a patent obtained through the favour of his lord."¹⁹ It is doubtful whether we have here the abbreviation of one official title, mahāpratihāra; or whether two titles, such as mahāmātya-pratihāra, are intended.²⁰ i.e. mahātara or mahātama.²¹ Or perhaps vō, or possibly hu²⁰; so also in lines 45-46. I do not know what the abbreviation stands for.²² i.e. vṛittā, or vṛittan.²³ i.e. vāta.²⁴ Read prāgvāt-jūṭi.²⁵ i.e., probably, jyōtiṣha.²⁶ i.e., possibly, mōhara.

Third Plate.

- 40 cha āghāṭa [yathā*] | pūrvatō Ghaṁṭolāṇa-grāma-simāyām simā | dakṣhiṇatō
 Samaḍṭiyā-grāma si-
 41 māy[ā*]m [simā*] | paśchimātō tathā grāmiya-vahaṇi-simāyām simā | ut[t*]aratō
 Sivaliyā-
 42 vahaṇi-simāyā[m*] simā | ēvaṁ catur-āghāṭa-viśuddhā bhūmi sva-simā-
 paryamta[m*] ya-
 43 thā-prasiddha-paribhōjyā grihāṇā[m*] pallaḍikā-samētā khalaka-ka[ch*]chhaka-bhūmi
 44 sahitāḥ²⁷ a-karā nirmalā gōpatha-gōprachāra-samētā udaka-pūrva-dharmmeṇa prada-
 45 ttā (t) Eshā vāpi tathā prapā cha du°-Mādhavēna sad=aiva bharaṇiyā |
 vāpi[m*] tathā prapā[m*] cha
 46 du°-Mādhavēna bharamēṇa satā ēshā bhūmi sha(kha)mḍa-chatusṭhaya-samkhyākā
 ā-cham-
 47 dr-ārka-kālām yāvata(t) saṁtāna-paramparayā bhōktavyā bhōktāraṇiyās=cha²⁸ || Jānihi²⁹
 dattāni
 48 purā naraiṁdrai dānāni³⁰ dharm-ārtha-yasa(sa)s-karāṇi | nimālya-vantō³¹-pratimāni
 tāni kō nāma
 49 sādhu[h*] punar=ādadṭa³² || Atr=ārthō sākṣhi || Vāma³³-śrī-Sōmanāthadēviya-
 sthānā³⁴-Duvāsu || Śrī-
 50 Viśaḍhēsvaradēva-machhi(thē)tya-sthānā(na)pati-Vimvalaja || Śrī-Kēdāra-mathētya-
 sthānā°-Vra(bra)hmajā | Dē-
 51 vī-śrī-Kapilēsvari-stā(sthā)niya-sthānā°-Kshadajā sthānā°-yō³⁵-Lāshā-suta-yō°-Vēdā
 Ī(?)kshā Ā-
 52 lā-suta-Ī(?)kshā Sāvadēva | Vra(bra)hmapurīya-Ī(?)kshā | Disikēsi-suta°-
 Ī(?)kshā³⁶ Chhēlā | Tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-
 53 Mada(dhu)sūdāna-suta-paṁḍita°-Sōmaravi mahājana-Mōḍha śrēshṭi³⁷-Nāna-suta°-śrēshṭi°-
 Sūmā | Kalya°-śrē-
 54 shī°-Khētā | Prāgvā³⁸-śrēshṭi-Dharaṇiga śrēshṭi°-Kudā-suta°-Gāṁgadēva | Gūrja³⁹.
 mahājana-śr[ē*]shṭi-
 55 Yajakō || Kūpaṁ khalakam kastha(chchha)kam gō-patham gō-prachāram bhōkta-
 vyam cha || Dūtakah⁴⁰ svayam || Dharmavarhi-
 56 kayam samcharitam ch=ājātam || Chha || Śrīḥ || Ōm ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The inscription commences with the date, in twelve centuries, increased by sixty-six (years), of the years that have gone by from the time of the glorious king Vikrama, and, by the popular reckoning, on the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Mārga, on Thursday; or, in figures the Vikrama year 1266, in (this) year, the Simha year 96, in (this) year, by the popular reckoning, (the month) Mārga, the bright fortnight, the (civil) day 14, on Thursday; on this tithi, (specified) as above by the year, month, fortnight, (civil) day, and week-day; to-day; here at the famous (city of) Anahillapātaka (line 4).⁴¹ And it then gives the following genealogy:—

The Paramabhāṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the glorious Mūlārājadēva (I.) (l. 5). His successor (pād-ānudhyāta) was the P. M. P., the glorious Chāmuṇḍarājadēva

²⁷ Read sahitā.²⁸ Metro, Indravajrā.—The usual reading here is gān-ṭha. But there is no inherent objection to the present reading, which is the 2nd pers. sing. imper. par.²⁹ Read nirmālya-vānta.³⁰ Here vāma is perhaps an abbreviation for vāmanasthali.³¹ i.e. sthānādhipati; or else sthānāpati, for sthānāpati, as in the next line.³² The mark of abbreviation here seems to be a mistake.³³ Here, and in the following instances, read śrēshṭi°.³⁴ i.e. prāgvā.³⁵ This visarga is imperfect; only the lower part of it having been formed.³⁶ The context is "a charter is written, to the following effect," in line 25. And this, with the wording of line 55-56, suggests the possibility of Dharmavarhikā being another name of Aphilwāl.³⁷ i.e. gūrjara; or more properly gurjara.³⁸ i.e., perhaps, yōgin.

(l. 6). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Durlabharajadēva** (l. 7). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Bhimadēva** (I.) (l. 8). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Karnadēva**, who had the *birūda* or secondary name of **Trailōkyamalla** (l. 9). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Jayasimhadēva** (l. 11), who was victorious over the lord of **Avanti** and over the **Varvarakas**, and who had the *birūda* of **Siddhachakravartin** (l. 10). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Kumārāpālādēva** (l. 13), who was equal in prowess to the god **Chaturbhuja** (**Vishṇu**), and who conquered in battle the king of **Sākambhari** (l. 12). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Ajayapālādēva** (l. 15); who reproduced in this Kali age the spotless reign of **Rāma**; and who levied tribute from **Lakshmāpāla**, (the king) of the **Sapādalaksha** (country). His successor was the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Mularajadēva** (II.) (l. 17); who overcame in war **Nāgarjuna**, the king of **Kavi**, difficult to be conquered. And his successor is the *P. M. P.*, the glorious **Bhimadēva** (II.) (l. 19); who has the *birūda* of **Abhinava-Siddharajadēva**, and who is a very incarnation of (the god) **Bāla-Nārāyaṇa** (**Vishṇu**).

In the reign of the last-mentioned king (l. 19), and while his feudatory (*pādapadm-ōpajivin*) the **Mahāmātya**, the illustrious **Ratanapāla** (l. 20), is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*śrīkaraṇa*) and other departments; and while, in the district⁴² (*pattalā*) that he acquired through the favour of his lord, *viz.* in the province of **Surāshṭrā** *maṇḍala* which is being enjoyed by him (l. 22), his deputy in the records-department at (the city of) **Vāmanasthali** is the **Mahāpratihāra** (?), the illustrious **Sōmarajadēva** (l. 23); with the consent (?) (*pratipatti*) of the five families headed by (that of) the **Mahattara**, or **Mahattama**, the illustrious **Sōbhanadēva**, a charter is written, to the following effect (l. 25):—

“By **Mahipāla**, the son of **Vālaharā**, of the **Prāgvāt** kindred, there has been made an irrigation-well (*vāpi*) at the village of **Ghaṇṭelāṇā** (l. 26), in the southern part of it; and also a watering-trough (*prapā*). And to **Mādhava**, the son of **Pārāsara**, of the **Nāgara** kindred, there has been given an allotment of land, consisting of a field connected with the irrigation-well at the village of **Ghaṇṭelāṇā** (l. 28), and measuring fifty chains (*pāsā*) (l. 29). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the field of **Sumachapāda**, and the river **Sōshaḍi** (l. 30); on the south also, the river **Sōshaḍi**; on the west, the field which is the holding (*satka*) of the **Rāuta** **Vēdagarbha**; and on the north, the king's highway.

“Also (l. 31), in the northern part of the village, there is given a second field, for the watering-trough, situated in the north-west corner, and measuring one hundred *pāsās* (l. 33). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the king's land, or the land of the king's servants; on the south, the field of the **Mēhara** (?) **Sōlūyā**; and on the west, the boundary of the village of **Bhūharaḍā** (l. 34); while, on the north, the boundary is at the boundary of the *vahāṇi*.

“So also, in the village of **Ākavaliyā** (l. 35), in the northern part, there is given land producing one ‘candy’ (*khaṇḍa*) (of grain), and measuring one hundred *pāsās* (l. 36). Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of the village of **Sakali** (l. 37); on the south, the boundary of (the village of) **Varaḍi**; on the west, the road that goes over the village of **Ghaṇṭelāṇā** (l. 38); and on the north, the *vahāṇi*.

“So also in the village of **Bhūharaḍā** (l. 39), there is given land producing one *khaṇḍa*, and measuring one hundred *pāsās*. Its boundaries are:—On the east, the boundary of the village of **Ghaṇṭelāṇā** (l. 40); on the south, the boundary of the village of **Samaḍiyā**; on the west, the boundary of the *vahāṇi* of the village; and on the north, the boundary of the *vahāṇi* of (the village of) **Sivaliyā** (l. 41).

“This irrigation-well and watering-trough (l. 45) are to be always maintained by **Mādhava**. And, as long as they are maintained, he and his descendants are to enjoy this land yielding four *khaṇḍas*.⁴³

⁴² See note 18 above.

⁴³ The total measurement of the four allotments, however, was three hundred and fifty *pāsās*; and in the last two instances one hundred *pāsās* are stated to yield one *khaṇḍa*; so that the total yield should apparently be out three and a half *khaṇḍas*.

"[Then follows, in line 47, one of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. After this, there is given a list of the witnesses to the grant, which includes the names of Duvāsu, the *Sthānādhikārin*, or *Sthānapati*, of the god *Sōmanātha*⁴⁴ (l. 49); Vimvalaja, the *Sthānapati* of the *maṭha* of the god *Viṣṇu* (l. 50); *Brahmajā*, the *Sthānādhikārin*, or *Sthānapati*, of the *maṭha* of the god *Kēdāra* (l. 50); *Kṣhadajā*, the *Sthānādhikārin*, or *Sthānapati*, of the shrine of the goddess *Kapālēśvari* (l. 51); *Īksbā*(?), of the village or hamlet of *Brahmapuri* (l. 52); the *Prāgvāt Śrēṣṭhīn* *Dharaṇiga* (l. 54); and the *Gūjara Mahājana* and *Śrēṣṭhīn Yajakē* (l. 55)].

"The well, the threshing-floor (*khalaka*), the *kasthaka* or *kaśchhaka*, the cattle-path, and the pasturage, are to be enjoyed (l. 55). The *Dūtaka* is himself; i.e. perhaps *Sōmarājadēva*. And the command (*ājñāta*) has been communicated or carried into effect (*saṁcharita*), — i.e. the order has been delivered by the *Dūtaka*, and the written charter has been engrossed on copper-plates, — at *Dharmavarhikā* (l. 55)."

SOMALI AS A WRITTEN LANGUAGE.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, B.O.S.C.

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 50.)

No. IV.

COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

English.	Somali.
51.—Do you want this?	ادگ وە مدونئیس
52.—I do not want this.	انگ وە دونی مایو
53.—Salt is very dear at Berbera.	اوسبو مد بربره و کونگ ادگ نهی
54.—Rice is very cheap at Mokha.	مخا بریس و کونگ جین بی
55.—To whom do these sheep belong?	ادگن ایالیه
56.—Last night a buggalow arrived from Mokha.	هالی دونی مخا هلی کنی
57.—Two hundred camels arrived to-day.	مانت لب بقل اور بسوع گلی
58.—Are there any wells here?	میشتن عیل مکو جر
59.—Is there any danger from the natives?	میشتن ددک ملک آبسود
60.—What is the matter with you? (lit. What has got to you?)	مها کو هلی
61.—Are you sick?	میاد بوکت or ادگ مبوکت
62.—Put these things in a basket.	غلبک کولنگی کورده

⁴⁴ Perhaps "the god *Sōmanātha* of *Vāmanasthāl*;" see note 33 above.

- 63.—Come quickly. دَقُّو كَالِي
- 64.—I sent for you: why did you not come?
(lit. Why were you not found come?) اَنِكُ كُو يِيْدِي مُهَادِ اَمِنْ وَئِدِي
- 65.—He killed him with a spear. اَسَكُ وَرَلْبُ كُو دَلِي
- 66.—He struck him in the back with a spear. اَسَكُ دُبُرُكُ وَرَلْبُ كُو وَرِيْبِي
- 67.—I am afraid to go there. هَلَكُ اِنْ نِكُو بَانُ كُبَغِي
- 68.—I will give you eight dollars for this cow. لَوَعْدُ سِدِيدُ قَرَشِي يَانُ كُوْمِنِي
- 69.—I am very thirsty. قَرَادُ بَدْنُ بِي هِي
- 70.—It is very hot. وَاَكْلُئُولُ بَدْنُ يِي
- 71.—Remain here. هَلَكُ فُدَسُو
- 72.—Open the door. الْبَابُ قُرُ
- 73.—I shall go to my country. مُفَا لَدِيْدِي بَانُ نَكِي
- 74.—Where is the book? كُتَابُكِي مِيه
- 75.—Are you able to do this? اِدِكُ سِدَاسُ اِنْدُ فُشُو مَكْرُكُ
- 76.—What are you looking at? مِهَادُ اَرَقِشِي
- 77.—Tell me what will be the charge? اِدْءُ اِمْسُ لُسِنِي
- 78.—Where did you buy this cloth? دَارُكُ هَلَكِي بَادُكُ اِيْبِدْتِي
- 79.—Did you buy it or barter for it? مِيَادُ اِيْبِدْتِي مَتِي وَ دَوْرَسْتِي
- 80.—Where is the captain of the vessel? دَوْنِيْدُ نَاخُوْدَا هِيْدِي مِيه
- 81.—The captain is on shore. نَاخُوْدَا هِيْبَتُو جَرُ
- 82.—Take a chair and sit down. كُوْرَسِيْكَ كِيْبِي وَ كُوْفُدَسُو
- 83.—When will you do this work? كُوْر مَادُ شُفْلُكُ سُمِيْنِيْسُ
- 84.—I shall finish it in four days. اَنِكُ اَفَرُ دَرَارُو دُبُهِيْدُ وَ دُمِيْنِي
- 85.—I am going to Zayla to-morrow. اَنِكُ زَيْلَعُ (or) اَوْدَلُ) بَرَانُ تَغِي
- 86.—Show me a sample of the rice. بُرِيْكَ مَهْ بَكِيْسُ اِيْتَرُسُ

- 87.—Where did you hear this ? وہاں گئے بادی
- 88.—I heard it yesterday on the road. شالی دہوگی بان کو مغلی
- 89.—It is cooler to-day than yesterday. مانٹ شالینک قبوب
- 90.—Are there any fish in this water ? بیوہ موہ کُن کو جو
- 91.—I am very busy to-day. مانٹ ہول بدن بان لیتی
- 92.—Take the horse home, and bring it at 6 o'clock. فرسک اگلکینگی گیتی لپہ ساعدرد ایکین
- 93.—Why did you go to sleep ? مہادو سیہتی
- 94.—Does your wife make mats ? ناگنادو درمو مقلقینیس
- 95.—I do not understand what you say. وہاد لیدیہ گرن مایو
- 96.—Is your knife sharp ? مندیدادیم آبدن نہی
- 97.—This box is heavy : how can I carry it ? مندوقن و اولس بہی سدے بالو قادی کر
- 98.—Fill this tub with water. برمیلک بیو کو بوی
- 99.—The river is deep. دردرک و ڈیر بہی
- 100.— Take some water to quench your thirst. بیو آب ہرادک کبیع

Vocabulary and Grammatical Analysis with Notes and Transliteration.

- 51.—*Adiga wahā mā donaisa ?*
- 52.—*Aniga wahā doni māyo.*
- 53.—*Ūsbūhda Barbara wā kū gan'a adag tahai.* *Ūsbūhda=ūsbūh*, s. f., salt, with the def. art. affixed. *Gan'a* s. f., price, cost. *Adag*, adj., dear, tight. *Tahai*, 3rd pers. sing. fem. from *ahāo* be. (H. s. 132).
- 54.—*Mukhā baris wā kū gan'a jaban yahai.* *Jaban*, cheap, past part. of *jab*, v. break. *Yahai*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. of *ahāo*.
- 55.—*Aḍigan aiya leh ?* *Adi*, s. m. sheep or goat; *gan=an*, demon. pron., this with the consonant *g* prefixed, because the word with which it is used (*adi*) terminates in a vowel. (H. ss. 58 and 22). *Aiya*, interrog. pron., who? *Leh*, from *āleh*, adj. root, possessed of: the *ā* is here lost, because the article possessed is mentioned. (H. s. 253).
- 56.—*Hālai doni Mukhāhgi ka-timi.* — *Hālai*, adj. of time, last night. *Doni*, s. f., boat. (large).
- 57.—*Mānta laba būghūl awr ba-so'-galai.* — *Būghūl*, s. m. hundred. *So'-galai*, v. entered; compounded of *so'*, move, and *gal*, enter.
- 58.—*Meshatan 'āl mā kū-jira ?* — *'El*, s. m., well. *Kū-jir*, v. contain: *kū* is here a preposition or verbal particle. (H. s. 135).
- 59.—*Mesātan dadka mā-laga ābsoda.* — *Dad*, s. m, people, inhabitants. *La*, a particle, which when prefixed to a verb gives it a passive signification. (H. s. 243). *Laga=la*, with the article added.

- 60.—**Mahā kū helai?** — *Hél*, v., obtain, get.
- 61.—**Mā yād būkta** or **Adiga mā būkta?** — *Yād*, pers. pron. 2, thee; simple nominative form, assisted by the consonant *y*. *Būk*, v., be sick: *būkta*, 2nd pers. sing. pres., habitual.
- 62.—**Ghalabka kolaigi kū-ridd.** — *Ghalab*, s. m., baggage. *Kolai*, s. m. basket. *Kū-ridd*, v., throw, put.
- 63.—**Dakso kalē.** — *Dakso*, adv., quickly. *Kalē*, interjec., come!
- 64.—**Aniga kū-yēdai: mahād iman waidi?** *Yēd*, v., call, send for. *Iman*, p.p. of *imo*, v., come. *Waidi*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. of *wa*, not found. (H. s. 90).
- 65.—**Usaga waran ba kū-dilai.** — *Dilai*, 3rd pers. sing. perf. of *dil*, v., kill.
- 66.—**Usaga dabarka waran ba kū-waremai.** — *Dabar*, s. m., back. *Warēn*, v. 1. stab, thrust. *Waremai*, 3rd pers. sing. perf. (the letter *n* changing into *m* in the inflexion).
- 67.—**Haga in-an tago bān ka baghaiya.** — *Baghaiya* 1st pers. sing. pres. of *bagh*, v., fear. [It is somewhat curious that in Somali, as well as in Arabic, Persian, Hindustāni, &c., the verb 'to fear' should be preceded by the sign of the ablative case (*ka*)].
- 68.—**Lo'da sided karshi yān kū sinaiya.** — *Lo'*, s. f. cow. *sided*, s. f., eight.
- 69.—**Harrād badan bai haiya.** — *Harrād*, s. m., thirst. *Bai*, compounded of *ba* and *i*, to or by me. *Haiya*, from the verb *hai*, have, possess. (H. s. 251).
- 70.—**Wā kuḥūl badan yahai.** — *Kuḥūl*, adj., hot, warm.
- 71.—**Halka faḍiso.** — *Faḍiso*, v. 8., sit, remain.
- 72.—**Albābka fur.** — *Albāb*, (Ar.) s. m., door. [It may be noticed that this word has here a double article: the Arabic article (*al*) prefixed, and the Somali (*ka*) added; but the former has become an inseparable part of the word in Somali]. *Fur*, t. v., open:—(it also means 'divorce.')
- 73.—**Maghaladaidi bān tagaiya.**
- 74.—**Kitābki meh?** — *Kitāb* (Ar.) s. m. book, *meh*, adv. of place, — where?
- 75.—**Adiga sidās in-ad fasho mā karta.** *Si-dās*, adv. of manner, thus. *In-ad* = *in*, that and *ad*, thou. *Fasho*, 2nd pers. sing. pres. subj. of *fa*, do.
- 76.—**Mahād arḥaisa?**
- 77.—**I-dē immisa la-sinaiya.** — *Dē* v. aux., say, tell. *I-dē*, tell me. *La* the passive particle. (H. s. 243). *Sinaiya*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. of *si*, give.
- 78.—**Darka hagge bād ka ibsadtai.** — *Dar*, s. m., cloth, apparel. *Bād*, thou (H. s. 52). *Ka*, prep., from. [This particle is here (for the sake of euphony, I suppose), separated from *hagge*, the word to which it really belongs. Rejected by *hagge*, it would then naturally unite with *ibsadtai*; but as the junction of these two words looks awkward in Arabic characters, I have written the *ka* as an affix to *bād*; thus treating it somewhat similarly to the pronominal affix *ش* in Persian.]
- 79.—**Mā yād ibsadtai, misse wā dorsatai?** *Misse*, conj., or else. *Dorā*, v. 3, barter, change.
- 80.—**Donida nakhūda-hedi meh?** — *Hedi*, possess. pron. 3rd pers. sing., fem., her (H. s. 55).
- 81.—**Nakhūda hebtū Jira.** — *Heb*, s. f., shore; *hebtā*, adv., ashore. The final *u* in *hebtū* is the pron., he.
- 82.—**Kūrsiga ken o kū faḍiso.** — *Kūrsi*, s. m. (Ar.), chair. *O*, equivalent to *wa*. (H. P. 100-101).
- 83.—**Gormād shughlka samainaisa?** — *Gormād*, adv. of time, — when? [Gormād is really a combination of three words: — *gor*, s. f., time, *mā*, — what? and *ad*, pers. pron. 2, simple form.] *Shughl*, (Ar.), s. m., work, business.
- 84.—**Aniga afar qararro dabaded wā damalnaiya.** — *Qararro*, pl. of *qarār*, s. f., day. *Dabaded*, adv., after. *Damai*, v. 5, — finish.
- 85.—**Aniga Zel'a (or Audal) birrān tagaiya.** — *Zel'a* is the Arabic, and *Audal* the Somali name of the town. *Birri*, s. f. to-morrow, *birrān=birri+ān*, pers. pron. 1.
- 86.—**Bariska midab-kisa i-tūs.** — *Midab*, s. m., sample. *Tūs*, v. imperative, — show.

- 87.—Wahā hagge bād ka maghashai. — *Maghashai*, 2nd pers. sing. perf. of *maghal*, v. hear. The letter *l*, as usual, changing into *sh*.
- 88.—Shālai daugi bān kū Maghalai. — *Shālai*, s. f., yesterday *Dau*, s. m., road.
- 89.—Mānta shālai ka kabob. — *kabob*, adj. cool.
- 90.—Biyoha mā wah kaluna kūjira. — *kalun*, s. m., fish.
- 91.—Mānta haul badan bān leyahai. — *Haul*, s. f., affair, business.
- 92.—Faraska aghalkaigi'ge, i : leh sa'dod i-ken. — *Ge*, i, v. 3., remove, take away. *Leh*, s. f., six. *Sa'd* (Ar. *ساعة*), s. f. — hour; pl. *sa'do*. The final *d* is added because the word is preceded by a numeral. (H. s. 31 (b)).
- 93.—Mahād ū sehatai? — *Seho*, v. 4, sleep.
- 94.—Nāgtādo dirmo mā-falknaisa? — *Nag*, s. f., woman, wife. *Dirmo*, s. f., mat. *Falkā*, t. v. 3., — plait (mats).
- 95.—Wahād ledahai garan māyo. — *Wahād*=*wah*+*ad*. *Garan*, p. part. of *gero*, v. 4., understand, know.
- 96.—Mindidādi Mā af-badan tahai? — *Mindī*, s. f., knife. *Af-badan*, adj., sharp; (*af*=edge).
- 97.—Sandūk-an wa olus yahai : sidde bān ūkādī kara? — *Sandūk* (ar.), s. m., box : *Sandūk-an*, this box. (H. s. 58). *Olus*, adj., heavy. *Kād*, v., lift, carry : *kādī kara*, 1st pers. sing. pres. poten.
- 98.—Barmilka biyo kū bohi. — *Barmil*, (Ar.) s. m., tub, cask. *Bohi*, v. 3, fill.
- 99.—Durdurka wā qer yahai. — *Durdur*, s. m., river, stream. *Qer*, adj., deep.
- 100.—Biyo ab : harrādka ka-bī. — *Harrād*, s. m., thirst. *Ka-bī*, v. 3., quench.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

No. 30.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

The Arch-Impostor.

In a certain country there lived a Brāhmaṇ who had seven sons. One moonlight night he called them all to his side and questioned them as to what they would most like to do at that moment. The first said that he would like to water his fields; the second, that he would go out on a journey; the third, that he would plough his lands, and so on. But the seventh and the last said that he would spend that fine moonlight night in a beautiful house with lovely girls by his side. The father was pleased with the simple replies of the first six boys; but when the last — who was the youngest — expressed so evil a desire, in such a presence, and in such a way, his rage knew no bounds. "Quit my house at once," said the father, and away ran the seventh son.

He left his country and his house that very night, as he was ashamed to live under his father's roof any longer, and went to the wood hard by. In the midst of this wood there dwelt an old woman who used to sell muffins and puddings to shepherds and boy neatherds who frequented the wood in the course of their employment. This had been her source of livelihood for several years, and she had in this way amassed considerable wealth in the shape of gold coins which she kept locked up in a small box. Now the seventh son, on his banishment from home, went to her and said:—

"Madam, I am a poor helpless orphan, will you kindly take me into your service? I shall be a great help to you in your old age."

So the old woman, pitying the poverty of the boy, and thinking he could help her took him into her service, and promised to feed him and bring him up as her own son.

"What is your name?" asked the grandam.

"My name," replied the boy, "is Last Year (*Pōnavarusham*)!"

No doubt it was a queer name, but the old woman did not suspect anything, and thought within herself that such a designation was possible.

Full six years the boy lived with her, and behaved in such a way that she came to regard him almost as her son. She was delighted that God had sent her in her old age such a helper.

One night, just before going to supper, this boy, who had now grown to be a man, threw away all the water in the house, and then sat down to his food. Consequently, when his meal was over, there was no water in the house to wash his hands with; so the old woman went out to fetch water from a well that was at a little distance. Our hero, who will be henceforth called the Arch-Impostor, resolved to take the opportunity thus given him to walk away with all the old woman's savings. He did not wait to wash his hands, but ran off at once with her box of money. Going to a little distance in the wood, he broke it open, emptied the contents into his cloth, and went onwards at random. He walked on for two days and nights, and on the third morning was on the point of emerging from the forest.

Just after he had run away the old woman returned with water from the well, and found no boy. The thought rushed into her mind at once that she might have been deceived, and on quickly searching, she missed her box. Running to the village near her house she raised a loud cry, saying, "Last Year robbed my box, Last Year robbed my box," meaning of course that the person named "Last Year" had taken away her box. But as the words she used—*pōnavarusham en peṭṭiyai tiruḍikkonḍu pōnān*—also mean, "last year (some one) robbed my box," the people only thought she had gone mad, and sent her away. However often she might explain that "Last Year" was the name of a man, they would not listen to her. Thus was the poor woman deceived.

Meanwhile, our hero, whom we left on the point of emerging from the forest with his bundle of gold coins on his back, was attacked by a bear. He had covered his body and the bundle as well with his upper cloth so as not to arouse suspicion. The bear placed one of its front paws on his shoulder where his bundle was, and our hero, to prevent the animal from doing any harm to him, took a firm hold of the other front paw which the beast had also raised, and ran round and round with it. Meanwhile the paw on his shoulder had made a hole in the bundle of coins, so that every now and then a gold coin dropped out. While this was going on a rich Muhammadan merchant, having a load of money with him, happened to ride by. Seeing a traveller attacked by a bear, he at once went to the rescue. Whereupon the Arch-Impostor, ever ready to turn everything to his own advantage, addressed him thus:—

"Friend, calmly pursue your course. Do not disturb yourself. This is a bear on which I pronounced an incantation, whereby it drops a gold coin every time that I go round with it. I am testing it now, and have chosen this place to avoid the curiosity of other people. So, do not disturb me."

The Muhammadan, deceived by the composure with which the impostor spoke, and never suspecting that the coins were dropping from his bundle, replied:—"Friend, you appear to be a Brāhmaṇ from your face; and it is not very proper for a Brāhmaṇ to keep a bear in his house. Give it to me, and instruct me in the incantation. Take in return all the money I have on my horse, and the horse too if you like."

This was exactly what the impostor thought the Muhammadan would say. "My idea is working well," thought he within himself, and proceeded to become very reluctant to part with his bear. He also so managed that more coins began to drop, and the more the coins dropped the more the Muhammadan's mind was fixed with an ambition to become the master of the miraculous bear. He begged hard of the Brāhmaṇ, and the latter, as if unwilling to part with a brute which a few moments before he feared would take his life (!), at last told the Muhammadan to tie its hind legs together with a cord, and then its front legs. In this way the brute was safely caught. The Brāhmaṇ then pronounced a meaningless incantation over it, told the Muhammadan to repeat it unceasingly for a month before trying its efficacy. He then picked up every gold coin he had dropped, and took leave of his Muslim friend. Telling him that his house was in the New Street of Madura, he went away with the horse and all the money on it. The Muhammadan merchant, fully believing that after a month's repetition

the incantation would have the effect he saw, spent nearly all his days engaged in repeating it, and in taking care of the bear.

The Arch-Impostor after thus duping the poor Muslim, pursued his journey, and reached a village about evening. It was a very inhospitable village, and after searching here and there for a place to sleep in, he at last came to the street occupied by the courtezans. He chose the best house, took his bedding into the outer verandah, and lay down with his bundles beneath his head and his horse tied to a tree in front of the house. As he had a large amount of money to guard, sleep did not come to his eyes; he could merely pretend to be sleeping. At about dawn his horse evacuated, and the impostor pushed two gold coins into each piece of the horse-dung. He then returned to his bed and pretended to sleep as before. The sweeper of the house soon after came out to do her daily duty, and after sweeping the outer verandah went up to the horse to remove the horse-dung. But the Arch-Impostor at once arose and said:—"Do not touch the dung of that horse. It is all so much gold." After saying this he carefully collected it, and took out the gold coins. The sweeper was amazed. She ran in and informed the mistress of the house of what she saw. The courtesan came out, and to her astonishment she saw the impostor taking two gold coins out of each piece of the horse-dung. Quite amazed she asked what it all meant, and our hero replied:—

"Madam! This is a horse given to me by a *yôgi*, (sage) who instructed me in a *mantra* (incantation). I pronounced it over the horse for a month, and ever since that period it has had the power of dropping gold coins with its ordure." The amazed and ambitious courtesan wanted to get possession of the horse, and learn the *mantra*. And our hero with a good deal of pretended reluctance parted with his horse in return for all her property. He then taught her some gibberish, which he told her was an incantation. He also told her that she must repeat it for a month, before it would work.

Thus deceiving the woman of the wood, the Muhammadan merchant, and the courtesan, our hero went to Madura, bought a good house in the New Street, true to his word to the Musalmân (and this was the only truth which he ever uttered in his life), and there married the daughter of a rich Brâhman, and lived happily and in comfort.

The old woman of the wood was almost mad after the loss of her hard-earned money. She traced the footprints of treacherous Last Year and followed them up, hoping to find him out some day or other. After a month's journey in the tracks she reached the place where the Muhammadan merchant was engaged in rearing the bear. He had long before the old woman's arrival finished the required number of incantations, and had gone round with the bear more than a thousand times without success. The old woman engaged him in conversation, and he related everything to her. This led to a mutual explanation of the manner in which they had been duped. The fiery Musalmân flew into a rage, and said:—"We must trace out the rogue and punish him."

The old woman agreed, and they both started for Madura. In their first day's journey they chanced to go to the village where the courtesan had been befooled, and where her story was well known. Every child there could tell them how over a month ago a rogue had come there and had deceived her about a horse and an incantation, and had walked away with all her property. The Musalmân soon identified the horse, and so the courtesan joined the old lady and the Muslim, and they all three went to Madura.

They found their enemy in the New Street, and he, getting up with a cheerful smile, welcomed them all, and after enquiring of their welfare asked them whether they had found the incantations useful. The old woman he consoled with an explanation of his sudden departure. He then requested them all to bathe and take their food, and himself showed the way to the river. Returning before the others, he asked his wife to prepare the ground for his worship of the household god, and also asked her to keep a pestle ready for him. He then asked her to bring the meal, pudding, &c., to be offered to the god, and to dress herself up as an old woman. He also told her that he would lightly beat her with the pestle, and throw her into the house, after which she was to suddenly appear again in the garb of a young woman, which, of course, was

her natural attire. All these instructions were issued before his three friends returned from the river, and though Musalmāns and courtezans are never allowed to enter the inner parts of a Brāhmaṇ's house, he pretended to show special consideration to them, and asked them to take their seats at a respectful distance, so as to observe what passed inside. The impostor then proceeded with the worship of the god on a grand scale. He pronounced several incantations, and when the worship was drawing to a close, an old woman, i.e. his wife in that attire, brought the offerings. He caught hold of her by her hair, and with his other hand felt for the pestle. The Musalmān and the others at once flew to the rescue of the old woman, but with a smile of perfect composure the impostor said:—

"My friends, do not think I want to kill her. If I beat her with this pestle and throw her into the house, she will return as a young girl. I have made many such old women young by the administration of this pestle." Thus saying he proceeded to beat the old woman and threw her into the house. And the impostor's wife, as well up in tricks as her husband, though she had lived with him for less than a month, came out as a young girl. The three old friends who came to be even with the old rogue wondered at what they saw.

They consulted among themselves:—"The fellow is really here; so, we can wreak our vengeance upon him whenever we choose. For the present let us obtain his pestle and depart as friends."

The worship was soon over, and our hero proceeded to look to the convenience of his visitors. He asked them to have some food, and superintended their meals himself. They all concealed their anger for the nonce in the hope of getting hold of the pestle, which he gladly allowed them to take away for a week. **The three thus duped again** went away to their respective houses with the pestle, and made arrangements as to the use of it.

The courtesan knew many old women in her street whom she wished to convert into young ones. So she wanted it first, and the old lady of the wood made up her mind to stay with her to witness the experiment, while the Muhammadan merchant agreed to take the pestle after a week from the courtesan. Thus it was her fortune to try it first. Alas! many a woman she killed with it in the fond hope that one at least would be transformed to a young woman. No transformation came after all; only death was the result. So before even the week was up the courtesan sent the pestle to the Muslim, duly informing him how unsuccessful she found it to be. But he blamed her not being a good hand at thrashing, and had soon himself pounded to death several old women among his relatives. Being then again deceived he went to the courtesan, and said to her: "My friend, see how we have been duped a second time. How many of our dear relatives we have killed. Let us go to that man again, and kill him before he again contrives to deceive us."

"Agreed," said she, and they started off again with the old lady of the wood. After a long journey, they reached the impostor's house, and found him absent. On enquiry they came to know that he had gone to the river to bathe. The old lady remained in his house, and the other two went after him. They carried a bag with them, and strong ropes also, and finding him bathing all alone, they surprised him, and tying up his hands and legs put him in the bag, and took him to a mountain near to burn him alive as a full revenge for all his deception. Climbing to the very top of it they placed the bundle down and went to the jungle near to collect fuel for the fire. Our hero was now in an awkward plight, but he kept saying to himself:—"I don't want to marry that girl, I don't want to marry that girl."

Now, while the Musalmān and the courtesan were away in the jungle collecting fuel, a neatherd who was grazing a herd of cows a little below was attracted by the voice that kept on saying:—"I don't want to marry that girl." Coming up to our hero he said:—"What is the meaning of what you say? Why are you tied up thus in a bundle?"

Hope at once dawned in the impostor's breast, and he hastily replied:—"Friend, whoever you may be, you are my protector. Release me at once from this bag. My uncle and aunt want to marry me to a girl whom I do not like. Against my will they carried me up here to marry me to her. Fortunately they have just gone to some spring near to quench their thirst."

The stupid neatherd, little suspecting that it was odd that a man should be married on the top of a mountain, promised to open the bag and let him out on condition he would allow him to go into the bag himself, and thus be placed in his happy position.

"Agreed," said the impostor, and so the bag was quickly opened, the ropes round his legs and hands untied, and the neatherd packed up in his place. Our hero then went to the place where the herd of cows was grazing, and returned home with them. Here he found the old lady of the wood waiting and welcomed her heartily, telling her that all his wealth was hers, and promising to regard her as his own mother, as she had been one to him for six years.

Meanwhile the Musalmān and the courtesan had lighted a large fire in the jungle and went for the bag. The neatherd inside kept quite silent for fear, if he spoke, that the change that had taken place would become known. But, instead of being married to a young girl, he was soon thrown into the fire.

"Thus have we killed our impostor," said the friends:—"Now let us go to his house and plunder it." So they returned exulting to the New Street of Madura where our hero was sitting outside his house chewing betel, and expecting them every moment. The thousand and one cows he had obtained were still standing outside. When the pair saw him safely seated outside his own house and smiling welcome to them, their wonder knew no bounds. "We threw you an hour ago in the fire," said they, "and how are you sitting here safe?"

"Yes, my friends," replied he, "as soon as you threw me into the fire, I went to Kailāsa, the world of felicity, and met my father and grandfather. They told me that my time to live in the world was not over and sent me back with these kine."

"Then the same presents will be given to us, too, if we go to that world of heavenly bliss?" said they.

"Undoubtedly," replied the impostor; and then with their consent he took them to the mountain and threw them into the fire never more to revive and return with presents.

Returning home and relieved for ever from his troublesome friends the Arch-Impostor lived happily, protecting the old woman of the wood, who had protected him in his younger days.

Though the hero has the worst of characters, still the relaters of this story excuse him for his presence of mind in all his hardships, and draw a moral from it that ambition is bad. The Musalmān and the courtesan, even though they repeatedly found out their friend, were always fired with ambition, and at last lost their lives through it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DANISH ROYAL ACADEMY'S PRIZE REGARDING THE PHILOLOGICAL POSITION OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA.

SIR,—It may interest your readers to know that the Académie Royale Danoise des Sciences et des Lettres offers the Gold Medal of the Academy as a prize for the best answer to the following question: "What position has Sanskrit occupied in the general development of languages in India? To what extent can we say that it has been a living language, and at what period must it be admitted to have ceased to be such? The Academy points out that the inscriptions of Aśoka, dating from the middle of the 3rd century B. C., were couched in a language differing in no small degree from Sanskrit, and were spread all over the north of India. On this is founded a theory that Sanskrit had already ceased to be a living language, and that only that portion of its literature which is anterior to the

Scythic invasion can be regarded as ancient and natural, while all the subsequent literature is due to a later and artificial development, the work of the Brāhmins, and does not reach to a date earlier than the second century A. D. On the other hand one can scarcely allow that such poems as the lyrics and epics of Kālidāsa were only written for the learned, and that his dramas were not made to be represented and understood by the ordinarily educated people of his time, and the case is the same with other works written in Sanskrit after the Christian era. We should also have to explain why Sōmadēva, at the beginning of the 12th century, should have chosen a dead and purely learned language for composing a work of light reading, of which the aim was to divert and console the queen of Kāśmīr who had lost her grandson.

Answers may be written in Latin, French, English, German, Swedish, or Danish. They

should not bear the name of the author, but a motto, and should be accompanied by a sealed envelope bearing the same motto, and enclosing the name, profession, and address of the author. Members of the Academy who reside in Denmark will take no part in the competition. Answers

should be addressed, before the end of October 1889, to the Secretary of the Academy M. H. G. Zeuthen, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. The prizes will be declared in February 1890, and the authors can thereupon have their essays returned to them. G. A. GRIERSON.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XV.

A Year of the Revue Critique; July 1887 to June 1888.

(a) Aug. 8th.—The first important article of interest to oriental students is a review of two works by Prof. Th. Nöldeke. The first is a sketch of the Semitic languages¹ originally written for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and since then enlarged, and reproduced in German. The second is a history of the Arab dynasty of the Ghassânids.² The article is by M. J. Halévy, and contains an interesting note on the primitive habitat of the Aramaeans, which he places in the south of the Syrian desert, bounded by the Hijâz, Najd, and the maritime tracts of Babylonia. Both works are highly praised by the reviewer.

(b) Aug. 15th.—M. A. Barth contributes a review of the present writer's and Dr. Hoernle's works in connection with the Bihâri language.

(c) Oct. 24th.—The same gentleman reviews Prof. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on "an outline of a History of the Hindû law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption, as contained in the original Sanskrit treatises." The author, M. Barth considers, studies each institution historically, bringing to light the differences concerning it, which appear through a long series of texts, and he endeavours to explain these differences by referring them to a process of regular development. The various discussions show his familiarity with legal questions, and with comparative legislation, and no one could read the book without deriving great benefit from it. Dr. Jolly differs from Mr. Nelson in considering the juridical literature of India as really its legislation. It is a body of written custom, not only held holy, but universally practised and regularly applied by the public authorities. It has always kept in touch with actual facts, modifying itself as they have become modified. M. Barth combats this theory, considering that the *smṛiti* has been only moderately practised. The official law has often been a very incomplete, and frequently an entirely false representation of the true custom, and whenever there was a conflict between the two, it

is the former which has usually had the worst of it. One of the best proofs of this is the differences of doctrine between the various legal schools. Do these schools really represent the law of their tracts? One has only to see the disorder of their traditions, and the fantastic manner in which they borrow from each other, without regard either to geographical vicinity, or to affinities of population, to be satisfied on this point. Theories might travel thus, but not customs.

(d) Oct. 31st.—Dr. Percy Gardner's *Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* is reviewed. The author of the notice is M. Darmesteter. He observes, "there are few historical periods of more fascinating interest than that of the four centuries which followed the death of Alexander, in the tracts of country bordering on Persia and on India. A Greek empire in Bactria, from the Oxus to the Hindû Kôsh, which soon crosses the mountains, absorbs Eastern Afghanistan, passes the Indus, reaches the Yamunâ on the right, the Sea of Gujârât on the south, covers the Indian coasts with Greek temples, of which the ruins still existed in the second century, and brings into India Greek writing, Greek art, and all that the spirit of a Hindû could receive of the Hellenic genius. An invasion of Turkish tribes, who cast upon the Greek frontier by the same movement as that which step by step impelled Attila upon the gates of Rome, come to destroy the empire of Alexander's successors, whilst succeeding as their heirs, to reopen the route of the Greeks in India, to enthrone Buddhism, and, at the same time as Buddha, all the pantheon of Iranian Zoroastrianism. Between the Greeks and the Scythians, are the more or less violent struggles of the Parthians, who send to Western India sometimes governors for the Arsacides, sometimes adventurers who founded dynasties. For all this period, at once confused and fecund (for it is from this chaos that modern India has emerged) there remain but four kinds of documents: a few lines, more or less vague, in the classical writers, a few pages in the Chinese annals, a few inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and thousands of coins. Numismatists have there-

¹ *Die Semitischen Sprachen, Eine Skizze*, von Th. Nöldeke, Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1887.

² *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's*, von Th. Nöldeke. Berlin, Librairie academique, 1887.

fore the field almost entirely to themselves." Taking Mr. Gardner's book as his text M. Darmesteter next proceeds to reconstruct a history of these times. Bactria was a province of the Seleucid empire till about the year 250 B. C. About that time Diodorus made himself independent in Bactria, and Arsaces did the same in Parthia. This was the origin of the Græco-Bactrian and of the Parthian empires. The dynasty of Diodorus was supplanted by Euthydemus of Magnesia (about 208 B. C.), whose son, Demetrius, pressed on the north by the Barbarians, crossed the Paropamisus (or Hindû Kush) and entered the country of Kâbul and the Pâñjâb. This was the commencement of the Græco-Indian empire. With Eukratides (190?) the great rival and successor of Demetrius, we first come upon bilingual coins, with a Pâli legend added to the Greek one. A great number of kings followed, of whom two, Apollodotus and Menander, were known to classical writers, and whose money was found to be still in circulation by the Greek travellers of the first century of the present era. Hermæus was the last of the Indo-Greek kings. About 25 B. C., the Scythians of Bactria crossed the Paropamisus, and invaded India. We know of coins of five Indo-Scythic kings, of whom Kanishka was the most famous. The Śaka era dates, not from the expulsion of the Scythic invader, but from his accession. Under this dynasty the Iranian religion of Zoroaster penetrated into India, and we find traces of Persian influence in Indian Epic poetry, which should be ascribed to the same time. These Indo-Scythians were very eclectic in religious matters. They knew Helios, Salene and Serapis. They knew Buddha; and again they recognized Skanda-Kumâra and Viśākha.

A third race of invaders was that of the Parthians, who appear to have established themselves in the Kâbul valley about 161 B. C. The Peripleus shows us this dynasty as expiring in the Delta of Sindh towards the middle of the first century.

(e) Dec. 5th. — "J. D." reviews Dastur Tahmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria's *Compendium of the Social Code for the Parsis* (Parsi Fort Printing Press, Bombay, 1887). This is a well printed facsimile of a Pahlavi text on civil law lately discovered by the Editor. The text is principally important on account of the authorities which it cites, and which are those of the classic literature. The last pages are valuable as containing a religious and political history of the last Sasâni.

(f) January 16th, 1888 — Commences with a review of the first volume of the *Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin*, by M. Hauvette. The author of the Catalogue is Herr W. Ahlwardt. It is described as a monu-

ment of solid and powerful construction. The present volume is in two parts, the first devoted to *Prolegomena* and to general subjects, the second to the *Qurân*.

(g) Feb. 6th. — M. Derenbourg has published the first fasciculus of John of Capua's Latin version of the *Kalilah and Dimnah*. This is reviewed by M. Rubens. Two Hebrew versions of the tale are known, and the older of the two, attributed to the Rabbin Joel, has a special importance as being the original of the Latin version above mentioned. Unfortunately a large portion of this Hebrew version, including the prefaces, the two first chapters, and a portion of the third, is lost. and the present edition of the Latin version is published to supply the deficiency. It has hitherto been printed only once (about the year 1483), and has become so rare as to be almost unprocurable. The present edition is very satisfactory, and the first fasciculus contains the prefaces and nine chapters.

(h) Feb. 27th. — There is a short notice by M. Barth on Cham literature. The Chams were originally masters of the whole of Annam. M. Antony Landes has published a French translation of sixteen Cham tales, and of a children's song. The basis of the tales is the marvellous, without any alloy of mythology or theology. Only once or twice does the Lord Alwah, "the master of the sky," and probably identical with the Allâh of the Musalmân Chams, appear. The translation appears in *Excursions et Reconnaissances*. The same number of the latter contains the facsimile of a Cham inscription communicated by M. E. Navelle. It is in the name of Śrî Jaya Simha Dêva, and also contains the proper name Śrî Hari Dêva and the word *dharma*. It is dated 1191.

(i) March 10th. — In this number is a review by M. V. Henry of M. Paul Regnaud's work on the *Origin and Philosophy of Language or Principles of Indo-European Linguistics*. The author endeavours to reply to the following propositions; (1) To explain and criticize the various systems which, from the earliest times to the present day, have had for their aim to explain philosophically the origin and the laws of language; (2) To collect from the more important contemporary philological works the principles and the laws which could serve in the formation of a philosophy of language. The first portion of the book is described as excellent, and as displaying a great amount of labour and of learning on the part of the author. Regarding the second part M. Henry, while admiring the ingenuity displayed is unable to concur with the conclusions arrived at.

(j) March 26th. — The late Dr. Hanusz of Vienna was the author of a pamphlet on the encroach-

ments of the *n*-declension in Sanskrit which is favourably noticed by M. Louis Duvau. The most interesting case noticed is the *n* in terminations of genitives plural like *sēdānām*. Dr. Hanusz shows that the *n* was first borrowed from bases in *n* to form the genitives of bases in *d* long, and then to form those of bases in *a* short.

(k) *April 2nd.* — Commences with a review by M. Rubens Duval of Mr. Margoliouth's edition of the Oriental versions of the Poetics of Aristotle. The texts published are the Arabic version of Abū Bashār, the definition of tragedy in the Syriac dialogues of James Bar-Shakaku, the Arabic Poetics of Avicenna, and the Syriac Poetics of Bar-Hebraeus. The reviewer considers that Mr. Margoliouth has shown in his edition an equal knowledge of Greek, Arabic and Syriac, and future publishers of Aristotle's Poetics will be bound to take his work into consideration.

(l) *April 23rd.* — Passing over notices of an edition of the twenty-first volume of the *Kitāb al-aghani*, by Dr. Brünnow, and a review of the Rev. A. Foster's Elementary lessons in Chinese, we come to a short article by M. Baudouin on Prof. Windisch's work on the characteristic *r* in verbal forms. Dr. Windisch conjectures that originally for the middle and active voices there were two sets of inflexions, characterised respectively by the presence or by the absence of the *r* and the *f*. In the middle there would be for the first and third persons of the singular, and for the third of the plural, the terminations *-ē*, *-ē*, *-rē*, and (Gr. *μαρ?*)¹ and *tē*, *-ntē*; in the active they would be, *a* (*-d?*), *-a*, *-ur*, and *-mi*, *-ti*, *-nti*. The reviewer considers that this conjecture is very plausible, and that it throws an entirely new light on primitive conjugation.

We may pass over two favourable reviews, one by M. A. Barth on Dr. Cust's second series of Linguistic and Oriental Essays, and the other by M. Sylvain Lévi on Dr. Speijers' Sanskrit Syntax, which has been already noticed in these pages, and come to a short paper by M. V. Henry on Dr. P. von Bradke's Essays on the Prehistoric Development of the German Language. The principal argument of Dr. von Bradke deals with the influence of subject races on the language of the conquerors, and, as an example, he would superimpose a Græco-Italo-Celtic group of languages over the already accepted Italo-Celtic groups, explaining by foreign influence the numerous and important differences between the language and civilisation of Latium and Hellas.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 27.

In the back-yard of Yellappaṅgaḍa at Hulḡr, a village about seven miles to the north-east of Śiggāṁve, the chief town of the Bankāpur Tāluka of the Dhārwaḍ District, Bombay Presidency, there is an Old-Kanarese stone inscription of the Kalachuri¹ king Sōmēsvara, which contains three dates.

The first date (from an ink-impression; line 18 f.) is — Śaka-varsha 1096 neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Jyēshṭhāda amāvāsye Ādityavāra sūryagrahaṇa-vyatipātad-andu, — "the new-moon *tithi* of (the month) Jyēshṭhā of the Jaya saṁvatsara, which is the 1096th Śaka year; Sunday; at the time of the vyatipāta of an eclipse of the sun."

The second date (line 35 f.) is — Śaka-varshada 1096 neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Mārgasīrada pun-nami Ādityavāra sōmagrahaṇad-andu, — "the full-moon *tithi* of (the month) Mārgasīra of the Jaya saṁvatsara, which is the 1096th of the Śaka years; Sunday; at the time of an eclipse of the moon.

And the third date (l. 40 f.) is — Śaka-varshada 1096 neya Jaya-saṁvatsarada Mārgasīra-bahulaḍ-amāvāsye Māṅgalavāra sūryagrahaṇad-andu, — "the new-moon *tithi* of the dark fortnight of (the month) Mārgasīra of the Jaya saṁvatsara, which is the 1096th of the Śaka years; Tuesday; at the time of an eclipse of the sun."

By the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-year Cycle, the Jaya saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka-Saṁvat 1097 current; i. e. with the given year, 1096, as an expired year. And, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that, in this year, —

The amānta Jyēshṭhā kṛishṇa 15 ended, not on a Sunday, but at about 22 *ghaṭas*, 53 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bankāpur,² on Saturday, 1st June, A. D. 1174. On this day there was an eclipse of the sun,³ which was visible in India. But the week-day does not correspond with that given in the record; at least, it does not do so, if the record is to be interpreted as meaning that the *tithi* ended, and the eclipse occurred, on the Sunday.

Mārgasīra sukla 15 ended, as required, on Sunday, 10th November, A. D. 1174, at about 36 *gh.* 42 *p.* And on this day there was an eclipse of the moon,⁴ visible in India.

And the amānta Mārgasīra kṛishṇa 15 ended, as required, on Tuesday, 26th November, A. D. 1174, at about 13 *gh.* 51 *p.* And on

¹ In line 2 of this record, the dynastic name is very distinctly written Kalatūrya.

² The times here, all through, are for Bankāpur, which

of old was a town of considerable importance.

³ See von Oppolzer's Canon, pp. 228, 229, and Plate 114.

⁴ *id.* p. 361.

this day there was an eclipse of the sun,^a visible in India.

It is to be noted that, in the second and third dates, in which the results work out quite regularly, the term *vyatipāta* is not used. And, as there is no reason for suggesting that any portion of the record is not genuine, the explanation of the discrepancy in the results for the first date in it, is perhaps to be found in the use there of the term in question; which may indicate some astrological conditions that necessitated the observance of the rites of that eclipse on the following day, Sunday, instead of on the day on which it actually occurred. I hope that someone will be in a position to examine and explain this point. The only other solution is to assume a mistake in calculation by the person who prepared the almanac, from which the date was taken by the preparer of the record.

No. 28.

At the same village of Hulgūr, on two of the faces of the lower part of a pillar in the well called Kallamāṭhāda-bhāvi in Survey No. 78, there is a Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese inscription of the Dēvagiri-Yādava king Mahādēva, in which the date (from an ink-impression; line 15 ff.) is — Śaka-varahada^b 1189neya Prabhava-samvatsarada Jyēshṭha^c 7-ba-30-Budhavāra sūrya grahaṇad-andu, — “Wednesday, the 30th *tithi*, in the dark fortnight, of (the month) Jyēshṭha of the Prabhava samvatsara, which is the 1189th of the Śaka years; at the time of an eclipse of the sun.”

By the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle, the Prabhava samvatsara coincided with Śaka-Samvat 1190 current; i.e. with the given year, 1189, as an expired year. In this year, Jyēshṭha itself was intercalary, according to the Tables. And I find that —

The natural *amānta* Jyēshṭha *kṛishṇa* 15 ended at about 43 *ghaṭis* 45 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bankāpur, on Thursday, 23rd June, A. D. 1267; on which day there was no eclipse of the sun. But the intercalated *amānta* Jyēshṭha *kṛishṇa* 15 ended, as required, on Wednesday, 25th May, A. D. 1267, at about 20 *gh.* 45 *p.*; and on this day there was an eclipse of the sun, visible in India.^d

This record is of interest, in giving an instance of the quotation of the new-moon *tithi* as the thirtieth *tithi* of the month, instead of as the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight. An analogous instance is to be found in an inscription at Jaynagar in the Mongir District, Bengal Presidency, dated in the reign of Madanapālādēva,^e “the year 16 (?), Āsvina 30.” But there is nothing

to indicate for certain whether it is the new-moon *tithi*, or the full-moon *tithi*, that is thus numbered in the Jaynagar record; though it may be inferred to be the new-moon *tithi*, in accordance with what is the more general custom in the present day, even in Northern India.^f

J. F. FLEET.

PROFESSOR KIELHORN'S EDITION OF THE MAHABHASHYA.

Excellent as is Prof. Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāṣya, hyper-criticism can still lay its finger on a fault here and there. Prof. Kielhorn has, for instance, unfortunately followed the Indian copyists in regard to the divisions of the Mahābhāṣya into *Āhnikas*; i.e. he too has numbered the Paspāśāhnikā as the first; and the *Āhnikā* treating of the fourteen Sūtras, given according to tradition by Mahādēva to Pāṇini, as the second, serially with the rest. Whereas, strictly, these two *Āhnikas* should be separated from the others, as introductory to them. The first Sūtra of Pāṇini is *Vṛiddhēr dāich*, and not *Atha śabdānuśāsanam*, which was only added on by Patañjali to bring Pāṇini's Sūtras into conformity with the usage prevailing in the Sūtra-period. The usage was, always to declare the subject of every set of aphorisms at the beginning, and so to prepare the student for what he might expect, as is shown by the declaratory first Sūtra, commencing with *Atha*, of the Darśanas, Gṛihya and Śrauta-Sūtras, and Prātiśākhya. Moreover, all the editions of the *Ashtādhyāyī*, which I have seen, separate the fourteen Sūtras of Mahādēva from Pāṇini's text distinctly. The serial divisions of the Great Commentary proper should, therefore, extend from *Vṛiddhēr dāich* and the Bhāṣya thereon. High example may be pleaded in favour of the current division; but only example, and nothing more. For, so far as the present writer is aware, Kayyāṭa and Nāgōjibhaṭṭa have not given any reasons for their adherence to it. The fact of their adherence can be explained away, by supposing that they were too much absorbed with their commentaries to bestow any time on such a comparatively unimportant work as formal improvement in the text they were dealing with. By the way, why should not the name of the author of the *Bhāṣya-pradīpa* be spelt as Kayyāṭa? The analogy of Mammaṭa and Ubbāṭa speaks in favour of this form, as against the other ordinary forms of Kaiyāṭa and Kaiyyāṭa. It is supported by ancient MSS. as well.

GOVINDA DASA.

Durgakund, Benares.

^a *id.* pp. 228, 229, and Plate 114.—See also the Dēgāṇv inscription of Kaliyuga-Samvat 4275 expired, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 266, No. 17.

^b The actual reading in the original is *varahada*.

^c The actual reading is *jyēshṭha*.

^d *id.* pp. 238, 239, and Plate 119.

^e *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xlv., No. 17, line 4.

^f See Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 114.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF THE KINGS OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 21).

E.—Benares College Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1232.

THE plate which holds this inscription appears to have been discovered, about twenty years ago, by a man ploughing about six miles north-east of the city of Benares, at a village named 'Sihvar;' and it is now deposited in the Library of the Benares Sanskrit College. The text of it has been published before, by Bābū Sivaprasād, in the *Paṇḍit*, Vol. IV. pp. 95-96 (September, 1869).

The inscription is on a single plate, measuring about $20\frac{1}{2}$ " by $16\frac{1}{2}$ ", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims, to protect the writing; but the middle portion of the inscribed surface is somewhat worn. In the centre of the plate there is a crack, caused by tearing out the ring, and extending two-thirds of the way down from the top; and another, extending about two inches up from the bottom; so that the plate is almost in two pieces. Also, the lower proper right corner is broken away, causing the loss of twelve *akṣaras*. But these, and the damaged *akṣaras* elsewhere, can easily be supplied; and, with the exception of two or three *akṣaras* in line 20, there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription.—In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. But the ring has been abstracted, by slitting the plate from the ring-hole to the edge; and, with the seal attached to it, is not now forthcoming.—The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is carefully written, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *bubhramur*,¹ line 9; and that the dental sibilant has been seven times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant. A few other mistakes will be pointed out in the text.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Jayachchandrādēva*, who records that, when at Benares, on the occasion of performing the ceremony of giving a name to (his) the king's, son *Harischandra*, he granted the two villages of *Sarau[dā]* and *[Ā?]māyī*, situated in the *Mā[na]ra pattaḷā*, to the Brāhmaṇ, the *mahāpaṇḍita* *Hṛishikēśaśarman*. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Sunday, the 13th lunar day of the bright half of *Bhādrapada*, of the year 1232. The grant was written by the *mahākṣhapāṭalika*, or great keeper of records, the *Thakkura Sripati*.

As regards the date, taking 1232 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for *Bhādrapada śukla 13* would be:—

for the northern year 1232 current, — Monday, 12 August, A. D. 1174;

for the northern year 1232 expired, or

the southern year 1232 current, — Sunday, 31 August, A. D. 1175;

for the southern year 1232 expired, — Friday, 20 August, A. D. 1176.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Sunday,² 31 August, A. D. 1175; but our record furnishes no means of deciding whether the year 1232 spoken of should be taken to be the northern expired year or the southern current year.

The villages granted, and the *pattaḷā* in which they were situated, I am unable to identify.

¹ The same remark applies to every one of the following six inscriptions (F to K).

² On that day, the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended about 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti || Akuṇṭhōtkanṭha⁵-Vaikuṇṭha-kanṭhapītha-luṭhat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ
surat-ārambhē sa Sriyaḥ śrēyaśc=stu vaḥ || Āsīd⁶=Āsītadyuti-vaṁśa-jāta-
kshmaṇpāla-mā-
- 2 lāsu divaṁ gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaso⁷vigraha
ity=udāraḥ || Tat⁷-sutō=bhūn=**Mahichandra**s=chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nijaṁ |
yēn=āpāram=akū-
- 3 pāra-pārē vyāpāritam yaśaḥ || Tasy⁸=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-
maṇḍalō vidhvast-ōddhata-dhira-yōdha-timirāḥ śrī-**Chandra**dēvō prīpaḥ |
yēn=ōddāratara-
- 4 pratāpa-sa(sa)mit-āsēsha-praj-ōpadraṇam śrīmaḥ-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājam-asamaṁ dōr-
vvikramēṇ=irjji(tam) || Tīrthāni⁹ **Kāsi-Kusik**-**Ōttarakōśal**-**Ēndra**sthāniya¹⁰.
kāni paripālayat=ādhiḡa-
- 5 mya | hēm=ātma-tulyam=anīṣaṁ dadatā dvijēbhyō yēn=āṅkitā vasumatī śataśas=
tulābhiḥ || Tasy=ātmajō **Madan**pāla iti kshītindra-chūḍāmanir=vijayatō
nija-gōtra-chandraḥ | ya-
- 6 sy-ābhishēka-kalāś-ōllāśi(si)taḥ payōbhiḥ prakshālitaṁ kali-rajāḥ-pāṭalam dharitryāḥ ||
Yasy¹¹=isīd=vijaya-prayāṇa-samayō tuṅgāchal-ōchchais-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-
pada-kram-ā-
- 7 sama-bhara-bharaśyan-mahīmam¹²alē | chūḍaratna-vibhinna-tālu-galita-styān-āsrig-udbhāsi-
(si)taḥ Sēshaḥ pēsha-¹³vasā(sā)d=iva kṣaṇam=asau krōḍē nilin-ānanaḥ |
Tasmād¹³=ajāyata nij-āya-
- 8 ta-vā(bā)huvalli-va(ba)mdh-āvaruddha-nava-rājya-gajō narēndrah | sāmīr-āmṛita-drava-
muchām prabhavō gavām yō **Gōvinda**chandra iti chandra iv=āmvu-
(mbu)rāsē(sē)ḥ || Na¹⁴ katham=apy=alabhanta rāṇa-kṣamāms=ti-
- 9 sṛishu dikshu gajān=atha Vajriṇaḥ | kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabha-prati-
bhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || Ajani¹⁵ **Vijaya**chandrō nāma tasmān=
narēndrah | surapatir=i-
- 10 va bhūbhṛit-paksha-vichchēda-dakṣhaḥ | bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-harmmya-**Ham**vi(mbi)ra-
nārī-nayana-jalada-dhārā-dhauta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || **Lōkatray**¹⁶-ākramaṇa-kēli-viśṛim-
khalāni prakhyāta-
- 11 kīrti-kavi-varṇita-vaibhavaṇi | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāmji bhānti prōjjim-
bhayantī¹⁷ Va(ba)lirāja-bhayaṁ yaśāmsi || Yasmin¹⁸=chalaty=udadhinēmi-mahi-
jāyārtham mādyat-ka-
- 12 rindra-guru-bhāra-nipīḍit=ēva | yāti Prajāpati-padam sa(sa)raṇ-ārthini bhūs=tvāṅga-
turaṅga-nivah-ōttha-rajās-chhalēna || Tasmād¹⁹=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jayach**-
chandra-ābhidhānaḥ pati-
- 13 r=bhūpānām=avatīrṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ | dvaidhībāvam=apāsya
vigraha-ruchiṁ dhikkṛitya sā(sā)nt-āsayaḥ sēvantō yam=udagra-va(ba)ndhana-
bhaya-dhvaṁs-ārthinaḥ pārvivāḥ ||
- 14 Gachchhēn¹⁹=mārchchhām=atuchchhām=na yadi kavalayēt=kūrmma-prishṭh-ābhigāta-
pratyāvṛitta-śram-ārttō namad-akhila-phāṇa-śvāsa-vātyā-saśāra(sra)ṁ | udyōgē
yasya dhāvad-dharaṇidhara-dhuni-nirjha-

³ From the impression.⁴ Expressed by a symbol.⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁶ Metre, Indravajrā.⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.¹⁰ Read *Ēndra*sthānō.¹¹ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Read *śaisha*. and compare *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 12, note 97.¹³ Metre, Vasantatilakā.¹⁴ Metre, Drutavilambita.¹⁵ Metre, Mālini.¹⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.¹⁷ This (and not *prōdyōtayanānti*) is the reading also in line 11 of the Faizābād plate of Jayachandra, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 6.¹⁸ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁹ Metre, Sragdharā.

[illegible]

- 32 [ti yâ*]²⁴vad-âhûtasamplavam || Sva-dattâm para-dattâm vâ yô harêta vasum̐dharâm |
sa viśṭhâyâm kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || Vâri-hinēshv=aranyēshu
śushka-kôṭara-vâsinah | kṛishṇa-śa(sa)rpās=cha jāyantē
- 33 [dēva-bra*]hma-śva-hāriṇah || Na viśham viśham=ity=āhur=vra(bra)hma-śvam viśham=
uchyatē | viśham=ekākinam hanti vra(bra)hma-śva(śva)m putra-pautrikam ||
Taḍāgānām salaśrē(srē)ṇa vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavām kôṭi-pradānēna
bhūmi-ha-
- 34 [rtā na śu*]dhyati || Sarvvān²⁵=ētān bhāvinah pāṛthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyō
yāchatē Rāmabbadrāḥ | sāmānyo=yam [dha]rmmā-sētar=ṇipānām kālē kālē
pūlanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || Vāt²⁶-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=ā-
- 35 [pātāmātra*]madhurā viśhay-ōpabhōgāḥ | prāṇās=trīṇ-āgra-jalavim̐du-samā narāṇām
dharmmah sakṣā pa[ra]m=ahō para-lōka-yānē || Likhitaṁ ch=ēdam tāmra-
pattakam mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Srīpatibhir=iti ||

TRANSLATION.

Om !

May it be well !

(L. 1.)—May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikunṭha filled with eager longing, bring you happiness !

After the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (*personage*) **Yasōvighraha** by name, (*who*) by his plentiful splendour (*was*) as it were the sun incarnate.

(L. 2.)—His son was **Mahichandra**, who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (*even*) to the boundary of the ocean.

(L. 3.)—His son was the king, the illustrious **Chandradēva**, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (*and*) scattered the haughty brave warriors as (*the moon does the*) darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious **Gādhipura**,²⁷ when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.

Protecting the holy bathing-places of **Kāśi**, **Kusika**, **Uttarakōśala**, and the city of **Indra**,²⁸ after he had obtained them, (*and*) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (*in weight*) to his body, he hundreds of times marked the earth with the scales (*on which he had himself weighed*).

(L. 5.)—Victorious is his son **Madanapāla**, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars the coating of impurity of the Kali-age was washed off from the earth.

When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains : then, as if suffering from cold, **Śēsha**, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.²⁹

(L. 7.)—As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abundance liquid nectar, from the ocean, so was born from him the ruler of men, **Gōvindachandra**, who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (*untrained*) elephant, so he secured by his creeper-like long arms the new(*ly-acquired*) kingdom.³⁰

When his war-elephants had in three quarters in no wise found elephants their equals for combat, they roamed about in the region of the wielder of the thunderbolt, like rivals of the mate of **Abhramu**.³¹

²⁴ The aksharas in brackets at the commencement of this and the following lines are broken away.

²⁵ Metro, Śālini.

²⁶ i.e. Kanyakubja.

²⁷ See *ib.* p. 9, note 43.

²⁸ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

²⁹ See *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 8, note 16.

³⁰ See *ib.* p. 9, note 49.

³¹ See *ib.* p. 12, note 97.

(L. 9.)—From him was born the ruler of men, **Vijayachandra** by name, expert in destroying the hosts of (*hostile*) princes, as the lord of the gods (*was*) in clipping the wings of the mountains. He swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing as*) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the **Hambira**, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth.

His bright fame which met with no check in its playful course through the three worlds, (*and*) whose glory was sung by poets of known renown, made intense the fear of king **Bali** when it strode along like **Trivikrama**.³²

When he went³³ out to conquer the earth girt by the ocean, the earth, distressed as it were by the heavy weight of his ratty royal elephants, went³³ seeking protection up to the throne of **Prajāpati**, in the guise of the dust rising from the multitude of his prancing horses.

(L. 12.)—After him, possessed of wonderful valour, (*comes*) the lord of princes named **Jayachchandra**; he is **Nārāyaṇa**, having become incarnate for the salvation of the earth. Having put aside (*all*) dissension (*and*) cursing (*their own*) liking for war, peacefully disposed princes pay homage to him, seeking to rid themselves of the intense dread of the punishment (*inflicted by him*).

When he puts forth his might, the lord of serpents has his reputed strength failing under the great weight of the lines of elephants whose rutting-juice flows down in broad streams resembling torrents rushing down from moving mountains; distressed by the exertion of turning up again when pressed down upon the back of the tortoise, he would completely faint away if he did not inhale the thousand strong breezes from all his bending hoods.

(L. 15.)—He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all **Rājas**. And he, the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the lord over the three **Rājas**, (*vis.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men,³⁴ (*like*) **Bṛihaspati** in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious **Jayachchandra-dēva**, — who meditates on the feet of the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the lord over the three **Rājas**, (*vis.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (*like*) **Bṛihaspati** in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious **Vijayachchandra-dēva**, — who meditated on the feet of the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the lord over the three **Rājas**, (*vis.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (*like*) **Bṛihaspati** in investigating the various sciences, the illustrious **Gōvindachchandra-dēva**, — who meditated on the feet of the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the illustrious **Madanapālādēva**, — who meditated on the feet of the **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, and **Paramēśvara**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the illustrious **Chandradēva**, who by his arm had acquired the sovereignty over the glorious **Kanyakubja** :—

(L. 20.)—He, the victorious, commands, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the villages of **Sarau[dā]** and **[Ā?]māyī**³⁵ in the **Mā[ra]pattalā**, and also to the **Rājas**, **Rājñis**, **Yuvarājas**, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynæceums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines(?), *sthānas* and *gōkulas* :—³⁶

(L. 22.)—Be it known to you that, — after having bathed here to-day in the water of the Ganges at the glorious **Vārāṇasī**, (*the town*) of victory, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities,³⁷ saints, men, beings, and the group of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon,³⁸ after having performed adoration of the holy **Vāsudēva**, the

³² See *ib.* p. 12, note 98.

³³ The original has the present tense.

³⁴ The first syllable of this name is doubtful.

³⁵ See *ib.* p. 10, note 55.

³⁶ *Aicapati*, *Gajapati*, and *Narapati*; see *ib.* p. 9, note 52.

³⁷ See *ib.* p. 9, note 54.

³⁸ *i.e.* **Śiva**.

protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation with abundant milk rice and sugar, — we have, in order to increase the merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on Sunday, the thirteenth lunar day in the bright half of the month Bhādra, in the twelve-hundred-and-thirty-second year, — in figures too, on Sunday, su. di. 13 of Bhādra, in the year 1232, — on (the occasion of) giving a name to the king's son, the illustrious Hariścandra, given the (two) above-written villages with their water and dry land, with their mines of iron and salt, with their fisheries, with their ravines and saline wastes, with the treasure in their hills and forests, with and including their groves of *madhūka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to their four abutments, up to their proper boundaries, to the Brāhmaṇ, the *mahāpaṇḍita* the illustrious Hṛishikēśasārman, son of the *mahāmīrapaṇḍita*³⁹ the illustrious Hālā, son's son of the *mahāpaṇḍita* the illustrious Mahīdhara, of the Sārkarāksha *gōtra*, (and) whose five *pravara*s are Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya, — (confirming our gift) with (the pouring out) from the palm of our hand (of) water purified with *kuśa* grass⁴⁰ (and) ordaining (that it shall be his) as long as moon and sun (endure). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over (to him) every kind of income, fixed and not fixed, the due share of the produce, the *praveṣikara*,⁴¹ and so forth.

(L. 29.)—And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses :—[Here follow eleven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 35.)—And this copper-plate grant has been written by the great keeper of records, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious Sripati.

F.—Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1233.

The plates which hold this and the following five inscriptions (G.-K.) were found,¹ in 1823, by a peasant at work in a field near the confluence of the river Varanā (the 'Burnah' of the maps) with the Ganges, close to Benares; and they are now deposited in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Excepting some slight differences of orthography and occasional errors, the introductory portions of these six inscriptions, up to the words *śrīmaṇi-Jayachchandra-dēva vijayā*, are entirely the same as that of the inscription E, lines 1-20; and in the subsequent parts, too, the wording of these grants agrees so closely with the wording of E, that a full translation would be superfluous. I shall therefore, in the following, give only the essential portion of the text of each inscription, and shall point out what may be of any importance, in my introductory remarks.

This inscription is on a single plate, measuring about 20½" by 16", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, and were partly raised or beaten up into rims; and the preservation of the writing is perfect, so that there is no doubt whatever about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about ½" thick and 5" in diameter. It fits easily into a round hole in the bottom part of a bell-shaped seal, which is about 3" high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 3½" in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head and wings of a bird, kneeling half to the front and half to the proper right, and with his head turned full round in profile to the proper right; across the centre, the legend *śrīmaṇi-Jayachcha*[ś*]-*dradēvaḥ* ॥; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkhā*-shell. — The average size of the letters is about ⅜". The engraving is fairly good; but, in the usual manner, the interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and

³⁹ This word appears to signify a great scholar, deserving of the honorific title *mītra* (Hālā-mītra).

⁴⁰ On *gōkarna*, see *ib.* p. 10, note 57.

⁴¹ See *ib.* p. 10, note 58.

¹ See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 446 and 450.

the letters, being rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography, I need only note that *ḥ* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhramur*, and that the dental sibilant has been fourteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant.

This inscription also is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, Jayachchandrādēva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of Gōdanti, situated in the *Pāschima-chchhapana pattalā* in *Antarvēdi*, together with its two *pāṭakas* called *Ghaṇṭīāmauyī* and *Nītāmauyī*, to the *rāṭa* Rājyadharavarman, son of the *mahāmahattaka*, the *ṭhakkura* Vidyādharma, and son's son of the *mahāmahattaka*, the *ṭhakkura* Jagaddhara, a Kshatriya of the Vatsa *gōtra*, whose five *pravaras* were Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnāvāna, Aurva, and Jāmadagnya. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Saturday, the 10th lunar day of the bright half of Vaisākha, of the year 1233. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the *mahākshapaṭalika*, or great keeper of records, the *ṭhakkura* Śrīpati.

The term *pāṭaka*, which occurs in the above, is by lexicographers explained to mean *grāmaikadēśa* 'a part of a village'; and comparing the use of the word in lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K below, and in line 14 of the inscription of Gōvindachandra² of the year 1187 (not 1180) published in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 109, I understand the word to denote the outlying portion of a village, or a kind of hamlet which had a name of its own, but really belonged to a larger village. In the present case, the village of Gōdanti, granted by the king, had two such hamlets, named *Ghaṇṭīāmauyī* and *Nītāmauyī* respectively.

As regards the date, taking 1233 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaisākha śukla 10 would be :—

for the northern year 1233 current, — Friday, 2 May, A.D. 1175;

for the northern year 1233 expired, or

the southern year 1233 current, — Tuesday, 20 April, A.D. 1176;

for the southern year 1233 expired, — Saturday, 9 April, A.D. 1177.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Saturday,³ 9 April, A.D. 1177, and the calculation shows that the year 1233, mentioned in our record, was the southern Vikrama year 1233, expired, i.e. the northern year 1235, current.

Of the localities mentioned, *Antarvēdi* is the Doab, or district between the Ganges and Yamunā rivers. The village granted, and the *pattalā* in which it was situated, I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.⁴

- 20⁵śrīmaḥ-jayachchandrādēvō vijayī || ||⁶ *Antarvēdyām* !⁶
Pāschimachchhapana-pattalāyām !⁶ *Ghaṇṭīāmauyī Nītāmauyī* 2 *saha*
 21 *sa-pāṭaka-Gōdanti-grāma-nivāsin[ō]* *nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājī-*
yuvarāja-māntri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-
naimi-
 22 *ttik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō-*
(bō)dhayaty=ādiśati cha [!]⁷ Vīditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ
sa-jala-

¹ The published text and the translation of it are incorrect. The actual reading of the plate is distinctly *Bhālurī-pāṭakina saha* 'together with the *pāṭaka* Bhālurī' (not 'a part of *Bālurī*' (!)).

² On that day the 10th *tithī* of the bright fortnight commenced about mean sunrise, and it ended 1 h. 44 m. before sunrise of the following day.

³ From the impression.

⁴ Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

⁵ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

- 23 sthalah sa-lôha-lavan-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhânaḥ
sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâṭikâ-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ôrdhv-âdhaḥ=
chatur-âghâ-
- 24 ta-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-simâ-paryantaḥ 1^o traya[s*]trimśa(sa)d-adhika-dvâdasa-sata-sam-
(m)vatsarê Vaisâ(sa)khê mâsi su(su)kṣa-pakshê dasamyam tithau Sa(sa)-
ni-dinê ankato-pi sam(m)vat 1233 Vaisâ(sa)kha su di 10 Sa(sa)nsu
ady-ê-
- 25 ha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyam Gaṅgāyam snâtva vidhivan=mantra-dēva-muni-
manuja-bhûta-pitṛigaṇams=tarppayitvâ timira-pātala-pātana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇa-
rôchisham=upasthâḥ=O(an)shadhipati-
- 26 śakala-śekharaṁ samabhyarchhya tribhuvana-trâtur=bhagavatô Vāsudēvasya pūjam
vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishâ havirbhujam hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=
âtmanas=cha puṇya-yasô-bhividdhayê a-
- 27 smâbhir=ggôkarṇa-kusalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakam Vatsa-gôtrāya Bhārggava-
Chyavan-Āpnavân-Aurvva-Jāmadagny-êti-pañcha-pravarīya mahāmahattaka-ṭhak-
kura-śrī-Jagaddhara-pantrāya mahāmaha-
- 28 ttaka-ṭhakkura-śrī-Vidyâdhara-putrāya rauta-śrī-Rājyadharavarmanapê kshatriyāya
chandr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradattô matvâ yathâdīyamāna-
bhāgabhogakara-pravāṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyatāni-
- 29 yata-samast-ādāyan=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ê ti || ||Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ 1⁷
- 35 | Likhitam ch=êdam tāmrapattakam mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-
Śrīpatibhiḥ ||

G.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1233.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 21" by $\frac{9}{16}$ " and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface; and the preservation of the writing is perfect. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about $3\frac{1}{8}$ " high. The surface of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend *śrīmaj-Jayachcha*-[m*]*dradēvaḥ* ||; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha*-shell. — The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not show through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhrāmur*; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal once for the dental sibilant; *sha* has taken the place of *kha* in *sēsharāṇ*, line 23; and the conjunct *mra* has been employed instead of *mra* in *āmra*, line 21, and *tāmvrakāṇ*, line 34.

This inscription also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēvara*, Jayachchandrādēva, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of *Kōṭhāra-vandhuri*, in the *Kōsamba pattalā*, to the Kshatriya Rājyadharavarman, mentioned as donee in the preceding inscription. The date, too, is the same as that of the inscription F.: and this grant also was written by the *mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Ṭhakkura Śrīpati*.

* These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

† Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E, except that for the verse beginning *yām-êkīṣa svarṇam-êkām cha* we have here the verse beginning *yām-cha datāni purā narēndraiḥ*.

Among the taxes, etc., to be paid to the donee, this inscription, in addition to the *bhāgabhō-gakara* and *pravaṇikara*, in line 26 enumerates the *yamalikāmbali*, which is also mentioned below in the inscription H, line 29, and in I, line 25, and is called *javalikāmbali* in J, line 25, and in K, line 24. I have not met with this technical term elsewhere, and am unable to explain it.

As regards the localities, the *Kōsamba pattalā* evidently takes its name from Kausāmbi, with which has been identified the village of Kōsam, on the left bank of the Yamunā, about 30 miles above Allahābād, which is said to have been a large and flourishing town, as late as a century ago. The village mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.¹

- 18²śrīmaj-Jayachchandrādēvō vijayī || ||³ Kōsamva(ba)-pattalāyām
- 19 Kōthāravamdhuri-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājēi-
yuvārija-mantri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapaḍa(ta)lika-bhishān-
naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-kari-
- 20 turagapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāyapati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīśati cha
yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōparilikhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-
lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ā-
- 21 karaḥ sa-gartt-ōshara[h*] sa-madhūk-āmvrā(mra)-vāna-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gōchara-
paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantas=
ritrimṣaty-adhika⁴-dvādasa-sata-samvatsarē Vaisā(sa)kha-māsi kushla(kla)-
- 22 pakshē dasamyām tithau Sa(sa)ni-dinē aṅkatō=pi samvat 1233 Vaisā(sa)kha
su di 10 Sa(sa)nau ady=ōha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṁgāyām snātva
vidhivan=mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇās=tarppayitvā
- 23 timira-pāṭala-pātana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham=upasthāy=Ō(an)shadhipati-śakala-sē-
(śē)sha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchhya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya pūjām
vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhu-
- 24 jam hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir-gōkarṇa-
kūśalatā-pūta-karatālādaka⁵-pū[r*]vakam Vatsa-gotrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-
Āpnavāna-Aurvva-Jāmadagnya-pāṇcha-pravarāya
- 25 mahāmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrī-Jagadhva(ddha)ra-pautṛāya mahāmahattaka-mahāṭhakkura-
śrī-Vidyādhara-patrāya rāuta-śrī-Rājā(jya)dhavararmmaṇē kshatriyāya chandr-
ārka[m] yāvach=chhāsanikṛitya pradattā⁶ matvā yathā-
- 26 dīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-pravaṇikara-yamalikāmba(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatāniyata-samast-
ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra ślō(ślō)kāḥ ||⁷
- 33 || Likhitaṁ ch=ēdam
- 34 tāmvrā(mra)ka[m] mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Srīpatibhiḥ || Su(su)bbham=astu || ||
Māṁgalam mahā-śrīḥ ||

H.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1234.

A translation of this inscription by Captain E. Fell, with remarks by H. H. Wilson, has been published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 447-469.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 20½" by 17½", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker and partly raised into rims; and though in a few places the surface of the plate is slightly worn, the writing in general is well

¹ From the impression.

² Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

³ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁴ Read *trayastrinśad-adhika*.

⁵ Read *karatālādaka*.

⁶ Read *pradattā*.

⁷ Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E, except that for the verse beginning *na viśham viśham-ity-āhuḥ* we have here the verse beginning *yān-tha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ*.

preserved. — The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and $4\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. It fits very tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The surface of the seal is circular, about $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter; and on it, in relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are — at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend *śrīmaj-Jayachchandra-dēvaḥ* ॥; and at the bottom, a *śaṅkha*-shell. — The average size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{16}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The engraving is good; though, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick and substantial; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, *ḍ* has been denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhrāmur*; the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal six times for the dental sibilant; *sha* has taken the place of *kha* in *śeṣharāṇ*, line 26; and the conjunct *mura* has been employed instead of *mra* in *āmra*, line 24, and *tāmvrakāṇ*, line 35; besides, the dental has occasionally been used instead of the lingual nasal, e.g., in *uttarāyana*, line 25.

This inscription also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraṇa*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Jayachchandra-dēva*, who records that, when at Benares, he granted the village of *Dēūpālī*, together with (what I consider to be four *pāṭakas* or outlying hamlets¹) *Vavaharāḍiḥa*, *Chāṭā-gē*lauāpālī, *Saravatā-tatalīā*, and *Naugamā*, situated in the *Ambuālī pattaḷā*, on the banks of the *D[ai]vāhā*, to the Kshatriya Rājyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding two inscriptions F and G. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures to have been, — Sunday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of Pausa, of the year 1234, on the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti* or commencement of the sun's progress upon its northern course. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the *mahākṣhapatalika*, the *Thakkura Śrīpati*.

As regards the date, taking 1234 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Pausa śukla 4 would be: — for the year 1234 current, — Tuesday, 7 December, A.D. 1176; and for the year 1234 expired, — Monday, 26 December, A.D. 1177. In A.D. 1176 the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti* took place on December 25th, which, irrespective of the fact that the week-day would be wrong, shows at once that the day intended by the grant cannot possibly be December 7, A.D. 1176. In A.D. 1177, on the other hand, the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti* took place about 5 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th; and the 4th *tithī* of the bright fortnight of Pausa commenced about 4 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, December 25th. and ended about 6 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, December 26th. I therefore believe that the day intended is Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1177, which was really the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Pausa; and that the meaning intended to be conveyed by the wording of the date is this, that the donation was made on Sunday, the day of the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti*, during that part of the day when the 4th *tithī* was running.—Accordingly 1234 has to be taken as the expired year; but, the day falling in the bright fortnight of Pausa, there is nothing to show whether the year should be regarded as a northern or southern year.

The river and the localities mentioned in the inscription I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.²

- 20³*śrīmaj-Jayachchandra-dēvo vijayī* ॥ ॥⁴*D[ai]vāhā-pārē Amvu-*
(*mbu*)*ālī-pattalāyām Vavaharāḍiḥa* ॥⁴ *Chāṭā[gē]*-
21 *lauāpālī* ॥⁴ *Saravatātatalīā* ॥⁴ *Naugamā* ॥⁴ *ētaiḥ saha Dēūpālī-grāma-nivāsino*
nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja rājūl-yuvārā-

¹ Compare lines 16 and 17 of the inscription K. below.

² From the impression.

³ Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

- 22 ja-ma[m]tri-purôhita-pratihâra-sênâpati-bhâṇḍâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishan-naimittik-ântaḥ-
purika-dûta-karituragapattanakarasthânagôkulâdhikâri-purushân-âjñâpayati
- 23 vò(bô)dhayaty-âdisati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm yath-ôparilikhita-grâmaḥ
sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-matsy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-
gahana-nidhânaḥ sa-madhû-
- 24 k-âmva(mra)-vana-vâtikâ-viṭapa-trîṇa-yûti-gôchara-paryantaḥ s-ôrdhv-âdhas=chatur-
âghâta-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-sîmâ-paryantaḥ=chatustrîmsaty⁵-adhika-dvâdasa-
sa(sa)tasamvatsarê Paushê mâsi su(su)kîa-pa-
- 25 kshê chaturthyân=tithau Ravi-dinê âṅkatô=pi samvat 1234 Pausha su di
4 Ravau Uttarâyana(na)-samkrântau ady=êba śrîmad-Vârâṇasyâm
Gaṅgâyâm snâtvâ vidhivan=mantra-dêva-muni-manuja-bhû-
- 26 ta-pitrigaṇâms=tarppayitvâ timira-pâṭala-pâṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushparôchisham=
upasthây=Ô(au)shadhipati-âkâla-âsêsha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchhya 'tribhuvana-
trâtur=Vvasudêvasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna
- 27 lavishâ havirbhujâm hutvâ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanas=cha puṇya-yasô-bhivridhayê
asmâbhir=gôkarṇa-kûsalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdaka-pûrvvakam Vatsa-gôtrâya Bhârg-
gava-Chyavana-Âpnavâna-Anrva-Jâmadagnya-pa[ñcha]-
- 28 pravarâya mahâmabattaka-mahâbhakkura-śrî-Jagaddhara-pautrâya mahâmahattaka-mahâ-
bhakkura-śrî-Vidyâdhara-putrâya râuta-śrî-Râjyadharavarmmaṇê kshatriyâya
chandr-ârkam yâvach=chhâsanikṛitya pradattô ma-
- 29 tvâ yathâdiyamâna-bhâgabhogakara-pravanikara-yamalikâmvâ(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatâniyata-
samast-âdâyan=âjñâvidhêyibhûya dâsyath=êti || Bhavanti ch=âtra ślôkâḥ ||⁶
- 35 || Likhitaṁ=ch=êdan=tâmva(mra)kam mahâkshapaṭalika-bhakkura-
- 36 śrî-Sripatibhir=iti || || Su(su)bbham=astu || || Maṅgalam mahâ-śrîḥ ||

I.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 20" by 15½", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims; and the writing is well preserved throughout. Recently, a small triangular piece, containing eleven *aksharas*, has been broken away at the upper proper left corner; but it is preserved with the plate. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. The ring and its seal are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were found when the plate was discovered: and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuḍa and a *śaikhâ*-shell, and a legend giving the name of Jayach[ch*]andra. — The average size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅝". The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nâgari, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhranur*; and the dental sibilant has been eighteen times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal seven times for the dental sibilant.

This inscription also is one of the *Paramabhattachâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêsvara*, Jayachchandrâdêva, who records that, when in residence at Raṇḍavai on the Ganges, he granted the village of Dayaḍâma, situated in the Dayaḍâmi pattalâ, to the râuta Râjyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding inscriptions. And the date on which this grant was made, is stated, both in words and in decimal figures, to have been, — Friday, the full moon *tithi* or

⁵ Read *chatustrîmsad*.⁶ Here the inscription has, in a different order, the verses given in E., excepting the verses beginning *sva-dattâm para-dattâm rô* and *na vishad visham-ity-âhuḥ*; and the inscription adds the verse beginning *yân-tha dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ*.

15th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, of the year 1236. Like the preceding, this grant was written by the *mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Thakkura Śripati*.

As regards the date, taking 1236 to be a year of the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Vaiśākha śukla 15 would be:—

for the northern year 1236 current, — Wednesday, 3 May, A.D. 1178;

for the northern year 1236 expired, or

the southern year 1236 current, — Monday, 23 April, A.D. 1179;

for the southern year 1236 expired, — Friday, 11 April, A.D. 1180.

The actual date, therefore, clearly is Friday,¹ 11 April, A.D. 1180; and the year 1236 of the grant must be taken to be the southern expired year, i.e. the northern year 1238 current.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.²

- 18³ śrīmaj-Jayachchandravê(dê)vô vijayî ||⁴ Dayadāmi-pattalāyām
Dayadāma-grāma-nivāsino nikhila-janapadān-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-
yavarāja-mantri-
- 19 purôhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishab-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-
kariturgapattanākarasthānagôkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati vê(bô)dhayaty=ādi-
sati
- 20 cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ôparilikhita-grāmab sa-jala-sthalab sa-lôha-
lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-giri-gabana-nidhānaḥ sa-
madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-tṛṇa-yūti-
- 21 gôchara-paryantaḥ s-[ô]rddhv-ādhas=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ
shattrimśa(sa)d-adhika-dvādasa-sata-samvatsarê Vaisā(sā)khê māsi sukla-
pakshê pūrṇimāyām tithau Sukra-dinê ankata(tô)=pi sam 1236
Vaisā(sā)kha su
- 22 di 15 Sukrê ady=êha śrī-Ramḍavai-samāvāsê Gaṅgāyām snātvā vidhivan=
- mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇās=tarppayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-
mahasam=Usharôchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhipati-śakala-
- 23 se(śê)kharam samabhyarchhya tribhuvana-trātur=Vāsudēvasya pūjām vidhāya
prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrôr=ātmanas=cha
punya-yasô-bhividdhayê samābhir=ggôkarṇa-kuśalatâ-pūta-karata-
- 24 l-ô[da]ka-pūrvvakam ||⁵ Vatsa-gôtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnavāna-Ma(an)rvva-
Jāmadagnya-paṇcha-pravarāya mahāmahattaka-thakkura-śrī-Jagaddhara-pautṛāya
mahāmahattaka-thakkura-śrī-Vidyādhara-putṛāya rāuta-śrī-[Rā]jyadhā-
- 25 ravarmmaṇi(nê) chandr-ārkkam yāvach=chhāsanikṛi[tya*] pradattô matvā yathā-
diyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-prama(va)ṇikara-yamalikāmv(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatā-
niyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñāvidbhēyibhūya dāsyath=êti || ||
- 26 Bhavanti ch=ātra ślôkāl ||⁶
- 33 || || Lākhitaṁ ch=ēdam tāvra(mra)ka[m*] mahākshapaṭali-
- 34 ka-[tha]kkura-śrī-Śripatikan⁷=êti || || Maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ ||

J.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 18½ by 13½, and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims; and

¹ On that day, there was full-moon about 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

² From the impression.

³ Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, is the same as that of the inscription E.

⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read-pūrvvakam Vatsa-.

⁶ Here follow (differently arranged) the same benedictive and imprecatory verses as in E.; and besides, the verses beginning *omad-vanśê parikshyê*, and *yān-īha dattāni purā narēndraib*.

⁷ Read *Śripatin*.

the writing is well preserved throughout. — In the upper part of the plate, there is a hole for a ring. The ring and its seal are not now forthcoming. But it appears that they were discovered with the plate; and that the seal was bell-shaped, and had on it Garuḍa and a śaṅkha-shell, and a legend giving the name of Jayach[ch*]andra. — The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraving is fairly good; though, as usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The plate is thick; and the letters, which are rather shallow, do not shew through on the reverse side of it at all. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, *ḥ* has been denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in the word *babhrām*; the dental sibilant has been about 35 times employed for the palatal sibilant, and the palatal a few times for the dental sibilant; *sha* has taken the place of *kha* in -śēsharām, line 23; the conjunct *mvra* has been used for *mra* in *āmvrā*, line 20; and the dental nasal has occasionally been employed instead of the lingual nasal, e.g. in *punya*-, line 23.

This inscription also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Jayachchandrādēva*, who records that, when in residence at *Raṇḍavai* on the Ganges, he granted the village of *Salō[t]*, situated in the *Jaru[ttha]* *pattalā*, to the *rāṭa* *Rājyadhara-varman*, the donee of the preceding grants. The date is the same as that of the preceding inscription I.; and this grant also was written by the *mahākṣhapāṭalika*, the *Thakkura* *Sripati*.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.¹

- 17² śrīmaj-Jaya[ch*]chandra
 18 dēvo vijayī ||³ Jā[ruttha]⁴ pattalāyām ||⁵ Salō[t]i⁶ grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=
 upaga[tā]n=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-maṁtri-purōhita-pratihāra-s[ē*]nāpati-
 bhāṁdāgarik-āksha-
 19 paṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapa[t*]tanākarasthānagōkulādhi-
 kārī-purushān=ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīśati cha yathā viḍi(dī)tam=astu
 bhavatām yath=ōparili-
 20 khita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartī-ōsharaḥ
 sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmvrā(mra)-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yā[ti]-
 gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ō-
 21 rddhv-ādhaś=chatur-āghāta-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ śaṭtriṁśaty⁷-adhika-
 dvādasa-sata-samvatsarē Vaisā(śā)khō māsi su(su)kṣa-pakṣhē paurṇmi-
 māyām(m) tithau Su(su)kra-dinō ankō=pi samvat⁸ 1236 Vaisā(śā)kha
 su
 22 di 15 Su(su)krō ||⁹ adya śrī-Raṇḍavai-samāvāsē Gaṁgāyām snātvā vidhivan=
 maṁtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇāms=tarppayitvā timira-pa[ta]la-pāṭana-
 paṭu-mahasam=Ushparōdhi(chi)sham=upasthāy=Au-
 23 shadhipati-śakala-śēsha(kha)raṁ samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trātur=bhagavatō Vāsudai-
 (dē)vasya pūjā[m] vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā
 mātā-pitrōr=ātmanāś=cha punya(nya)-yāsō-vivṛiddhayē¹⁰
 24 asmābhir=gōkarṇa-kusālātā-pūta-karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvvakām ||¹¹ Vatsa-gōtrāva(ya)
 Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnāvāna-Ma(au)rvva-Jāmadagnya-paṁcha-pravarāya mahā-
 mahattaka-[tha]kkura-śrī-Jagaddhara-pau-

¹ From the impression.

² Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word *śrī* before *Kanyakubj*, is the same as that of the inscription E.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ The second *akṣhara* of this word is quite illegible, and has been taken from the inscription K. below; the third may be *tha*.

⁵ Read *pattalāyām*.

⁶ The consonant of this *akṣhara* is doubtful.

⁷ Read *śaṭtriṁśad*.

⁸ Read *samvat*.

⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *pūrvvakām*.

¹⁰ This *e* appears to be struck out.

- 25 trāya mahāmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrī-Vidyādhara-putrāya rāura(ta)-śrī-Rājyadharava[r*]-
mmaṇḍe chaṇḍr-ārkaṁ yāvat¹² śāsanikṛitya praḍa(da)ttō matvā yathādīyamāna-
bhāgabhogakara-pravaṇikara-javalikā-
26 mva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatāniyata-samast-ādāyār=ājñāvidhēyibbūya dāsyath=ēti ||
Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ ||¹³
33 Likhitaṁ ch=ēdam mahākshapaṭalika-ṭha[k*]kura-śrī-Sripatin-
ēti || Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ ||

K.—Another Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-Plate Grant of Jayachchandra.

The (Vikrama) year 1236.

This inscription also is on a single plate, measuring about 17½" by 12½", and inscribed on one side only. The edges of it were partly fashioned thicker, and partly raised into rims. The surface of the plate is somewhat worn; but, excepting two or three *aksharas* in line 16, there is no doubt about the actual reading of any part of the inscription. The ring-hole is in the upper part of the plate. The wire of the ring, which had been cut when the grant came under Mr. Fleet's notice, is not round, as is usually the case, but rectangular, about ⅞" by ⅜"; but it is bent into the usual circular shape, about 3½" in diameter. It fits rather tightly into a round hole in the bottom part of the usual bell-shaped seal, which is about 3½" high. The surface of the seal is circular, about 2½" in diameter; and on it, in low relief on a slightly countersunk surface, there are—at the top, a representation of Garuḍa, exactly as in F. above; across the centre, the legend *śrīmaj-Jayachcha*[m*]-*dradēvaḥ* ||; and at the bottom, a *śankha*-shell.—The average size of the letters is about ¼". The engraving is fairly good; but, as usual, the interiors of some of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The letters are rather shallow, and do not shew through at all on the back of the plate, which is thick and substantial. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the inscription closely agrees with the preceding inscription J., so that all the remarks made on the orthography of J. are also here applicable.

This inscription also is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, *Jayachchandradēva*, who records that, when in residence at Raṇḍavaṇi on the Ganges, he granted the village of *Abhōlāvaṭu*, situated in the *Jāru*[ttha] *pattalā* (also mentioned in J), together with its five *pāṭakas* or outlying hamlets *Maṇiāri*, *Gayasaḍa*, *Vaṭavaṇa*, *Asi*[ā]ma, and *[Siri?]*ma, to the *rāuta* Rājyadharavarman, the donee of the preceding grants. The date is the same as that of the preceding inscriptions I and J, and this grant also was written by the *mahākshapaṭalika*, the *Thakkura* *Sripati*.

The localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.¹

- 16 ²śrīmaj-Jayachchandradēvo vijayi³ Jāru[ttha]-pattalāyām=
Abhōlāvaṭu-grāma ētasya pāṭaka[m?] Maṇiāri dvitīya-pāṭaka[m?] Gayasaḍa
tṛitīyam Vaṭavaṇa chaturttha[m?] Asi[ā]ma pañcama[m?] [Siri?]⁴.
17 ma ētaiḥ pañcha-pāṭakaiḥ saha grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān=api
cha . rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-maṇtri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāmḍāgārik-ākshapa-
ṭalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntaḥpuri-
18 ka-dūta-karitaragapattanākarasthānagōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpayati dhō(bō)dhayaty-
ādīsatī cha yathā dvi(vi)ditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōpa[ri]-pāṭakaiḥ saha
likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-la-

¹² Read *yāvach-chhāsanikṛitya*.

¹³ Here follow the same verses as in I.

¹ From the impression.

² Up to this, the text of the inscription, excepting some differences of spelling, and the omission of the word *śrī* before *Kanyakubj*, is the same as that of the inscription E.

³ This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, appears to be struck out already in the original.

⁴ The *aksharas* in brackets are very doubtful.

- 19 vaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-garīt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-
āmva(mra)-vana-vāṭikā-vitapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchāra-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhas=chatur-
āghāta-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ śaṭtriṃsaty⁶-a-
- 20 dhika-dvādasa-sata-saṃvatsō(tsa)r[ō*] Vō(vai)sā(sā)khō m[ā*]si su(su)kla-pakshō
paurṇimāyām tithau Su(su)kra-dinō aṅkō=pi saṃvat 1236 Vaisā(sā)-
kha su di 15 Mu(su)kr[ō*] adya śrī-Raṃḍavai-samāvāsō Ga[m]gāyām
snātvā vidhivau=maṃtra-dēva-mu-
- 21 ni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇās=tarppayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-pāṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchi-
sham=upasthāy=Aushadhipati-sakala-ś[ē]sha(kha)raṃ samabhyarchchya tribhu-
vana-trātur=Vāsud[ē]vāya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pā-
- 22 yasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha punya(gya)-yaśō-
vivṛiddhayē asmābhir=gōkarṇa-kusalatā-pūta-karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvvakam Vatsa-
gōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpuavāna-Ma(an)-rvva-Jāmadagnya-paṃcha-prava-
rāya ma-
- 23 hāmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrī-Jagaddhara-pauṭrāya mahāmahattaka-ṭhakkura-śrī-Vichchhā-
(dyā)dhara-putrāya rānta-śrī-Rijyadharavarmanas chandr-ārkkam yāvat⁶ śāsa-
nikṛitya pradattō matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāgabho-
- 24 gākara-pravaṇikara-javalikāmva(mba)li-prabhṛiti-niyatāniyata-samast-ādayān=ājñāvidhēyī-
bhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ 17
- 31 || Likhitaṃ ch=ēdam tāmva(mra)-
- 32 kam mahākshapaṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī Śripatim(n)=[ē]ti || Sa(su)bha[m] bhavatu [1*]
Maṃgalaṃ mahā-śrī || tchha⁸ ||

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 177.—VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN.—THE YEAR 254.

I edit this inscription, which is now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1881, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S. It has been noticed by him in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 15, No. 93, where the plates are mentioned as being in the Office of the Principal Assistant Collector of Vizagapatam, in the Madras Presidency; and, originally, by myself in this Journal, Vol. X. p. 243, No. 6.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{9}{16}$ ". The edges of the first and third plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. On the outer side of the first plate, near the centre, there is engraved, in Arabic or Persian characters, a word which, it seems, can only be read as *U nāl*; but the purport of the word is not apparent, save that it must be some official voucher stamped on the record, when, in later times, it was produced as a title-deed before some Musalmān authority.—The ring on which the plates are strung, and which passes through a ring-hole near the proper right end of each plate, is about $\frac{7}{16}$ " thick and $5\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The ends of the ring are secured in the lower part of a seal, the top of which is slightly oval, about $1\frac{1}{8}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". And on the seal, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a bull, couchant to the proper right.—The weight of the three plates is about 3 lbs. 4 oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 4 oz.; total, 4 lbs. 8 oz. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{8}$ " to $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The engraving is bold and good, and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of

⁶ Read *śaṭtriṃśad*.⁶ Read *yāvac* = *chchāsānikṛitya*.⁷ Here follow the same verses as in I and J.⁸ Perhaps intended for *ttha* or *chchha*; see ante, Vol. XVII. p. 140, note 46.

them at all. As usual, the interiors of many of the letters shew marks of working the engraver's tool. In line 27 we have forms of the decimal figures 2, 4, and 5; but the 4 and the 5 are of a decidedly exceptional type, and, but for the explanation of them in words, would most naturally have been read as 6 and 8. — The language is Sanskrit; and, except for the edictive and imprecatory verses in lines 15 to 24, the whole inscription is in prose. In line 25 we have the Prākṛit word *samvachchhara*, for the Sanskrit *samvatsara*. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal instead of the *anuvāra*, before *ś*, in *nistriśśa*, line 6; (2) the use, throughout, of the lingual for the palatal nasal, e.g. in *mañjarī*, line 5; but this is perhaps a palæographical point, rather than orthographical; (3) the rather frequent omission to double a consonant after *r*, e.g. in *upārjita*, line 6, and other words; though instances of the correct practice are not wanting; (4) the doubling of *dh* before *y*, in *anuddhyāta*, line 7; and (5) the use of *v* for *b*, throughout, in *vahubhiḥ*, line 15; *vrahmā*, line 20; *amvu*, line 22; and *vuddhā*, line 23.

The inscription is one of Dēvēndravarmā, of the Gāṅga family of Kālīṅga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the victorious camp at the city of Kālīṅganagara, which city is in all probability now represented by the modern Kālīṅgapatam¹ at the mouth of the Vamśadhara river, in the Chicacole Tālukā or Sub-Division of the Gañjām District, Madras Presidency. It is a Saiva inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of some villages, the names of which are not quite certain, in the Dāvadāmadavam viśaya, to the god Śiva under the name of Dharmēśvara.

As regards the date of this record, from line 13 we learn that the grant was made *ayana-pūrvakam*, or in connection with the ceremonies of an *ayana*, which here probably denotes the winter solstice. While in line 27 f., fully in words and partly in decimal figures, we have, for the writing and engraving of the charter, the year two hundred and fifty-four of some unspecified era; the month Phālguna; the first fortnight, which will be the bright or the dark fortnight, according as we have to apply the *amānta* or the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement; and the first lunar day. As the word *ayana* can only denote the winter (or summer) solstice, and cannot refer to the ordinary *samkrānti* that occurs in Phālguna, no immediate connection between these two passages can be established; and consequently there are no details that can be actually tested by calculation. The era that is intended, and the probable date of this grant, will be considered in a separate paper on the Gāṅgas of Kālīṅga.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasty-Amārapur-ānukāriṇas-sarvv-a[r*]ttu-sukha-ramaṇiyād-vijaya⁴vataḥ
Kālīṅga⁵nagara-vā-
- 2 sakān⁶=Mahēndr-āchal-āmala⁷-śikhara⁷-pratishṭh[i*]tasya sachar-āchara-gurōs-sakala-
bhuvana-nirmā-
- 3 p-aika-su(sū)tradhārasya śaśāṅka-chū[ḍā*]maṇēr-bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāminas-charaṇa-
kamala-yu-
- 4 gala-praṇāmād-vigata-Kali-kalamkō=nēk-āhava-satīkshōbha-janita-jayaga(śa)bda-pratāp-ā-
- 5 vanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-maṇja⁸(ūja)rī-puñja(ūja)-rañji(ñji)ta-
charaṇō
- 6 nija-nistriśśa-dhār-ōpārjita-sakala-Kālīṅg-adhirājyaḥ parama-māhēśvarō

¹ The 'Cālīṅgapatam' of some maps, &c. Lat. 18° 20' N.; Long. 84° 9' E. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 108.

² From the original plates.

³ Represented by a symbol.

⁴ This ya was at first omitted, and then was inserted above the line.

⁵ First āgā, or āgi, was engraved, and then the superscript vowel was partially cancelled.

⁶ This la, having been omitted, was inserted below the line.

⁷ The form of ś that is used in the first syllable of this word, occurs again in *śaurya*, line 8; and was intended to be used in *śabda* for *śabda*, line 4. In *śaśāṅka*, line 3, and other words, a different form is used, more easily distinguishable from the form of *g*.

⁸ The ṇ, for ñ, is imperfect here.

i.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16

ii a.

10
 12
 14
 16

- 7 mātāpitṛi-pād-ānuddhy[ā*]tō dhvast-ārāti-kulāchalō naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dā-
 8 kshīnya-sauryy-andaryya-satya⁹-tyāg-ādi-guṇa-sampad-ādharabhu(bhū)tō Gāṅg-āmala-
 kula-ti.
 9 lak-ōdbhavō mahārāja-śrīmad-Anantavarmma-su(sū)nuḥ śrī-Dēvēndravarmma[ā*]
 kuśali !

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 Dēvadāmadavarṇ-vishayō Tāḍuvamāsiṇāpuḍilāsoliga(?)muḍuḍā(?)samā-
 11 vētām¹⁰ kuṭavi(mbi)naḥ samājñāpayati [1*] Vīditam=astu bhā(bha)vatām yath=
 āyam=asmābhir¹¹=ētā.
 12 ni grāmāṇi sva-mātula-śrī-Dharmakhēdinā dharm-ōpadi(dē)śa-dishtēna¹² śrī(śrī)mad-
 Dharmēśvara-
 13 bhaṭṭārakāya ayana-pu(pū)rvvakam chandr-ārka-pratishṭhā(shṭha)m kṛtvā mātāpitṛō-
 14 rātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē pārvva-bhujyamāna-simā-sahi-
 15 tāni sampradāt[t*]āni [11*] Vyāsa-gītās=ch=ātra ślōkā bhavanti [1*] Va(ba)hubhi-
 16 r¹³=vasudhā dattā rājabis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 17 yadā bhu(bhū)miś=tasya tta(ta)sya tadā phalam [11*] Suvarṇam=ēkam grā(gā)m=
 ēk[ā*]m
 18 bhu(bhū)mēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgulam haraṁ¹⁴=narakam=āyāti yāvad=ā-hū(bhū)ta-
 19 samplavah(m) [11*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishthirah¹⁵ sva-
 dānāt=pha-
 20 lam=ānantiyam para-dān-ānupālānē [11*] Ādityō Varuḥ Vra(bra)hmā
 21 Viṣṇuḥ sōmō hutāsanaḥ Śu(śū)lapāyis=cha bhagavām¹⁶ pratinandanti
 22 bhu(bhū)mi-dam [11*] Iti¹⁷ kamala-dal-āmva(mba)-vindu-lōlām śriyam¹⁸=anuchintya

Third Plate.

- 23 manushya-jīvitāṇ(ṇ)=cha sakalam=idam=udāhri(hṛi)taṇ(ṇ)=cha vudvdhā¹⁹ na hi pu-
 24 rushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [11*] Purōhit-Ādityadēva-pratya-
 25 ksha[m*] sva-mukh-ājna(jña)yā likhitam=idam śāsanam rābasya-Dargga-
 26 dēva-su(sū)nanā śrīmad-Ugradēvōn=ōtkirṇaṇ(ṇ)=ch=ākshaśālinā Khaṇḍi-śrī-sāma-
 27 ntēn=ēti²⁰ samvachchha(tsa)ra-sata-dvayō chatuspañchā(ñcha)s-ābhyadhikē²¹
 254 Phā-
 28 lguṇa(na)-prathama-pakshē pratipadi śrī(śrī)mad-vipra-Sōmāchārya-sthānādhikāra-
 29 kāl=ēti²² [11*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

From the victorious camp (*vāsaka*) at the city of *Kalīnganagara* (line 1),—he who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by doing obeisance to the two water-lilies which are the feet of the divine (god) *Gōkarnasvāmin* (l. 3), established on the pure summit of the mountain *Mahēndra* (l. 2), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect

⁹ This *tya*, having been omitted, was inserted, rather imperfectly, above the line.

¹⁰ Read *samāvētām*.—In the third syllable, first *vē* was engraved, and then the stroke that makes the difference between *vē* and *vō* was cancelled.

¹¹ Read *yath=asmābhir*.

¹² Read *dishtēna*, in apposition with *asmābhir* in line 11. This seems to give the sense that is intended. If the instrumental singular is to be maintained, in which case the actual grantor is *Dharmakhēdin*, then *asmābhir* must be connected with *dishtēna*, not with *sampradattāni*, and the compound ending with *dishtēna* should precede the compound ending with *dharmakhēdinā*.

¹³ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anushtubh); and in the next three verses.

¹⁴ Read *haran*.

¹⁵ Read *yudhishthira*.

¹⁶ Read *bhagavām*.

¹⁷ Metre, *Pushpitāgrā*.

¹⁸ Read *śriyam*.

¹⁹ Read *buddhē*.

²⁰ The *iti* here, unless it can properly be rendered by 'namely,' appears rather redundant; as, in this grant, the donor's speech seems to end with the word *iti* in line 29, and to include the date of the writing and engraving of the charter.

²¹ The first figure, 2, is engraved over a 4 which was cut here, out of its proper place, and was then beaten in again.

²² Read *kāla iti*.

for the construction of the universe (l. 3); he who has acquired by the edge of his own sword the authority of *Adhirāja* over the whole (country of) *Kaliṅga* (l. 6), — viz. the illustrious *Dēvēndravarma* (l. 9), — who is a most devout worshipper of (the god) *Mahēśvara* (l. 6); who meditates on the feet of his mother and father (l. 7); who has sprung from (*him who was*) the forehead-ornament of the spotless family of the *Gāṅgas* (l. 8); and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Anantavarman* (l. 9), — being in good health, issues a command to all the cultivators assembled at (the villages of)²³ in the *Dāvādāmadavam vishaya* (l. 10):—

“Be it known to you (l. 11), that, by Us, who have been admonished²⁴ to perform this act of religion by Our maternal uncle, the illustrious *Dharmakhēdin* (l. 12), in connection with (the rites of) an *ayana* (l. 13), and in order to increase the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves (l. 14), these villages, with their boundaries as they are being enjoyed from former times (l. 14), have been given to the holy (god), the *Bhaṭṭāraka Dharmēśvara* (l. 12).²⁵

“[Here the grantor quotes five benedictive and imprecatory verses, attributed to *Vyāsa* (l. 15), which it is unnecessary to translate.]

“In the presence of the *Purōhita* *Ādityadēva* (l. 24), by the command of Our own mouth (l. 25), this charter has been written by the illustrious *Ugradēva* (l. 26), the son of the *Rahasya*²⁶ *Durgadēva*, and has been engraved by the *Akshaidlin*, the illustrious *Sāmanta* *Khaṇḍi* (l. 26); namely,²⁷ in two centuries of years (l. 27), increased by the fifty-fourth (year), (or, in figures, in the year) 254; on the first lunar day in the first fortnight of the month *Phālguna*; in the time when the superintendence of the shrine (*sthānādhikāra*) belongs to the holy *Brāhmaṇa Sōmāchārya* (l. 28).”

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. XIV.—*The Mistress of Eight Ships; or the Discarded Wife.*

Once upon a time there lived in a certain city a rich old merchant, who had an only daughter. They were all in all to each other, for the old man had lost his wife, and had no other child on whom to bestow his affection; while the young lady had no one else to care for and love her, her husband (to whom she was married at an early age) having for some reason best known to himself discarded her immediately after the marriage had been celebrated. Now the good old merchant had an elder brother, who was as great a merchant as himself, and was blessed with no less than seven sons, who were all clever and good young men, and managed the affairs of their aged father to his entire satisfaction. They even travelled to distant countries for the purpose of commerce, and each year brought home seven ships laden with gold as the fruit of their commercial enterprise. Now this fact was regarded by the uncle of the young men with mingled feelings of admiration and envy, for he was grieved to think that while his brother rejoiced in the satisfaction of having seven such excellent sons, it was his misfortune not to be blessed with even one!

One day the old man said to his daughter: “I wish, my child, you had been born a boy, for although you make me supremely happy by your goodness and your tender regard for me, still it is not in your power to give me that satisfaction which your cousins give my brother, for you know they not only manage his business well, but every year add considerably to his fortune, and thus enhance his worth and reputation by their enterprise in commerce. How proud must he be of all those good sons of his! If I had but one son, and that son brought me, just for once, as much gold as they bring him each year, I should be happy indeed!”

²³ The names of the villages are uncertain, as, without some clue to the present identification of them, it is difficult to divide properly the compound word in line 10.

²⁴ See note 12 above.

²⁵ i.e. to a *linga*-form of the god *Śiva*, probably set up by, and named after, *Dharmakhēdin*.

²⁶ This is evidently an official title; and it seems to denote some post connected with the private apartments.

²⁷ This seems to be the force of the *iti* in line 27; see note 19 above.

"I wish, my father, with all my heart," cried the daughter, "that I could be of as much service to you as a son. Though I am but a woman I have a brave heart, and if only I had your kind permission I also would go forth into the world as a merchant, and by the help of Allah bring you as much gold as your heart could desire."

"Oh! indeed!" cried her father laughing, and pressing her to his heart he added, — "Do not, my dear girl, for a moment suppose, that I in any way under-estimate your rare merits by longing for a son. No, my child; a daughter can do her duty as well as a son can do his, though each must do it in a different way; and believe me no daughter in the world ever did her duty by her aged father so faithfully and so well as you do yours."

At this stage the conversation dropped; but from that moment the young lady resolved upon a course by which to give her father as much satisfaction as ever a son could. In a week's time she succeeded in persuading her father to fit out a large ship for her, and to load it with the costliest merchandise. She then waited till her cousins, the seven young men whom her father admired so much, had set sail, for she wished to follow in their wake and find out in which country they met with such a lucrative market for their goods.

When the time came for the cousins to set sail the young lady took an affectionate leave of her aged father, and dressing herself in man's attire went on board her ship and bade the captain steer it in the track of the seven ships. Away they sailed, all the gallant vessels abreast of one another, followed at a short distance by our intrepid heroine's, and after a very long voyage all the eight ships entered the mouth of a magnificent river, and there dropped anchor. The lady waited till her cousins had landed, one after another, and had begun to unload their ships. She then put out a boat herself and sailed in it towards the shore, with a few attendants. On the landing-place she met her cousins, who never for a moment suspecting who she was conceived a liking for her at first sight, and eagerly made up to her, with a view to forming her acquaintance. They found her to be a very agreeable person, and invited her to put up with them at a friend's house to which they were going.

This was just what our fair friend wished, anxious as she was to watch their movements, and to profit by their experience in commercial matters. She therefore gladly accepted the offer, and going back to her ship, brought with her a few things that might be of use to her in her new abode, and accompanied her cousins to the house to which they had invited her to lodge with them.

When she arrived there she learnt that it was the house of a wealthy merchant of the city who was a friend of the young men's father, her uncle.

The master of the house welcomed our heroine very kindly, and formally invited her to share his hospitality with her friends. But what was her surprise and consternation when she recognised in her host and hostess her own father-in-law and mother-in-law! She had seen them at her wedding, and remembered their faces only too well, though, thanks to her disguise, they never suspected, even for a moment, that she was any other than a merchant's son. A lump stuck in her throat, however, as the kind old people put to her question upon question as to whose son she was, from what country she hailed, and whether she was married. She was at a loss what reply to make to them, — all the circumstances connected with her marriage and her subsequent neglect by her husband rushing up to her memory; and so she stood highly abashed among people she had least expected to see, and thought she was going to forget herself; but the next moment she recovered her presence of mind, and replied to their interrogatories as best she could.

The old people believed in all that she said, not noticing the change their questions had produced in her, and considered her to be a very agreeable and amiable young gentleman. But a still more dreadful ordeal awaited the poor young lady, for she had yet to face her husband, and she trembled to think of the consequences. She knew that there was not much love lost between them, and felt sure that as soon as he discovered her to be his wife, he would put an end to her existence for masquerading in man's attire. At first she thought of quitting the

house before her husband came in, but as she could think of no decent excuse for doing so, she preferred to remain where she was, and abide the result.

A short time afterwards, her husband returned home and her heart palpitated with fear at sight of him. Her cousins introduced her to him as a highly respected friend of theirs, but he did not seem to notice anything extraordinary about her, and the interview passed off very satisfactorily.

The poor lady, who had set eyes on her husband then for the first time since their marriage (that event having taken place when they were little better than children), found him to be a very agreeable and good-natured young man, and her heart ached within her to think she should have been so long estranged from such a husband. But she suppressed her emotion, and wearing a brave front behaved towards him as unconcernedly as if he were quite a stranger to her, and in process of time she made herself highly agreeable not only to her cousins and to her parents-in-law, but also to her husband—so much so that the latter even began to regard her with some affection.

It should be mentioned here that our heroine had with her a beautiful parrot, of rare worth and great intelligence. It could understand several languages, and talk them as well as any man or woman, and was moreover blessed with wisdom enough to do credit to any human being. This remarkable bird would fly from tree to tree and roof to roof, and bring its mistress the latest news from far and near, for people spoke freely in its presence, never suspecting that a parrot could understand what they said.

One evening, as the parrot was perched aloft in some nook in the roof of the merchant's house, it heard the following conversation going on between the hostess and her son:—

"You will see your mistake in time, though you don't believe me now, mother," the son was saying, "for as sure as I am alive this guest of ours whom we all so honour, is no more a man than you are! She is a woman, and the most beautiful and agreeable woman I ever looked upon into the bargain!"

"Nonsense, my son," was the mother's reply; "why would a woman come to our house in man's attire? And again, how could a woman make such a successful merchant as we find this young man to be? I hope you will cease to talk such utter nonsense any more!"

Finding, however, that her son was not convinced by what she said, she added, "As you still appear to have your doubts on this subject, I shall show a way by which you can convince yourself of the sex of this guest of ours. To-morrow I shall send with the hot water that is taken up every morning for their bath, some rare perfumes and soaps; and if she is a woman, as you say, she will eagerly make use of them, for there is not a woman on earth who is insensible to the attractions of toilet-soaps and skin-beautifiers."

The parrot heard all this and going to its mistress forthwith, poured into her ears every word of the conversation it had overheard, so that the lady remained on her guard; and when the next morning those attractive preparations were provided for her bath, she sent them away without so much as touching them.

The mother reported this to her son in due time, but the young man had still his doubts, and the parrot, who was again in its old place in the roof, heard him say to her: "I give you great credit, my good mother, for your good sense and judgment; but with all that I am not yet convinced. Show me, therefore, some other means of removing my suspicion."

"Wait then," cried the mother, "till to-night, and your wishes will be satisfied. To-night I shall order the choicest and sweetest viands for dinner, and if this young friend of ours is found to partake of them with greater relish than any of his companions, I shall allow that he is a woman, for all I know to the contrary; for women have a greater partiality for sweet dishes than men.

The faithful parrot, who had been hearing the above conversation, quickly flew to its mistress, and apprised her of the second test that awaited her, so that when dinner time came, our fair friend, who though she was really partial to sweet dishes, behaved with so much self-denial that she came highly successful out of the ordeal.

For a few days after this it appeared to the old lady, the hostess, that the suspicions of her son had been laid at rest, for he did not trouble her any more about the matter. But she was mistaken, for her son had all along been carefully watching every movement of his guest, so that one day a chance utterance or movement of the disguised lady confirmed his suspicions. So going up again to his mother, he said: Oh, mother! mother! believe me, our guest is a woman, and the sweetest creature that ever the sun shone upon! I want to tell it her to her face and to win her love, for I have never before known a woman half so fascinating.

"Really my son, I am getting tired of your strange fancies," replied his mother, "after the convincing proofs I have given you regarding the sex of the young merchant; surely you don't expect me or your father to insult our guest by asking him point-blank whether he is a man or woman. Yet stay, I have another idea. I know of a certain flower which fades and withers away as soon as it is touched by a woman's hand, while it remains fresh and fragrant if touched by a man's. I shall order our florist to weave eight nets of such flowers, and get one spread upon each of our guest's beds to-night, and we shall then see whether you or I am right.

The faithful parrot, who had overheard this dialogue between the mother and her son, at once flew away to where its mistress was and told her every word of it. Our heroine was not a little flattered at the high encomiums passed on her beauty and charms by her husband, and felt half-inclined to reveal herself to him. On second thoughts, however, she changed her mind and sat down, thinking how she could come unscathed out of this rather difficult ordeal. But her favourite parrot came to her aid, and showed her a way out of the difficulty. It went and brought away from another florist a net woven with the same kind of flowers, and placed it high upon the roof, where its mistress's hand could not reach. When the day dawned and the lady rose from her bed, the sagacious bird asked her to remove the crumpled and faded sheet of flowers from it, and spread on it, with its own beak and claws as neatly and as cleverly as any lady's maid ever did, the second net of flowers that was in readiness. The lady then folded the faded net into a small bundle and the parrot took it into its beak, and flying far away into the sea with it, consigned it to the waves, so that no trace of it might remain.

The hostess and her son lost no time in examining the bed-chamber of our heroine, when she vacated it, and the old lady was now more than ever convinced that the object of her son's suspicions was no other than what he appeared to be—a handsome and intelligent young gentleman. But the fond young man did not at all relish acknowledging his mistake; he did so with a very bad grace, and continued moody and dejected ever afterwards, for in his heart of hearts he still cherished the belief that his father's guest belonged to the softer sex, on which account, therefore, he continued to treat our fair friend with the greatest affection and regard.

A few days after our heroine had gone through her last ordeal, her cousins began to make preparations for their homeward voyage, in which she also joined them, for she had already disposed of all her stock to very great advantage, and gold was daily pouring into her coffers in heaps.

The enamoured young man was not a little disconcerted at hearing of this intended departure of the little party, and he begged hard of his disguised wife to remain under his roof a little longer. But she excused herself as best she could, and on the day appointed for their departure, went on board her ship, followed by the tears and blessings of her love-lorn husband.

When the eight ships stood abreast of one another in the harbour, waiting to raise their anchors simultaneously at a given signal, our heroine whispered something in the parrot's ears, and off flew the little bird with a bright little golden cup set with pearls and diamonds in its beak, and depositing it right into the hold of one of the seven ships of the brothers, immediately came back and perched upon its mistress's shoulder as if nothing had happened. Now just before the parrot performed this clever trick, all the seven brothers were assembled on the deck of our heroine's ship, for there they had arranged a grand feast in honour of their departure, and were eating and drinking merrily.

After holding high revel for some time the seven brothers took leave of their cousin, and

each betook himself with his party to his own ship. As soon, however, as the fair lady's ship was cleared of all the guests, her attendants raised a hue and cry about a rich goblet that was missing. The lady had drunk her wine out of it in the presence of her guests, and it had then been handed round to each of the bystanders and was highly admired by them all. It had thus passed through several hands, and no wonder therefore that none of the servants remembered who had it last. Our heroine made a great show of anger at the loss of the precious goblet, which, it need hardly be mentioned, was the very one that the parrot had deposited into the hold of one of the seven ships. She sent for all her seven cousins in hot haste, and reported the loss to them. They all agreed that they had not only seen their good friend drink out of it, but had actually taken it into their hands for inspection, but none of them had any idea as to whether or not it had been returned to its place. At this the disguised fair one worked herself into a violent passion and accused them all right and left of having stolen it. "I shall send my men to search each of your ships" cried she, "and shall stake this vessel of mine with all its valuable cargo on the hazard of finding it in one of them!"

"And we in our turn agree to forfeit to you all our seven ships with *their* cargoes," cried the brothers with one voice, "if your men find the goblet in any of our ships!"

"Agreed!" cried our heroine, and forthwith she ordered some of her numerous attendants to go over all the seven vessels and leave no stone unturned till they found the missing cup. In about an hour's time, while the seven brothers were still warmly protesting their innocence to their accuser, the men returned with the missing cup in their hands, and declared that they had found it secreted in the hold of the ship of one of the seven brothers!

The brothers were nonplussed at this sudden turn events had taken, and stood looking at one another in silence, as if dumbfounded at this strange discovery. Our heroine, however, roused them to their senses by calling upon them in a loud voice to fulfil their obligations by handing over to her the seven ships; and the poor fellows, seeing no way out of this difficulty, there and then formally made over the ships to the clever stripling, and with crestfallen looks stood a waiting her commands. The lady, being touched with pity at their strange predicament, ordered them to remain in her own ship as her guests till they reached their native country. She then gave orders for the anchors of all the eight ships to be raised, and the little fleet soon began to sail out of the harbour with a favourable back wind.

Our brave heroine's husband, who was all this while standing sorrowfully on the shore, now waved his kerchief as a farewell to his departing charmer, with a very woe-begone countenance, as she was standing at the window of her cabin, when suddenly she flung off her disguise and stood before her enraptured lover, "a maid in all her charms!"

At this sudden and unexpected confirmation of all his doubts and hopes the young man's heart alternated between joy and grief, joy at finding that the object of his affections was after all a woman, and grief at being thus rudely separated from her, after all that he had endured on her account, and with a heavy heart he retraced his steps homewards. There he told his mother all that had happened, and rebuked her for having discredited his statement so long, and asked both his parents' permission to fit out a ship that very day and follow his fair enslaver wherever she went, and either win her or perish in the attempt. The old couple seeing him so determined, consented, and furnished him with everything that he wanted for the voyage.

Without losing more time than was essentially necessary the love-lorn youth fitted out a fast-sailing vessel and soon started in pursuit of his fair charmer. Her vessels had, however, sailed clear out of sight by this time, and he could not even tell in what direction they had gone. So he sailed about at random through unknown seas, for many a month, making inquiries at every port he touched, till at last he came to the city in which he knew his discarded wife and her parents lived. Here everyone he met was talking of the clever daughter of the old merchant—"the mistress of eight ships" as they called her,—who had but a few days ago returned home after a long and successful voyage. He inquired the way to the house of this remarkable lady, and much to his surprise, nay to his rage and utter mortification, he was shown

into the very house in which he now remembered he had gone through that most important ceremony of his life—his marriage.

Could it be possible, then, he thought, that it was **only his wife**—the girl he had so long discarded,—that had so long and so successfully played upon his feelings, and had made herself so agreeable not only to himself, but to all others with whom she came into contact! What **enraged him** most was that she should have spent so many days in the company of young men like her cousins. Jealousy and hatred instantly took the place of love in his heart, and he entered the house, swearing vengeance on his innocent wife! His old father-in-law welcomed him into the house with unmixed delight, but the son-in-law resented his kind treatment, and **peremptorily demanded** to be shown into his wife's presence.

Now it may be mentioned here that the old man and his daughter had been looking forward to this visit of the bridegroom every moment, as they had already heard of his arrival in the city from some friends. The young lady also had narrated to her father all that had taken place in the house of her parents-in-law, and the old man was therefore in a measure prepared to find his son-in-law in no enviable a frame of mind. Our heroine, too, fearing that in his rage and disappointment he would wreak his vengeance on her head, had taken precautions to ensure her safety. She had **prepared** with her own deft fingers, a figure of herself in some soft material, and covering it with a fine skin, had dressed it in her own clothes and jewels. This figure she had filled with the sweetest honey near the throat, and had placed it on her couch in the attitude of a woman fast asleep. When she heard her husband's footsteps approaching her room, she hid herself behind some curtains. Soon the young man rushed into the room, being escorted to the door of the chamber by his aged father-in-law, who had left him at the threshold and retired to an adjoining room, there to await the course of events. The enraged husband then made the door of the apartment fast, and drawing his dagger, rushed up to where the figure was lying, and with a terrible imprecation **plunged the cold steel into its throat**. The violence with which he dealt the blow made some of the honey spurt out of the wound like real life-blood, and a drop of it fell on his lips, which were parted in anger, and he was surprised to find that it tasted very sweet. **Repentance** closely follows a rash deed, and so it did in this case.

"Ah!" cried he, "what have I done! I have killed with my own hands, one who but a short time ago was all in all to me! One for whom I have endured all the hardships of a rough sea-voyage. Then after a pause he added,—**"How sweet her blood tastes; I am sure a faithless woman's blood can never taste half so sweet! Really I have committed a rash and unpardonable deed, I have shed an innocent woman's blood, and thereby destroyed my own happiness, and nothing but my own blood can atone for it.**" So saying he raised his dagger and was going to plunge it into his heart, when out rushed his faithful wife from her hiding-place, and stayed his hands in the very nick of time. The lady at that time wore the same disguise in which he had first seen her, and as she clung to his arm and pleaded for mercy, all his old love for her came back to him with redoubled force, and he clasped her in his arms!

The trick of the stuffed figure was then explained to him, and the young man was thankful to find it was no human blood that he had shed. Our heroine then gave him full explanation of the events that had brought her in so strange a fashion under his roof, and the two then went together to the old man and asked for his blessing.

After spending a few days with the good old man, the reconciled son-in-law took the dutiful daughter and faithful wife home to his native country, and there they lived ever afterwards in great happiness.

Before leaving with her husband, the young lady called all her seven cousins to her and explaining to them the trick by which she had become possessed of their ships, restored the vessels to them with all their cargoes intact, and gave besides a valuable present to each of them as a souvenir of the voyage they had made together.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP

No. XVI.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Imperial Russian Oriental Society.

(a.) *Meeting, Feb. 11, 1888.*

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen, reported the speedy appearance of Vols. XII. and XV. of the *Transactions* of the Society, in the first of which is included the fourth part of the investigations of V. V. Veniaminov-Zernov about the Tsars of Kasimov, &c.

N. N. Pantusov sent a photograph of some Manchu Inscriptions. He also sent six Persian and Turkish documents, relating to *dervêshes*. One of these is very interesting, as it is a diploma for holding the office of a *Durvâsh*.

V. P. Nalivkin sent some pieces of old pottery.

V. A. Zhukovski read a notice of Persian Cradle Songs.

(b.) *Meeting, March 9, 1888.*

The Director of the Section, Baron V. R. Rosen, spoke a few words in memory of the German Orientalist Fleischer, lately deceased; the assembly honoured the departed professor by rising from their seats.

Professor Guidi of Rome sent, as a present to the Society, *Coptic Fragments on the Journeys of the Apostles, Frammenti Copti*.

W. W. Radloff showed two interesting *yarliks* in the Uighur character, received by him not long ago from Kasan.

A. V. Komarov made a curious communication on the Antiquities of the Trans-Caspian district, viz. the ruins of buildings, *kurgans*, and articles found when excavating. An account of this paper will be printed in the *Transactions*.

(c.) *Meeting, April 20, 1888.*

Baron V. R. Rosen made a communication on the latest results of the investigation of the Collection of Papyri belonging to the Archduke Rainer.

(d.) *Meeting, June 2, 1888.*

Prof. A. Müller, of Königsberg, sent a letter in which he thanked the Society for his election as a member, and presented his edition of the Arabic author, Ibn-Abi-Usaibia.

S. M. Georgievski examined the six Chinese proclamations which had been sent. Two of them were identical in their contents, and the translation agreed with the original. He intends to print one of these proclamations in the *Transactions*.

V. D. Smirnov made a communication about one of the six manuscripts sent by N. N.

Pantusov, under the title *Vasyat-Näma*, and also about a Codex of the same name belonging to the Imperial Public Library, and on the Turko-Kashghar translation of *Anvâr-i-Suhaili*, under the title *Asadru'l-Imâmiya*, also sent to the Society by N. N. Pantusov. The paper will be printed in the *Transactions*.

O. E. Lemm read a notice of a Coptic legend on the finding of the Cross by the Princess Eudoxia. It will be printed in the *Transactions*.

(e.) *The Yarliks of Tuqtamish and Tamir-Qutlugh, by W. Radloff.*

Being occupied in editing the Uighur Manuscript *Kudatku-Bilik*, the oldest literary monument of the Turks, the author says he was compelled to study the language of all their earliest documents to explain the peculiarities of the Uighur language in comparison with the other Turkish dialects. Among the most valuable of these monuments are the *yarliks* of the Khâns, especially those written in Uighur letters, e. g. the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish of A.H. 795, and the *yarlik* of Tamir-Qutlugh of A.H. 800. I. N. Berezin holds these *yarliks* to be specimens of the Uighur language. Vambéry considers them to be documents in the Central Asiatic or Jaghatai language, written in Uighur letters. Having compared the language of these documents with that of the *Kudatku-Bilik*, the author became convinced that only the characters are entirely Uighur; in the language itself the Uighur elements are found to the extent that they have entered into the so-called Jaghatai [Chughatai] literature.

The Eastern Turkish or Jaghatai language is not the language of Central Asia, as Sultân Bâbar and Vambéry, his latest follower, assure us. It is just as much an artificial literary language as that of the Usmanli. Having been developed by historical causes, it now serves as a literary language for the Eastern Turks who use various dialects. Its foundation is the literary language of the Uighurs, as developed before the time of Musalmân influence and Mongolian incursions. With the spread of Islâm and its culture, a number of Arabic and Persian words came into the literary language of the Uighurs. In Eastern Turkistân books appeared in pure Uighur language, but in Arabic characters (one of these works, *Stories of the Prophets*, by Rabghuzi, was compiled in A.H. 710), and works of this sort served as the foundation of the so-called Jaghatai literature. Together with the disappearance of the races speaking an Uighur dialect, there was a revolution in the literary language. The greater part of the purely Uighur words and grammatical forms gave

place to corresponding words and forms of other Central Asiatic dialects, but in the Jaghatai language there remained a whole series of Uighur words and forms, which were exclusively used in the literary language.

In the times of the first successors of Changêz Khân, the Jaghatai literature was spread among all the Eastern Turks, but the rapid decline of the Mongolian Empire arrested the final development of the language. Since they had no educational centre, as was the case with the Southern Turks, the Jaghatai language was influenced by other dialects, and words from Usmânli and Azurbâijân literature entered it in various degrees. As Changêz Khân preferred the Uighur writing, that character became official in the chanceries of the Khâns, and continued to be used even where it was unfamiliar.

The *yarliks* of Tuqtamish and Tamir-Qutlugh shew that the Khâns of the Golden Horde issued documents in Uighur characters till the beginning of the fifteenth century. But other letters are occasionally used: the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish of A. H. 794 is written in the Arabic character, and that of Tamir-Qutlugh in Uighur and Arabic. From this we may conclude that the Khâns used the Uighur character only in diplomatic documents, and the Arabic in those intended for the people.

The *yarlik* of Tuqtamish to Jagiello has been translated by I. N. Berezin, and that of Tamir-Qutlugh by von Hammer, Berezin and Vambéry. These versions are on the whole accurate, but the author has thought it advisable to publish the *yarliks* in a slightly corrected version.

(1.) *Yarlik of Tuqtamish to Jagiello.*

This *yarlik* was found among the chief archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Moscow. The text is comprised in 25 lines, which begin at an equal distance from the edge of the paper, the words *Tuqtamish*, *we* and *God*, and the Khân's seal are closer to the edge. These words are written in gold, and the seal of the Khân is stamped in gold. The seventeenth line is only half written, so that the new line may begin with *we*.

The name Jagiello stands below the words 'the word of Tuqtamish.' This *yarlik* is written in a beautiful and very legible Uighur character. Although, as Banzarov remarks, this letter from a calligraphic point of view yields the palm to the two letters of the Persian Changêz to Philippe le Bel, the handwriting everywhere shows the firm hand of a practised scribe. The writing may be called Mongol Uighur, as distinguished from the Musalmân-Uighur style, used in the manuscripts of the *Kudatku Bilik*, the

Bakhtîdârnama, etc., and the broken Uighur writing used in other documents. It most resembles the copy of the Uighur legend about Oguz Khân in the library of Charles Schefer at Paris. It is written perpendicularly.

(2.) *The Yarlik of Tamir-Qutlugh.*

The original is in the Vienna Palace Library. It is written on a long roll of glazed paper. The second and third lines begin in the middle of the page, and above them ought to be the square seal of the Khân. But the paper in this place is quite smooth, and no trace of a seal can be found: it is clear that this is a *yarlik* prepared for publication, which from some cause was never confirmed. It cannot be a mere copy. Under each Uighur word there is a transcription in beautiful Arabic characters in red. It was prepared for some official purpose: a proof of this fact among others is furnished by the third word on the ninth line, where two points under the letter *sh* have been undoubtedly added subsequently. The writer thinks the copyist remarked the omission of these points and added them when he had finished writing. This shows that the Uighur character was even at that time so little understood that a document intended for the people had to be accompanied by a transcript in Arabic letters. The Uighur writing differs from that of the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish and of the Uighur books, but is like some of the postscripts to the *Kudatku-Bilik*. The letters are angular. They appear to be made by a reed with a very broad nib, and are written from right to left. Von Hammer made some trifling mistakes when he printed the Arabic text, which arose from his being unacquainted with the Jaghatai language.

In the *yarlik* of Tuqtamish, out of 104 words, 43 are Common Turkish (met with in all the Turkish dialects), 24 Northern Turkish, 22 Western, and 15 Uighur Jaghatai. Of the 54 grammatical endings, 23 are Common Turkish, 15 Northern, 12 Western, and 4 Uighur Jaghatai. This gives the following percentage:—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 23; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 15: and of grammatical terminations—Common Turkish, 41; Northern Turkish, 31; Western Turkish, 21; Uighur-Jaghatai, 7.

The *yarlik* of Tuqtamish was, therefore, written by a Western Tâtar, knowing well the official language of the chanceries of the Khân, but preserving many peculiarities of his native dialect. This is shewn by the phraseology of the *yarlik* and the absence of Arabic literary expressions.

The language of the *yarlik* of Tamir-Qutlugh is different. Of 166 words, 50 are Common Turkish, 38 Northern, 44 Uighur-Jaghatai, 13

Western Turkish, 14 literary Arabic, and 7 words belong to the author's native tongue (Nôghai?). Of 70 grammatical terminations, 22 are Common Turkish, 24 Northern, 21 Uighur-Jaghatai; and 3 belong to his native tongue. Or according to percentage:—Common Turkish, 31; Northern Turkish, 22; Uighur-Jaghatai, 27; Western Turkish, 8; Literary Arabic, 8; the author's native tongue, 4; and of grammatical terminations:—Common Turkish, 31.4; Northern Turkish, 34.3; Uighur-Jaghatai, 30; the author's native tongue, 4.3.

We thus see that the author of the *yarlik* of Tâmir-Qutlugh, was a Nôghai (?) acquainted with literary Jaghatai language. The foreign words are technical expressions required by the contents of the document. The Arabic transcription was probably made by another person, who was not a scholar. Perhaps owing to these mistakes, the *yarlik* was not confirmed.

(f.) *Materials for the Study of the Collection of Indian Tales called Brihatkathâ, by S. Oldenburg.*

While most educated men know the stories of the *Pañchatantra*, in the course of their endless wanderings over Asia and Europe, the *Brihatkathâ* is limited to specialists. The *Brihatkathâ* is more fantastic and local in its character. It has not gone beyond the limits of its own country, but there it has taken one of the first places. Buddhist and Brâhmanical legends, each preserving its special colouring, have quietly flowed into this "Sea of the Rivers of Stories" as one of the editions of the *Brihatkathâ* is styled. Its history is still obscure, because our knowledge of Indian folk-tales is inadequate. It has come to us in two redactions of two Kâśmîrî poets of the eleventh century Kshêṃendra (*Brihatkathâ-mañjarî*) and Sômadêva (*Kathâsaritsâgara*), who assert that they have translated and abridged the collection *Brihatkathâ* of the poet Guṇâdhyâ, compiled in the Paisâchi dialect. The first complete translation of the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, which is only just finished, and the new edition of the text, which has been begun, shew that it is time to collect materials for a complete study of the *Brihatkathâ*. The vast size of the *Kathâsaritsâgara* (21,526 verses according to the computation of Brockhaus) and the defective nature of the manuscripts of the *Brihatkathâ-mañjarî*, prevent such an attempt, so the author purposes communicating a few of his notes.

Of the unpublished materials relating to the present subject there are two MSS. in the India Office; one Sanskrit, the other Persian. The first contains the collection called *Kathâprakâśa* (the lustre of tales) no other manuscript of which as far as the author knows, has been found. On

fol. 1v—84v, the writer of the MS. gives extracts from the *Kathâsaritsâgara*. The text corresponds almost word for word with that of Brockhaus, but he does not mention the sources from which he borrows.

We have no information as to when and where the *Kathâprakâśa* was compiled. Besides the extracts from the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, the collection contains pieces of Epic poetry, the *Purâṇas*, some "parrot" stories, and some also from the *Purushaparikhâ*. The Persian Manuscript (I. O. L. 1679) has only been mentioned in print once, viz. by Brockhaus, who wrongly considered it to be an abridged translation of the *Brihatkathâ*, because mention is made of such a translation in *Râjataraṅgiṇî*. The writer then shews at some length that it is not a translation of the *Brihatkathâ*. Those who have studied the latter have not remarked that the Tibetan Buddhist, Târânâtha, introduces legends of which we find corresponding versions in it. The first of them, concerning Nâgârjuna, is found in *The History of the Seven Transmissions of the Words of Buddha*, and has been briefly discussed by V. P. Vasiliev. cf. *Kathâsaritsâgara* xli. 9—58; and *Brihatkathâ-mañjarî*, xiv., *Nâgârjunakhyâyikâ*. It is very probable that the source was the *Râjadvâlî* of Kshêṃendra. Another legend is as to why and how the prince Udayana (Sâtavâhana) learned Sanskrit. The text of Târânâtha (*History of Buddhism in India*), although it resembles the *Brihatkathâ*, differs so much from it that it cannot be said to be plagiarised, which would have been probable, as two of the other works of Kshêṃendra, *Râjadvâlî* and *Bôddhisattvadvâdanakâlpavâlî* are cited by Târânâtha. Besides these differences, a proof that the passages in question are not taken from the *Brihatkathâ* is afforded by the history of Kâlidâsa, which in tone and manner must certainly be of the same origin as the history of Udayana, while the story is not found in the *Brihatkathâ*. The story of Kâlidâsa and many similar ones live at the present day upon the lips of the Indian people. In similar stories we may find the beginning of the history of Vararuchi and perhaps partly of Guṇâdhyâ.

(g.) *The Collection of Eastern Coins belonging to A. V. Komarov, by V. Tiesenhausen.*

The writer begins by thanking Gen. Komarov for allowing his collection to be described in this work. The new collection consists of 687 coins (463 copper, 206 silver, and 18 gold) comprising a period from the seventh century to our own times. The oldest of them is a Sassanian coin of Khusrao II., struck A.D. 628: the latest are Afghan coins of A. H. 1297 (= A.D. 1880) coined by 'Abdû'r-Rahmân at Hirât and Shêr 'Alî at

Kābul. Of the thirty dynasties among which these coins are distributed, the most largely represented is that of the Timūriya. Of this there are 176 examples. Next come the Sāmāni coins (78 examples), Khwārizmshāhi (58), Saffari (48) Hulāqui (42) Khalīfas (38) Persian (38) and Shalbāni (26). Of the Tāhiri (12) there are only three, but none of these appear to have been published; of the Zaidis and Zīāris there are no more than one apiece, but these two are very rare. Both were coined in Jurjān, one in A.H. 268, the other in A.H. 368. There are some examples which have not been successfully arranged either chronologically or dynastically.

(h.) *Dahbid*, by N. Veselovski.

The neighbourhood of Samarqand is very striking, and the palace of Timūr, the Mosque of Khoja Ahrār, and the Mosque of Dahbid are especially to be noted. The last two are objects of reverence among the population as the burial places of two saints, the descendants of Muḥammad. Khoja Ahrār, who is buried about four versts from Samarqand was a philanthropist. Makhdūm-i-'Azam, as he is also called, is renowned in the chronicles of Islām for his conversion of the heathen of Eastern Turkistān.

Sayyid Ahmad Kasāni is buried in the *kishlak* Dahbid, twelve versts from Samarqand. He is better known as Makhdūm-i-'Azam, which signifies 'The Great Master.' Happening to be in Samarqand in 1885 the author visited his grave. He departed for Dahbid on the 31st August 1888, accompanied by a young native, the Mirzā Akil. Having left Samarqand by the Paikobak Gate, they soon reached the *kishlak* Makhao, the most unpleasant place near Samarqand, where is a residence for lepers, who live upon alms. On *bādr*-days they swarm along the roads leading to Samarqand: the women, frequently with children, stretch out wooden cups to passers-by, and, whatever be their age, are unveiled. Four versts from Samarqand are the ruins of an old town with a citadel (*urda*): about a verst from thence a ford passes the Zaravshān. The road from this point is planted with mulberry trees, extending to the mosque of Khoja Ahrār, and said to have been planted by him. Among the Turkistānis, planting mulberry trees on the road is considered a pious deed. When the mulberries are ripe, the travellers shake them from the trees and satisfy their hunger and thirst. The poor make flour out of the dried berries. This is probably the reason why they assign the planting of these trees to the Khoja Ahrār. There are many stories about his benevolence.

Dahbid signifies "ten willows." This *kishlak* is not healthy on account of the rice-fields

surrounding it. Goltre is frequently met with. The mosque by the grave of Makhdūm-i-'Azam is large; the actual burial-place is separated by a brick wall. In the middle of the garden is built a *dakhma*, which is overgrown with tall grass, very much entangled. The writer goes on to describe how difficult it was to get there. His guide refused to follow him. The natives considered that whoever went into the *dakhma* would die, unless he were a Shēkh and a descendant of Makhdūm-i-'Azam. The *mutawalli*, as one of these, might have gone with the writer, but he hid himself, not wishing to assist an infidel to defile with his feet the grave of a holy man. The writer of the article accordingly went alone and came to a great monument of white marble, erected in the middle of the *dakhma*. He then gives the inscriptions on the graves, and a plan of the graveyard follows.

(i.) *Musalmān Books printed in Russia*, by V. Smirnov.

The writer gives a list of the books printed in Russia in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages during the last three years. Lists of the kind were first published by Dorn. His bibliographical review appeared in Vol. V. *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (1866) under the title of *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der seit dem Jahre 1801, bis 1866, in Kasan Gedruckten arabischen, türkischen, tatari-schen und persischen Werke, als Katalog der im asiatischen Museum befindlichen Schriften der Art*. This attracted much attention in the foreign press (especially in England) as the Russians were not thought liberal enough to allow it. Originally most of these Oriental publications appeared at Kazan or St. Petersburg. More recently the printing press of Gasprinski was established at Bakhchisarai and that of Lakhtin at Tashkand. Besides single books and pamphlets, periodicals appeared in the Tātār language. Such were the Caucasus periodicals called *the Agriculturist*, *the Scrip*, and *the Lights of the Caucasus*. Some of these have come to an end, but *the Interpreter* has now existed for six years at Bakhchisarai. Besides these, in Tashkand there is a Government newspaper, which at first appeared in two languages, Sart and Kirghiz separately, but now appears only in Sart. The Musalmān press has preserved its original character. Ten thousand copies of the *Qurān*, the *Heftiek*, *Sherdyatu-l-iman*, *Ustuvani*, *Bedevam*, and prayer-books in Arabic, are printed under various titles, with a Tātār preface, representing the miraculous efficacy of these prayers. They are intended for poor people, and

the presses are most active about the Ramazán and the fair of Nizni Novgorod, on account of the assembling of Musalmáns. They are mostly stereotyped. But there are large works for educated Russian Musalmáns also in Arabic and Tátár. Originally the latter were in a kind of jargon which the author elaborated for himself; in this hotch-potch might be found elements of various Turkish dialects, from the simple speech of the Kazan Tátár to the elaborate literary style of the Effendi of Constantinople. At the present time the local writers of Kazan imitate the Usmánli style, as seen in the latest works of Abdu'l-Kaium. Monla-Nasirov, and others. Especially noteworthy is the work of a certain Músá Ak-Tigit, published at Kazan in 1886. The author has received a good education and imitates such writers as the Turk, Ahmad Midhat Effendi. He has written a novel on modern Tátár life in a kind of Usmánli dialect of his own. It is said that some time ago the author went to Stamból and has not returned. But he has left imitators. To the class of more useful publications belong the calendar of Kaium Nazirov, with some essays on general topics, and some manuals of Geography and Arabic Grammar. A rhymester named Mervleghei Yumachikov, has written several poems in a dialect akin to Khirgiz. He appears too often as a vulgar fanatic, and some of his poems were repressed by the censorship.

The writer takes an entirely different view from that of Dorn on the education of the Tátárs. The press among them is only used to encourage obcurantism. Works on magic, on domestic medicine, and others full of charlatanism abound. Books of this kind appear every year in great numbers, and are increasing. If we find a man of education among the Tátárs, it is one who has been brought up at a Russian school.

(j) *Miscellaneous Notes* :—

(1) *Old Russian accounts of Merv, by D. Kobeko.* In 1669 the Russian Ambassador, Pazukhin, was sent to Abdu'l-Aziz, the Khán of Bukhárá. He went there through Astrakhán to Khíva, and accomplished the return journey through Chárjút, Merv, Mashhad and Lankurán. At Merv, then belonging to Persia, Pazukhin was hospitably met by Zénar Khán, the governor of the city, and lived there from December 1672 to March 1673. In obedience to instructions given, Pazukhin traced the route from Astrakhán to the city Junábátu (i.e. Jahánábád = Delhi) through Khíva, Balkh, Kábul and Pesháwar. The route was rendered dangerous by the war going on between the Persian Sháh 'Abbás II. (1642-1666), and the great Mughal Sháh Jahán, in the territory which is now Afghánistán. The article winds up

with a long extract describing the journey of Pazukhin.

(2) *On the modern Sect of the Ghálts, by V. Zhukovski.* These sects ascribe to their imámé an incarnation of the deity.

(3) *A Note on Two Discoveries recently made in Egypt, by V. Golenistchev.* These are a whole series of cuneiform tablets of clay discovered at Tel-el-Aména; and a collection of portraits of persons at the end of the epoch of the Ptolemies and beginning of the Roman period, found in the oasis of Fayúm. Till this time no cuneiform inscriptions have been found in Egypt.

The tablets consist of the letters of various Asiatic rulers to two Egyptian kings, Amenh'otep III. and IV. One of those who corresponded with these kings was the Babylonian king Burnaburiash. Already some Egyptian scholars were inclined to fix the eighteenth dynasty of the Pharaohs at about the fifteenth century B.C., while Assyrian scholars had referred to the same fifteenth century, the date of the Babylonian king Burnaburiash.

Another correspondent of the Egyptian kings is Duahratta, king of the country of Mittani. This city the Egyptians called Naharina, and meant a place situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, almost opposite to the town of Carchemish, the modern Jerabis. Judging by the independent tone of the letters of the king of Mittani, the country, at least at the commencement of the reign of Amenh'otep III., was so important that its king might enter into negotiations with the principal Egyptian king on a footing of independence. Besides the royal letters contained in the correspondence, we meet with others from persons calling themselves the slaves of Pharaoh. For the understanding of the cuneiform correspondence received at the court of Pharaoh, it is obvious that there must have been interpreters. Sometimes men of this sort were sent with the letters, e.g. in one of the king of Mittani's epistles, such a man has the title *targu-ma-an-nu*, i.e. 'translator.' For the interpretation of these interesting tablets we must wait for the decision of M.M. Winkler and Lehmann, of Berlin, the museum of which city has bought the whole collection through the instrumentality of Graff, the Viennese dealer in Eastern carpets.

The second discovery consists of 66 portraits as previously mentioned. These have been described by Ebers in *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Nos. 135-7, 1888. They were taken from the tops of coffins. The type represented is only Coptic in one instance; in others Greek and Semitic; No. 64 is a negro, with perhaps a mixture of Greek blood; 3 represent old men, 24 men of

middle age; 4, young men, 3 boys, 29 girls, and 3 old women. The portraits of the women are best executed.

(4) *Bedouin Wit*, by Baron V. Rosen. This is a comic story from "The Book of Animals," by Jâhiz, (A.H. 255 = 869). It tells how a Bedouin carved a fowl, keeping the best part for himself. There are many stories of this kind in Arabian anthologies, both in verse and prose, in which a rude countryman plays pranks upon the educated townsman. When we can assign the date of such stories, they are valuable as illustrating the mutual relations of the different elements of Arabian society at a given time. The Arabian anthologies of the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra are valuable for this. Some important extracts may be made from one of the oldest anthologies, viz. Ibn-Abi-Tahir-Taifur (British Museum Add., 18, 532).

(5) *New materials for the Yag nob Language*, by K. Saleman. In July and August 1887, E. Kahl, who has an administrative post in Tashkand, took a journey to the Yag nob. He succeeded in getting explanations of several obscure points of Yag nob phonetics, compiled a tolerably copious glossary, and collected some topographical and statistical information.

(6) *Something more about the discovery at Kulja*, by V. Tiesenhausen. The four silver coins sent from Kulja by V. M. Uspenski in 1887 belong to the class of Jaghatai coins struck in the second half of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century of our era. One of them, struck in Almalik in 650 A.H. (= 1252-3 A.D.), is in all respects similar to those which M. Uspenski exhibited to the Archaeological Society in 1886. Another was coined by Têrmâslivrin Khân (year and place cannot be deciphered). The most interesting is the third, coined in 737 A.H. (= 1337-8 A.D.) in Badakhshân by Khân Jenkishi. To this Khân is ascribed the fourth of the coins sent by M. Uspenski.

(k) *Criticism and Bibliography.*

(1) *The Akhal-Tekke Oasis: its past and present. Historico-geographical and Oro-geological sketches of the Transcaspian district, with engravings and a map*, by P. S. Vasilico, St. Petersburg, 1888. The book gives the reader almost nothing. It is difficult to find anything new after the elaborate sketches of M. Lessar, who knows the country so thoroughly. The writer evidently is acquainted with no Eastern language, and his style is naive.

(2) *A History of the Religious Mission to Pekin at the first period of its activity (1685-1745). Part I.*, by the Hieromonach Nicholas (Adoratski), Superintendent of the Kherson Ecclesiastical

School, Kazan, 1887. The appearance of this work is due to the approaching 200th anniversary of the Mission to Pekin, which, as is well known, existed in China *de facto* from the year 1689 and *de jure* from 1715. The author, a former member of the Mission, appears to have begun his work in Pekin, and perhaps finished it there. But the necessary documents would be wanting, as all of them, to the year 1863, are in the archives of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and still await their editor. The book could only be compiled in Moscow or St. Petersburg. There is very little that is new in the book; the author, however, gives fairly copious accounts of the Russian exploits on the Amûr and the Russo-Chinese trade at that period.

(3) *A short sketch of the History of Zabaikalia*, by V. K. Andrievich.

This is an account of the territory beyond Lake Baikal. The author says that he wished to furnish a collection of materials for the History of the Cossack Army of this region. But the fire at Irkutsk in 1879 destroyed the building containing the archives of Eastern Siberia, those of Selenghinsk and Kiakhta have now been sent to Moscow, and those of Nerchinsk have disappeared, because they were not taken care of. Under such circumstances, M. Andrievich having composed his work in Eastern Siberia could not use any official documents, except the *Complete Collection of Laws* published in 1838, from which he has gathered almost all the *ukases* relating to the territory. In this lies his chief service. He has used besides a *Collection of Diplomatic documents between the Russian and Chinese Empires from 1619 to 1792*, compiled by Bantish-Kamenski, and edited in 1883 by V. M. Florinski. He should have made himself acquainted with some of the Eastern historians. Thus he tells us that the *lamas* and Dalai-lama appear first in the time of Guyuk Khân, the grandson of Changéz, whereas Guyuk Khân died in 1248, and the first Dalai-lama could not have existed earlier than 1420. Similar blunders occur also in his account of the Buriats becoming Russian subjects, and the flights of the Mongols into Russian territory, etc.

(4) *The Principles of Chinese Life*, by Sergius Georgievski. This is the solitary work in European literature on the subject, and it gives the principles upon which Chinese life has depended during the many centuries of its existence. Its foundation is filial piety, based firstly upon primitive religion, and secondly upon the ethics of Confucius.

Having discussed in the first chapter, the primitive faith of the ancient Chinese in the

immortality of the soul, and their funeral customs, the author in chapters second and third treats of the Chinese worship of ancestors expressed by services to them in the temples. In chapters fourth and fifth the author discusses the influence of the doctrines of ancestor worship and filial piety on the private and public life of the ancient Chinese. In the sixth chapter the author treats the genesis of Chinese polytheism, and explains how it gradually obscured the worship of ancestors. The author surveys the development of the old Chinese philosophy, and shows that the latter destroyed the primitive belief in the immortality of the soul, and developed ethical forms of life which led to vulgar cynical Stoicism and Epicureanism. From this China was saved by Confucianism, which system the author proceeds to explain, showing that its centre is filial piety which develops in man love, justice, and energy. In the concluding and longest chapter of his work, M. Georgievski discusses the future of China, in view of its yearly increasing relations with Europe and America.

(5) *On the roots of the Chinese language in connection with the question of the origin of the Chinese*, by S. Georgievski, St. Petersburg, 1888. The work of M. Georgievski falls into two closely connected divisions, linguistic and ethnographical. In the first division, the author, establishing his opinion by a series of examples (which occupy in the book 176 lithographed pages), shows:—(1) that the old Chinese characters were developed from a single root system, dialectic peculiarities being expressed by special characters, preserved to the present day in Chinese lexicography as synonyms; and (2) that in the Chinese language are groups of words cognate with others in the Aryan languages, and the languages of Japan, Corea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Tartary. In the second part M. Georgievski comes to the question of the origin of the Chinese. His chief positions are (1): that the Chinese people colonised the territory of China proper from Central Asia, where they had lived side by side with the ancestors of the Aryans, with whom they were ethnologically connected; (2) that the territory of China proper was from the earliest times settled by races not of one ethnological type, and not akin to the Chinese; and (3) these races were the forefathers of the Japanese, Koreans, Manchus, Mongols, Eastern Turkistans, and Indo-Chinese, and became incorporated with the Chinese, and the fragments of their language are preserved in Chinese lexicography.

(6) V. Verbitski. *A Dictionary of the Altai and Aladag Dialects of the Turkish language*,

published by the Orthodox Missionary Society, Kasan, 1884. This dictionary, compiled for practical purposes, contains important materials for the study of the Altaic dialects. The author collected the materials for the grammar published at Kasan in 1869. He tells us that his work embraces two chief dialects (1) Altaic (Teleut, Telengut, Telenget), (2) Aladag. There are no dialectical sub-divisions of the first, but the second is sub-divided into the following dialects, (a) of Kondom, the Upper and Lower, (b) Matir, (c) Abakan, Upper and Lower, (d) Bi (Upper and Lower). The reviewer, (V. Radloff), compares this division of the dialects with his own, as given in *Phonetik der nördlichen Türkischen Sprachen*, pages 281-283.

Reviewer's division.	Division of M. Verbitski.
I. Dialects of Altai proper.	I. Altaic dialect.
(1) Altaic.	
(2) Teleut.	
II. Dialects of Northern Altai.	II. Aladag dialect.
(1.) Lebedin.	(1) Bi (4).
	(a) Upper.
	(b) Lower (Kumandina)
(2) Shor.	(2) Kondom.
	(a) Upper.
	(d) Matir.
	(b) Lower. (3)
III. Abakan.	III. Abakan. (3)
(1) Sagan.	(a) Upper.
(2) Koibal.	
(3) Kaachin.	(b) Lower.

If we compare the vocabulary of the 'Altaic' grammar with that now published we shall see great progress. The number of words is doubled; the definitions are clearer, and they are confirmed by examples which the author has heard from natives. The Reviewer, he says, ought to acknowledge openly that the work of M. Verbitski is of great service to him in the compilation of his dictionary of the Turkish dialects, on which he is now engaged. Some deficiencies, however, in the work are to be remarked; alphabetical order is not always kept, and the transcriptions are not made on a uniform plan.

(7) *The Proverbs of the Natives of Turkistan*, collected and translated by N. Ostroumov, Tashkand. Proverbs are always a favourite study with ethnographers. It is strange that although the Russians have now been masters of Tashkand for twenty years they have not been collected before. Moreover, there is plenty of material. M. Ostroumov has collected 492, and the places and circumstances connected with them are described. Some are purely local; some entirely original and others adopted, translated from Persian or Arabic.

(8) *Catologue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc. 1887. This vast work is

occupied with the description of 1888 coins of the Eastern Caliphate, falling into the following semi-divisions, (i) Coins of the Byzantine type (96 examples); (ii) Coins Latin-Arab. (42 ex.); (iii) Coins Sassani-Arab. (21 ex.); (iv) assigned to the Khalifa 'Ali (1 ex.); (v) Ummayy (619 ex.); (vi) Adherents of the 'Abbâsîs (12 ex.); (vii) 'Abbâsî (875 ex). The reviewer says that he has counted 286 which have not been published, and some of which make us acquainted with mints hitherto unknown. A remarkable feature of the Paris collection are the Byzantine-Arab and Latin-Arab coins, in which the Russian collections are very poor. On the other hand, the Parisian collection is poor in Sassani-Arabian coins, of which the Russians have a good quantity. The copper coins of the Khalifas are very interesting, and besides the customary inscriptions we find various representations (branches of trees, ears of corn, crescents, eagles, etc.)

In the introduction M. Lavoix refers to the only *dirham* of Basra, known to be of the fortieth year of the Hijra. It is in all respects like the latest 'Ummayy *dirhams* of A.H. 78-132. Relying upon uncertain historical data M. Lavoix ascribes the first attempt to coin among the Musalmâns to the Khalifa 'Ali (35-40 A.H.); but upon the unanimous evidence of Arabian historians, confirmed by many 'Ummayy coins, its introduction belongs to the rule of the Khalifa 'Abdu'l-Malik (65-86 A.H.). If it had happened in the time of 'Ali, the Musalmân Chronicles would have mentioned it, and moreover in the stores of Kufic money excavated in Northern Russia, we should certainly have met with a few examples of the coins of 'Ali. The writer does not venture to say that the coin is the production of a modern falsifier, but does not feel inclined, like Mordtmann, *se fléchir devant la brutalité du fait*, and to acknowledge it as a coin of 'Ali. Either the engraver made a mistake, or it is a trick of some old supporter of the party of 'Ali, who wished to magnify the imperial wisdom of the founder of his party. Moreover, it is not yet settled in what year the coining of money was introduced. According to chronicles it was between the years 74 and 77 A.H. The specimens, which were known up to the time of M. Lavoix's *Catalogue* were as early as A.H. 77. He now makes us acquainted with *dirhems* of the years 73, 75, 76. In conclusion, the writer hopes for the speedy continuation of the work of M. Lavoix.

(9) Bühler, G., *Ueber die Indische Secte der*

Jaina. Wien, 1887. This is a masterly exposition in a condensed form of the leading principles of Jainism. Professors Bühler and Jacobi are the chief defenders of the independent development of Jainism, apart from Buddhism. To the former weighty reasons in support of this view, new are added, taken from the latest discoveries in epigraphy. In inscriptions of the first century B.C. are found enumerations of different schools of the Jains (*gana*) with their sub-divisions (*śākhā*, branch, and *kula*, family), known to us from the traditions of the Jains. This discovery enables us to feel more confidence in these traditions. Bühler gives a complete text of these inscriptions in the *Viennese Oriental Journal*.

(10) *Albérûnî's India*, edited in the Arabic original, by Dr. Edward Sachau. New editions of valuable Arabic texts are constantly appearing. Bêrûnî, however, always keeps one of the chief places. Arabists and Indian scholars have alike awaited this book with impatience, perhaps the latter most so. A proper estimate will be made when the promised English translation appears. The work of Bêrûnî is peculiar. It has no parallel in ancient and mediæval literature of the East or West. We find in it no prejudices of religion or caste, but a careful spirit of criticism, which is imbued with all the power of modern comparative methods. He understands the value of knowledge, and prefers silence to opinions based upon inadequate facts. His breadth of vision is truly astonishing.

In this book is heard a soul thirsting for truth, and hungering for righteousness, placing that truth above everything, and striving for it unweariedly. He pardons much because he understands much; but at the same time he is free from fanciful idealism. It is indeed wonderful that such a work could have been produced at such a time and in such a country.

A man like Bêrûnî appears to great advantage, if we compare him to European savants of the time. The West was full of prejudices. It had to wait two centuries before it produced the great figure of Frederick II.

The reviewer does not agree with the editor that Bêrûnî was a solitary rock in the ocean of Arabic literature, and explains his reasons at considerable length. This edition is a great monument of the critical skill and unwearied labour of Edward Sachau.

W. R. MORFILL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A VARIANT OF THE BLOODY CLOTH.

The following is an interesting, if unpleasant, variant of the legend of the "bloody cloth"

attached to so many "saints" in Europe. At Changanûr there is a temple to Siva of considerable celebrity. In it there is an image of Parvati,

his consort. Pārvati, being female, of course menstruates (?), and periodically a red spot appears on the cloth worn by the image. Whenever this happens the temple is closed for three days and no worship allowed in it. In the works of

Ravivarman Tampi, a celebrated Travancore poet of the beginning of this century, is to be found an allusion to this in some of his very elegant verses.

Madras.

SUNKUNI WARIYAR.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE LIFE OF HIUEN-TSIANG; by SAMUEL BEAL, B.A., D.C.L. Trübner's Oriental Series. London: Trübner and Co. 1888. Post 8vo.; pp. xxxvii., 218.

A most valuable addition has recently been made to Trübner's Oriental Series, in the shape of the Rev. Samuel Beal's Translation of the Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, which supplements his translation of the Travels of Hiuen-Tsiang, published in 1884 under the title of Buddhist Records of the Western World, and completes the English version of all regarding India that was noted by the Chinese pilgrim during his visit to that country in the period of his absence from China from A.D. 630 to 645. Mr. Beal's three volumes now cover in English the same ground as M. Stanislas Julien's French translation published some thirty years ago; and, being brought up to date by notes and comments, are indispensable to everyone who is concerned with the ancient history of India, religious or political. The present volume also contains, in the Introduction, a brief *résumé* of I-tsing's notices of forty-three other Chinese pilgrims, most of whom visited India, belonging to the period A.D. 627 to 665. It ought to have contained, but does not do so, an index, similar to that provided with the two volumes of the *Travels*; the absence of an index much impairs the utility of such a book as this.

The *Travels* were written by Hiuen-Tsiang, and edited by the Shaman Pien Ki. The *Life* was written in the first instance by Hwui Li, one of Hiuen-Tsiang's disciples, and was afterwards enlarged and completed by Yen-thsong at the request of Hwui Li's disciples. For his share of the work, Yen-thsong consulted other texts and authorities, besides the writings of Hiuen-Tsiang himself. And thus the *Life*, which includes, in addition to an account of Hiuen-Tsiang's early years and his life after his return to China, a more or less full epitome of all the information given in his own larger work, corroborates and explains the latter in many important details. The chief object of Hiuen-Tsiang in visiting India, was to study Buddhism as practised there, and to collect, and take back to China, as many Buddhist and other writings as he could procure. The object of his labours, therefore, was primarily religious. But his work contains also a very full

account of the political divisions of the countries through which he passed, with many notices of the then rulers of them, and of their predecessors. And this it is that makes his writings so valuable; supplying, as they do, so much historical and geographical information regarding a period for which the epigraphical remains are not as full as might be wished.

Within the limits of this notice, it is impossible to give any account of the details of the book. But it contains one curious and interesting episode, not included in the *Travels*, which may be briefly quoted here, as shewing the existence then, as until comparatively recent times, of the practice of human sacrifice by the devotees of Durgā. Having left Ayōdhyā, Hiuen-Tsiang, with about eighty fellow-passengers, was travelling by boat down the Ganges on his way to Hayamukha. The boat was captured by pirates, whose custom it was every year, in the autumn,—which season it then was,—to kill a man of good form and comely features, and to offer his flesh and blood to their goddess, Durgā, in order to procure good fortune. From among their captives they selected Hiuen-Tsiang himself, as the most suitable for their purpose, on account of his distinguished bearing and his bodily strength and appearance. The sacrificial ground was prepared; an altar, besmeared with mud, was erected; Hiuen-Tsiang was bound on it; and the sacrifice was just about to be performed; when the ceremony was stayed by a mighty typhoon that suddenly burst from the four quarters, smiting down the trees, stirring up clouds of sand, and lashing the waves of the river into fury. This fortunate interposition of the powers of nature,—regarded, of course, by the pirates as a miraculous intervention in favour of a person who must consequently be of great sanctity and importance,—led to explanations which naturally ended in the repentance and forgiveness of the pirates, and their conversion to Buddhism as lay-worshippers. This brief account shews the interesting nature of the episode. But it must be read in full in Mr. Beal's translation, in order to understand all its details, and to appreciate the dramatic vigour of the language in which the narrative is given by Hiuen-Tsiang.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 178. — VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.

SAKA-SAMVAT 1003.

I EDIT this and the following two inscriptions, all three of them being now published in full for the first time, from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, in 1883, from the Government Central Museum at Madras, through the kindness of Dr. Bird. This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell, in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 31, No. 212, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of Visagapatam, in the Madras Presidency.

The plates are five in number, each measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{2}$ " at the ends and a little less in the middle; the first plate is inscribed on one side only; the last plate is blank on both sides, and was intended as a guard to the outer side of the fourth plate. The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and, except for five *aksharas* in lines 9, 10, 17, the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{7}{16}$ " thick and 4" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part, shaped like and probably intended to represent an expanded water-lily, of a flat circular disc, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, which takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc, there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant, as if on the top of a pillar; and on each side of the Nandi, cut in the surface of the disc, there is what seems to be either an elephant-goad, or a *chauri* with a long handle; and also a *śaṅkha*-shell, on the proper right side. Possibly there were originally also other emblems, as in the case of No. 179 below, now not recognisable. — The total weight of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 4 lbs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. — The characters are a variety of what Dr. Burnell has named the South-Indian Nāgarī alphabet; and they belong to the same stock with the characters used in the grants of Dēvendravarman and Satyavarman, though with differences in several essential points. The engraving is good and fairly deep; and the letters show through on the outer sides of the first and fourth plates. The interiors of the letters show marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit. And the whole record is in prose, except for three verses in lines 26 to 33. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of *chh*, by *ch* in the usual way, after the *anuvāra*, in *lāṅchchhana*, line 8; (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, after *r*, in *chūḍamaṅḍer=bbbhagavatō*, line 6; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, e.g. in *śavda*, line 8; *ardakān*, line 14; *śūvarān*, line 28; and *śūvujā*, line 32.

This inscription, which contains a good deal of genealogical information, is a record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chōḍagaṅgadēva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga; and the charter recorded in it, is issued from the city of Kalinganagara. It is a Śaiva inscription; the object of it being to record the grant of the village of Chākiṇḍa, in the Samvā vishaya, to the god Siva under the name of Rājārjīśvara, whose temple was at the village of Beṅgūjēḍ, — i.e. to a *līṅga*-form of that god established at the village in question by Rājārāja, the father of Anantavarman, and named after him.

Lines 30 to 33 give the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅgadēva. The details are: — Saka-Samvat 999, expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; while the sun was standing in the sign Kumbha, i.e. in the solar month Phālguna; in the bright fortnight; on Ravijadina or Saturday, joined with the third *tithi*; under the Rēvati nakshatra; and during the Nriyugma lagna, i.e. during the rising of the

sign Mithuna.¹ Here the given year has to be applied as an expired year. Thus, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, I find that —

In Saka-Samvat 999 current, the Kumbha-Samkrānti occurred on Sunday, 22nd January, A.D. 1077, at about 32 *ghatis*, 21 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Kalingapatam,² and on this day there ended the *amānta* Māgha *kṛishṇa* 10, at about 28 *gh.* 48 *p.*; and the Mīna-Samkrānti occurred on Tuesday, 21st February, at about 21 *gh.* 4 *p.*, and on this day there ended the *amānta* Phālguna *kṛishṇa* 11, at about 54 *gh.* 57 *p.* The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was the lunar Phālguna *śukla* 3, which ended, not on a Saturday, but on Sunday, 29th January, A.D. 1077, at about 48 *gh.* 43 *p.*

But in Saka-Samvat 1000 current (999 expired), the Kumbha-Samkrānti occurred on Monday, 22nd January, A.D. 1078, at about 47 *gh.* 52 *p.*, and on this day there ended the *tithi* Māgha *śukla* 6, at about 11 *gh.* 39 *p.*; and the Mīna-Samkrānti occurred on Wednesday, 21st February, at about 36 *gh.* 35 *p.*, and on this day there ended the *tithi* Phālguna *śukla* 7, at about 31 *gh.* 41 *p.* The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in this period, while the sun was standing in Kumbha, was again the lunar Phālguna *śukla* 3, which ended, as required, on Saturday, 17th February, A.D. 1078, at about 54 *gh.* 36 *p.* Calculating by the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and for apparent sunrise, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds, that, on this day, the *tithi* ended at 54 *gh.* 12 *p.*; there was the *Révatī* *nakshatra*, ending, according to the equal-space system, at 44 *gh.* 25 *p.*; and there was the *Nṛiyugma* *lagna*, lasting from 13 *gh.* 23 *p.* to 18 *gh.* 41 *p.*

Lines 40 f. give the actual date of the grant itself. And here the details are: — Saka-Samvat 1003, again expressed in numerical words, and not specified either as current or as expired; the month of Mēsha, i.e. the solar month Vaiśākha; the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight; on Ādityavāra or Sunday. As with the preceding date, applying the given year as an expired year, in Saka-Samvat 1004 current (1003 expired) the Mēsha-Samkrānti occurred on Tuesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1081, at about 44 *ghatis*; the Vṛishabha-Samkrānti occurred on Friday, 23rd April, at about 40 *gh.* 29 *p.*; and the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight in this period was the lunar *amānta* Chaitra *kṛishṇa* 8, which ended, as required, on Sunday, 4th April, A.D. 1081, at about 35 *gh.* 19 *p.*

This inscription, and No. 180 below, which mentions the month of Vṛiścika, i.e. the solar month Mārgaśīrsha, are of special interest on account of their quoting the solar months, in accordance with what is still the usage in at any rate the Tamil calendars in the Madras Presidency.³ With the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Chōla king Rājarāja II.,⁴ and which, by the expression "the sun being in Sīṃha," indicates the solar month Bhādrapada, these are the only published epigraphical instances that I can quote for the use of the solar without any reference to the lunar month.⁵

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Om Svasti Srimatā⁷[m=ā*]khila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshi-
- 2 ṇya - satya - śaucha - śauryya - dhairyy - ādi - guṇa - ratna - pavitrakāṇam-Ā-
- 3 trēya-gōtrāṇam vimala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-salila-prakshā-

¹ For the term *lagna*, see the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, iii. 43, 49, and the notes in the Rev. E. Burgess' translation. The unqualified *lagna* seems always to denote, as it has here been taken, the *kṛishṇa-lagna* or 'the occurrence of a point of the ecliptic on the horizon.' There is another kind of *lagna*, viz. the *madhya-lagna*, which denotes 'the point of the ecliptic on the meridian.'

² The times here are for Kalingapatam, all through.

³ See, for instance, the *Siriya-Pañchāṅgam* and the *Vāsiya-Pañchāṅgam*, quoted *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 208 and note 12, which use the solar year.

⁴ In the verse which gives the date of the accession of the Eastern Chalukya king Amma II. (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 16, lines 31-34), the solar month Pausha is indicated by the words "the sun being in Dhanu;" but the principal item is the mention of the lunar month Mārgaśīrsha.

⁵ This *tī* was at first omitted and then inserted below the line. This omission accounts for the omission of the following *ma*.

⁶ From the original plates.

- 4 lita-Kalikāla-kalmasa-mashipām mahā-Mahēndr-āchala-
 5 śikhara-pratishthitasya sachar-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuva-
 6 na-nirmāṇa-aika-sūtradhārasya śaśāṅka-chūḍāmaṇḍ-ābhā(bhā)gavatō
 7 [Gō°]karṇasvāminah prasādāt=samā[sā°]dit-aikāśāṅka-bhēri-pañcha-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 mahāśavda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra-hēmachāmara-varavṛishabhalāmchchhana-sa-
 9 muj[j°]vala-samasta-sāmrajya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-[sa]ṅghaṭṭa-samu-
 10 [palavdha(bdha)] - vijayalakshmi - samāliṅgit - ōt[t°]uṅga - bhujāda-
 11 ṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Trikalīṅga-mahivujas Gaṅgā-
 12 nām-ā(s)nṇayam=alā(la)ṅkarishpōr-Vishpōr-l(i)va vikrā(kra)m-[ā°]krā-
 13 ntā(nta)-dhā(dha)rāmaṇḍalasya Guṇamahārṇava-mahārājasya putra[h°]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 14 śrī-Vajrah(ha)stadēvas=chatuś-chatvāri[m°]śatam=avda(bda)kān kshiti-
 15 m=arakshit || Tat-tanayō Guṇḍama-rāja(jō) varsha-trayam-apā-
 16 layat || Tad=ann tad=annujah Kāmārṇavadēvaḥ
 17 [pa]ñcha-triśāṇḍ¹⁰-varshāṇi || Tasy-ānujō Vinayā-
 18 dityah samās-tisrah || Tataḥ Kāmārṇava-tanayō Vajraha-
 19 stah yō mada-galita-gaṇā(lā)n gajāna(n) sahasram=arthibhya-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 20 ḥ samadāta(t) sa -pañcha-tri[m°]śatam=avda(bda)kān || Tatas=tad-
 agrasu(sū)-
 21 nuḥ Kāmārṇavadēvō=rdhā-samā[m°] ||¹¹ Taha(ta)s=tad=annjō
 Guṇḍa-mahipati-
 22 s=triṇi varshāṇi || Tad=ann tasya dvaimāturō Madhu¹²-Kāmārṇava-ā-
 23 k-ōna-vimśati-varshāṇi || Tataḥ Kāmārṇavad=Vaidumv¹³-ānvaya-
 24 samudbhavāyām Vinayamahādēvyām jātaḥ śrī-Vajrahastadēvō yō
 25 divaḥ patantam=atibhishanam=āśanīm śastry-ābhijaghāna sa trayas-tri-
 26 mśatam=avda(bda)kān=avanīm=apālayat || Tatas¹⁴=tu tasy-ātmabhavō=ri-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 27 marddanas=sa Rājarāja-kshitipah kshitiṁ samāḥ arakshad=ashṭau
 Varuṇ-ā-
 28 lay-āmva(ba)rān=nidhir=ggupānān=Nidhō(dhi)pāla-sannibhaḥ || Tatō¹⁵
 Rājēndrachō-
 29 lasya tanayā Rājasundari rājūas=tasy-āgra-mahishī sati sutam=
 nśū(sū)yata ||
 30 Sak¹⁶-āvdē(bdē) Nanda-randhra-grahagana-gaṇitō Kumbha-samsthō
 dinēsō suklō

⁹ Read mahābhujas. — In the last syllable, first a visarga was engraved, and then it was corrected into the anusvara by partial erasure of the lower circle.

¹⁰ In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this name is given as Guṇḍama; but the second syllable is distinctly ṇḍa.

¹¹ Read trishad.

¹² In the place where this person is mentioned in No. 179, line 74-75, the text has guṇḍama-rāja; which gives him exactly the same name, Guṇḍama, with his grandfather. In No. 180, line 14, however the reading is the same as here. And though in both places we might assume the proper reading to be guṇḍama-mahipati, on the understanding that the second ma was omitted in accordance with a frequent tendency of Hindu scribes, yet it is equally possible that Guṇḍa is a justifiable shorter form of Guṇḍama. I therefore take the text as it stands, without making any emendation.

¹³ In Mr. Sewell's published notice, this part of the name is given as Madhu; but, both here and in No. 179, line 75, the second syllable is distinctly dhu. Also, in his notice of No. 179, Mr. Sewell gave the prefix as Muchu; but the first syllable, in both places, is distinctly ma.

¹⁴ Here, in the second syllable, we distinctly have the dental d; but in No. 180, line 15, the lingual ḍ is used.

¹⁵ Metro, Vamśastha.

¹⁶ Metro, Ślōka (Anuashubh).

¹⁷ Metro, Sragdharā.

- 31 pakshê tri(tri)tiyâ-yuji Raviya-dinê Rêvati-bhê Nriyugmê
lagmê(nê) Ga-
32 ng-ânvavây-ânvu(bu)ja-vana-dinakrid-viśva-viśvaṁbharāyās-chakraṁ sam-
rakshi-
33 tuṁ sad-guṇa-nidhir-adhipas-Chôḍagaṅgô-bhishiktaḥ || Kalinga-
nagarât-pa-
34 ramamâhêśvara - paramabhaṭṭâraka - mahârâjâdhirâja - Tri(tri)kaling - â-
Fourth Plate; First Side.
35 dhipatiḥ śrîmad-Anantavarmma Chôḍa(ḍa)gaṅgadêvâḥ kuśali samast-
âmâtya-
36 pramukha-janapadân-samâhûya samâjûḥpayati (1*) Vidaditam-astu
bhavatâm ||(1)
37 Samvâ-vishayê Châkivâḍ-âkhyô grâmas-chatus-sim-âvachchhinna-
38 s-sa-jala-sthalas-sarvva - pldâ - vivarjîtam - â - chandr - ârkka - kshiti - sama-
39 kalam yâvan-mâtâpitrôr-âtmanas-cha puṇya-yaśô-bhividdha-
40 yê ||¹⁷ Haranayana-viyad-gagana-chandra-ganitê Sak-âvdê(bdê)
Mêsha-mâ-
41 sa-krishṇ-âshṭamyâm-Âditya-vare Remgujêḍ-âkhyâ-grâma-nivâ-
Fourth Plate; Second Side.
42 sinê Râjarâjêśvarâya va(ba)li-pûjâ-nivêdy-ôtsava-karaṇâ-
43 ya ch-âsmâbhir-datta iti ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the *Mahârâja* Guṇamahârâva (II.) (line 13), who adorned the family of the Gaṅgas (line 11), — who are of the Âtrêya gôtra (l. 3.); who through the favour of the divine Gôkarṇasvâmin (Siva), (l. 7) established on the summit of the great mountain Mahêndra (l. 4), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 5), and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (l. 6), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the *pañchamahâśabda*, the white umbrella, the golden *châmara*, and the excellent crest of a bull (*vrishabha-lâñchhana*) (l. 9); and who are the kings of (the country of) Trikalînga (l. 11), — the son, the illustrious Vajrahastadêva (III.) (l. 14), protected the earth for forty years.

His son, king Guṇḍama (I.) (l. 15), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, Kâmârṇavadêva (IV.) (l. 16), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, Vinayâditya (l. 17), for three years. Then Vajrahasta (IV.) (l. 18), the son of Kâmârṇava (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, Kâmârṇavadêva (V.) (l. 21), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king Guṇḍa (Guṇḍama II.)¹⁸ (l. 21), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, Madhu-Kâmârṇava (VI.) (l. 22), for nineteen years. Then to Kâmârṇava (VI.), from Vinsyamahâdêvi (l. 24) who was born in the Vaidumva¹⁹ family, there was born Vajrahastadêva (V.) (l. 24), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king Râjarâja (l. 27), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (*agramahîkâ*) was Râjasundari (l. 28), the daughter of Râjêndrachôla. And she bore him a son, king Chôḍagaṅga (l. 33), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is the Gaṅga family (l. 32), who was anointed king in the Saka year (l. 30) that is numbered by the Nandas (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with

¹⁷ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.¹⁸ See note 11 above.¹⁹ Or perhaps Vaidumva, with the lingual ḍ; see note 13 above.

Kumbha, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the Rāvati nakshatra, and during the Nriyugma lagna.

From the city of Kalinganagara (l. 33), he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahēvara, the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, the Mahārājādhirāja, the supreme lord of Trikalīṅga (l. 34), the glorious Anantavarman (otherwise called) Chōḍagaṅgaḍēva (l. 35), being in good health, having called together all the people, headed by the Amātyas, issues a command:—

“Be it known to you (l. 36) that, in the Saka year (l. 40) that is numbered by the eyes of Hara (three), the sky (nought), the expanse of heaven (nought), and the moon (one), on the eighth tithi of the dark fortnight in the month of Mēsha, on Sunday (l. 41), the village of Chākivāḍa, in the Samvā vishaya (l. 37), has been given by us to (the god) Rājārājēvara (l. 42), residing (in a temple) at the village of Beṅgujeḍ (l. 41), (for his use) and for the purpose of performing the oblation of ghee, the worship, the perpetual oblation, and the festival (of the god).”

No. 179.—VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.

SAKA-SAMYAT 1040.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 33, No. 19, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Collector of Vizagapatam.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " at the ends and a little less in the middle. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{7}{16}$ " thick and 5" in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat circular disc, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, similar to that of No. 178 above, which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant; and, cut in the surface of the disc, there are, in front of him, the sun; in front of his left fore-leg, the moon; by the side of his right fore-leg, a *liṅga*, on an *abhishēka*-stand; below the *liṅga*, what seems to be a double umbrella; below the latter, a *śākha*-shell; behind the Nandi, a double drum; on the left side of him, what seems to be a single umbrella; and above it, between it and the moon, some emblem that I do not recognise. — The total weight of the five plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 8 lbs. 14 oz. — The characters in this instance are ordinary Old-Kanarese, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. The engraving is good, and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. The interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is entirely in verse as far as line 44; and after that, verses occur in lines 61, 77, 80, 81, and 84 to 103. — In respect of orthography, the points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anuvāra* instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in *kalauka-kānti*, line 1; though instances of the correct usage occur, and, among them, the rather unusual employment of the guttural nasal in *anvabhūta*, for *anvabhūṭa*, line 14; (2) the doubling of *g* after the *anuvāra*, once, in *gaṅga*, line 105; (3) the use of *v* for *b*, once, in *avdau*, line 87, though in other places the *b* itself is used; (4) the use of *b* for *bh* in *chaturbbis*, line 4, and, again when preceded by *r*, in five similar instances in lines 12, 56, 84, 91, and 96, and probably in line 34; and (5) the use of *śāhbrājya* for *śāhūrājya*, line 46.

This inscription which contains still more genealogical and historical information, is another record of King Anantavarman, otherwise called Chōḍagaṅgaḍēva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga; in this instance, the city from which the charter was issued, is not mentioned. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of the village of Tamarakhaṇḍi, in the Samvā vishaya, to a person named Mādhava.

In lines 93 to 96, we have the same verse that occurs in No. 178, giving the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅga-dêva. And line 114 gives the actual date of the grant itself, which is simply mentioned, without further details for calculation, as a meritorious day in Saka-Saṃvat 1040, expressed in numerical words and not distinctly specified either as current or as expired, but equivalent, as an expired year,¹ to A.D. 1118-1119.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Om [u*] Lakshmi³-nishēvyam=udurāja-kalamka-kāmti bāhā-chatuṣṭaya-chapaṃ vapu-
 2 rādadhānaḥ prādur-bbabbhūva bhuvana-tritayam vidhimsur=vvīśva-prasūti-jara-
 3 tō(thō) bhagavān=Anantatā || Tan⁴-nābhi(bhī)-nalinād=babbhūva bhuvana-prārambha-
 dikshā-ratō
 4 Brahmā vēda-paramparā[m*] paridadhad=vaktrais=chaturbbi(rbbhi)s=tataḥ prajāpatya-
 dbur-ādhirūḍa(ḍha)-
 5 mahasām=Atrir=mmuninām prabhur=jjātas=sarvvajani(nf)na-divya-tapasā[m*] vrātō
 vapushmā-
 6 n=iva || Atrō[ū*]⁵ putrō⁶ babbhūva Tripurahara-jatā-jūtā(fa)-nēpatya(thya)-ratna-
 nētra-vyāpā-
 7 ra-dēśa[h*] Smara-charita-mahā-nādi(tī)kā-sūtradhāraḥ dṛishṭāntō dākṣhiṇyā-mu-
 8 kha-mukura-ruchām sarvvār-jī(jī)vit-ēśas=trailōky-ānamda-kāmdō gagana-tala-ma-
 9 h-āmbhōdhi-samkhas=Sasā[m*]khaḥ 1(1) Tatō⁷ jagat-tāpa-bhishajyita-tvishaś=śubha-grahō-
 10 bhūd=vibudh-āgrāṇir=Bbudhaḥ Purūravās=tat-tanayō yad-ullasad-bhujā bhuji-
 11 shyām bubhujē vasumdharam 1(1) Tasm[ā*]d⁸=Āyus=śubham yas=tribhuvana-viditō
 janma lēbhē
 12 tadyaḥ putrō=bhūj=jē(jai)tra-bāhur=Nnahusha-narapatir=bbū(bbhū)bhrītām=agra-ganyah
 ya-
 13 h prithvyām=ēka-patnyām=anubhava-vimukhō bhūri-jāta-prajāyām svar-vvēśyām kha-
 14 ṇḍit-Emdrām prapaya-paravaśaḥ paurushēṇ=ānvabhuḥ[k*]ta || Tatō⁹ Yayatir-
 vvijit-āri-
 15 yāt¹⁰ir=jjajō tatas=Turvvahur=urvvār-ēśaḥ sa pūrvva-gīrvvāṇa-gurōr=ggarimnā(mpā)
 mātāma-
 16 hasy-ōrasi hi pravṛiddhaḥ 1(1) Aputratvaṃ¹¹ prāptas=suchiram=atikhinnō nripa-vṛi-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 shas=sa Gaṅgām=ārādhyām niyata-gatir=ārādhyā vara-dām ajēyam Gaṅgēya-
 18 m sutam=alabhat=ārabhya cha tadā kramas=tad.vamśyānām bhuvi jayati
 Gaṅg-ānva-
 19 ya iti 1(1) Asy¹²=āsīt=tanayō Virōchana-vibhur=vvairi-grah-āstāchala[h*] kshōpi(nī)nā-
 20 tha-kī(kī)ṛita-patra-makari-lagn-ā[m*]ghri-rēṇ(?)-ū(?)tkaraḥ Lakshmi(kshmi)-Vāḡvanitā-
 mahākula-nadī[sa]-
 21 mēdyam=udyōginām Saṃvēdyam samaji(jī)janat=sa nripatir=Ggaṅg-ānvay-ōttāma-
 kam 1(1) Sa-
 22 mēdy-atō¹³ maḡir=iv=[ā*]jani nāma bhāsvān¹⁴ bhūpāla-mauli-makuṭair=upalālani(nī)ya-

¹ On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178.

² From the original plates.

³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

⁴ Metre Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁵ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁶ Read putrō.

⁷ Metre, Vamśasṭha.

⁸ Metre, Sragdharā.

⁹ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

¹⁰ This vowel ā was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather indistinctly, over the lower part of the ā.

¹¹ Metre, Śikharipi.

¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Metre, Vasantatilaka.

¹⁴ The use and position of the word nāma might possibly be held to indicate that the name of Saṃvēdyā's son is to be found in the word bhāsvān; in which case the first four syllables of this verse would be taken as one word, with an ablative sense, and the translation would be "from Saṃvēdyā there was born Bhāsvat by name, (resplendent) like a jewel." But on the whole it would seem that the name Saṃvēdin is intended; and that this name, and that of Dattasēna, were purposely placed at the beginning and the end of the stanza.

- 23 h trās-ādi-dōsha-rahitas=sa babbhūva putrī yat-sāmpadān=nidhir=ajāyata Datta-
 24 sēnaḥ 1(11) Tasya¹⁵=ōrvvi(rvvi)śvara-mauli-maṇḍana-maṇḍr=āsīd=asādhāraṇam bibhṛāḥ
 nripa-
 25 ti-śriyaṁ priya-sutas=Sōmō=tiramy-ākṛitiḥ tasmād=apy=udapādi mōdita-ja-
 26 gach-chakrō = msudattas = tatas = Sō(sau)rāṁgō = bhavad = anya-rād-gaja-ghat-[ā*]pāta-
 kri(kri)yā-pāka-
 27 laḥ 1(11) Tasmāch¹⁶=Chitrāmbarō=bhūt=kshītitala-valayē rāja-śabd-aika-vābhya(chya)s=
 sūnns=Sāradhva-
 28 jō=sy=ābhavad=akhila-bhuvām=ādhipatya-prasūti[h*] Dhammēba¹⁷ tat-tanūjō nripa-
 naya-
 29 padavi(vi)-pāmtha-mukhyō virējē babhrāj=āpatyā(tya)m=asya kshiti-jaya-paravān=ēka-
 30 dhanvā Parikshit 1(11) Sa¹⁸ mahāpatis=sutam=apā(vā)pa māninaṁ Jayasēnam=
 anya-
 31 nripa-darppa-śātanam ābhavat=sutō=sya Jayasēna-samjñitaḥ prathayan diśā-
 32 sita-dukūlita[m*] yaśaḥ 1(11) Jitaviryam¹⁹=asāv=ajjjanat=sa cha bhūpā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 33 la-vṛisham Vṛishadhvajam saha-śaktim=alamghya-śāsanam vijigishum ssa(sn)-
 virōdhi-bhi-
 34 shapaṁ 1(11) Tasya²⁰ Pragarbba(lbha)s²¹=tanayō babbhūva kshītīsa-mārgg-ācharaṇa-
 pragalbhaḥ ya[h*] kha-
 35 dga-dhārā-jala-dhauta-vairi-nāri-kapōlasthala-patrabhaṁgaḥ 1(11) Āsīd²²=ēva sit-ātapa-
 36 tra-tilaka[h*] kshōṇibhrid=asy=ātma-jō vīraśri-vanitā-svayamvṛita-patir=ddēvas=sa Kō-
 37 lāhalah nirmamāy=ōrjjita-Gaṁgavāḍi-vishayē Kōlāhal-ākhyam puram yaś=cha-
 38 krē sura-sadma vi(vi)kshapa-rasa-pratyūham=akshṇam Harēḥ 1(11) Tat²³-sutō dhṛita-
 śarāsana-ya-
 39 aḥtir=ggām=arakshad=apavarjjita-chauryy[ā*]m śāsana-prathita-pāsa-vidē(dhē)yām=ēka
 40 ēva sa Virōchana-samjñah [11*] Gatē²⁴ tatra narēmdrāṇam Kōlāhala-puri(ri)-
 bhujām
 41 ēk-āśītyām cha tad-vamśyō Virasimhō=bhavan=nripaḥ 1(11) Tasya Kāmārṇna(rṇṇa)-
 vas-sū-
 42 nur=Dānārṇna(rṇṇa)va-Guṇārṇnavau Mārasimha iti khyātā(tō) Vajrahast-
 ākhyapaṁcha-
 43 māḥ 1(11) Atha Kāmārṇna(rṇṇa)vō dat[t*]vā pitṛivyāya nijām=mahīm prāyāt=
 prithvi(thvī)m bhuvam jē-
 44 tum=Ma(ma)hēmdram bhrātṛibhir=ggiriṁ 1(11) Tatra cha sakala-sur-āsura-siddha-
 sādhyā-kirīṭa-kōṭi-
 45 vighṛishṭa-masṛiṇa-charaṇapītham=ārādhyā Gōkarṇṇasvāminam=asya prasādāt=samā-
 46 sādita-vara-vṛishabhalāmcha(chha)nas=samupalabdha - sakala - sāmbrā(rā)jya - chihno(hnai)=
 upa-
 47 sōbbhamānas=sa narēmdrā(drō) Mahēmdr-āchala-śikharād=avatīrya Yudhisṭhira iva
 48 chaturbbhir = anujair = anugamyamānas = samara - ni(ni)rasika - Balādityan = ni[r*]jitya

Third Plate; First Side.

- 49 Kāmārṇnavah Kalimṅān=agrahit | tasya ch=āpahasita-Surēmdra-puram Jamtāvura-
 50 n=nāma nagari rājadhāny=āsīt | asau Dānārṇna(rṇṇa)vam=anujam kamthikā-
 bāmdhura-

¹⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹⁶ Metre, Mañjubhāṣiḍi.¹⁷ Metre, Sragdharā.¹⁸ Metre, Vaitāliya.¹⁹ Read probably dharm-āhaya.²⁰ Metre, Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.²¹ A correction is necessary here. On the analogy of *chaturbbis* for *chaturbbhis*, line 4, and some similar instances in this record, we might take the real name to be *Pragarbha*. But I do not find this word in dictionaries. And *Pragalbha* is indicated by the use of that word in the context.²² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.²³ Metre, Svāgatā.²⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses.—Here, instead of *gatē*, we ought to have *gatidyām*, in apposition with *ēk-āśītyām* in the next line.

- 51 kamīhara[m*] nidhāya Guṇārṇavāy=Āmbavāḍi-vishayaṁ Mārasimhāya Sō(ṣe)-
 52 dā-maṇḍalam Vajrahastāya Kamṭaka-varṭtani(nī)m-adāt i ēvaṁ cha kramēṇa
 śhaṭ-tri-
 53 mśad-varshān Kalimṅān=apālayat i(ii) Tasya cha śrīmatām=aśēśha-bhuvana-bhū-
 54 pāla-mauli-māl-ālamkāra-yasasām nija-rājya-sampad-apahasita-Mahēm-
 55 drāṇām Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇa-aika-sū-
 56 tradhārasya [sa*]char-āchara-gurūr=bba(bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇasvāminas=samārādhana-la-
 57 bdha-nikhila-manōrathānām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇām Gaṁgānārī kulam-a-
 58 laṁkarishṇōr=Vvishṇōr=iva vikram-ākramāta-sakala-mahīmaṇḍalasya Kāmārṇa-
 59 vasy=ānujō Dānārṇavas=chatvāriṁśatam=abdakān rājyam=akārshīt i(ii) Tat-sū-
 60 nur=dvitiyaḥ Kāmārṇavaḥ pañchāśad-varshān=mahīmaṇḍalam=amaṇḍayat i tasya
 tiraskṛita-trivishṭa-
 61 paṁ Nagaran=nāma puram=āsīt ii Tasmin²⁵ sō=pi madhūka-vṛiksha-jananād=īśasya
 līm-g-ākritēḥ kṛitv=ākhyam
 62 Madhukēśa ity=arachayat=prāsādam=abhraṁkasham yad-[d*]vār-ōrdhva-vichitra-patra-
 latikāś=chitrāṇi vā paśya-
 63 tām saudhāny=ambaravarttinām hṛidi bhavēn=nūnam vimān-āruchiḥ i(ii) Tat-tanayō
 Rapārṇavaḥ pañcha va-
 64 rshān mahim=aharshayat i(ii) Tat-sūnur=dvitiyō Vajrahastāḥ pañchadaśa samāḥ
 kshamām=arakshat [ii*]
 65 Tasy=ānujas=tri(tri)tiya[h*] Kāmārṇavō=rṇavamēkhalām=ēk-ōna-vimśati-samvatsarān-
 samavaraddha-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 66 yat i(ii) Tat-sutō Guṇārṇavas=sapta-vimśatim=abdān=abdhiraśanām vaśām=
 anaishīt i(ii) Tad-ātmajaḥ Ji-
 67 tāṁkusaḥ pañchadaśa vatsarān mahin=nissapatnām=akārshīt i(ii) Tatas=tad-bhrātus=
 sū(su)taḥ Kali-
 68 galāmkuśō dvādaśa vatsarān Kalimṅān=alamchakāra i(ii) Tatas=tasya pitṛi-bhrātā
 sapta varshān
 69 Guṇḍama-rājō mahīmaṇḍala-maṇḍanō²⁶ babhūva [ii*] Tasy=ānujaś=chaturthāḥ
 Kāmārṇavaḥ pañcha-
 70 vimśati-varshān vasuṁdharam=anubabhūva i(ii) Tayō[h*] kani(nī)yān=Vinayādityō
 71 varsha-trayaṁ dharitrim=atrāyat(ta) i(ii) Tatas=taj-[j*]yēshṭhasya Kāmārṇavasya
 sutaś=cha-
 72 turtthō Vajrahastāḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=abdakān i yad-datta-damti-sahasra-
 73 dāna-vāriṇā cha kuvalayam paṁkilam=āsīt i(ii) Tatas=tat-sutaḥ
 74 pañchama[h*] Kāmārṇavō=rdhha-samām i(ii) Tatas=tad-ānujō dvitiyō Guṇḍa-
 75 ma-rājas=²⁷trīṇi varshāṇi i(ii) Tasya dvaimāturō bhrātā shashṭhō Madhu²⁸.
 Kāmārṇa-
 76 va ēk-ōna-vimśati-varshāṇi i(ii) Tatas=tadīya-naṁdanō Vajrahastas=triṁśa-
 77 tam=abdakān i Tad-vēṇṇanō i Vyāptō²⁹ Gaṁga-kul-ōttamasya yasasā dik-
 chakravālō
 78 śaśi-pradyōt-āmalinēna yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sampādinā simḍarair=ati-
 79 sūndra-paṁka-paṭalaiḥ kumbhasthali-paṭṭakēshv=ālimpanti punaḥ-punaś=cha hari-
 80 tām=ādihōraṇā vāraṇām i(ii) Anurāgēṇa³⁰ guṇinō yasya na(va)kshō-mukh-ā-
 81 bjayōḥ āsinē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=anukūlō virājataḥ i(ii) Na³¹ n[ā*]mataḥ kō-

²⁵ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

²⁶ These eight syllables are engraved over some cancelled letters. The reading is a little doubtful, but seems to be as I give it.

²⁷ See page 163 above, note 11.

²⁸ See page 163 above, note 12.

²⁹ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

³⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anuśṭubh).

³¹ Upajāti of Indravajrā and Upēndravajrā.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 82 valam-artthatô=pi sa³³ Vajrahastas=Trikalimnga-nâthah yô Vajri-hastâd=apathah(m)
prithi-
83 vyâm vajram patad=vârayitum samarttha[h*] i(ii) Tat-sutô Râjarâjajô³⁴=shâ-va-
84 tsarân i Tad-varṇanâ i Sa³⁴ Râjarâjah prathamam jaya-śriyah patir=bbabhu(bhū)-
85 va Dramil-âhav-ôtsavô virâjamânâm=atha Râjasû(su)m̐darim=udûḍa(ḍha)-
86 vâms=Chôḍa-mahibhuj-âtmanâm i(ii) Tyaktvâ³⁵ Vemgi[m*] sapadi pariṇ[â*]m-ôdayê
dyâ-
87 m=iv=anyâm Chôḍa-vyâjê mahati Vijayâdityam=avdhan(bdhau) mima[m*]kshu[m*] â-
88 pannânâm parama-saragam Râjarâjô vichitraṁ lakshmi-bhâja[m*] su
89 chiram=akarôt=paśchimâyâm diśâyâm i(ii) Tasya³⁶=âbu(bhū)d=agra-sūnuḥ prithula-
90 nija-bhujâ-Vikramâditya-sâras=satya-tyâg-aika-simâ vimalatara-ya-
91 śâś-chandrikâ-dhauta-lôkah vâg-ullamghi-pratâpah śubha-charita-nidhir=bbâ(bbhâ)gya-
92 saubhâgya-râsîḥ kshôpi-prâṇ-âdhinâthas=sakala-ripu-manô-bhâng-a-daś=Chôḍaga-
93 m̐gaḥ i(ii) Sak-âbdê namda-râmdhra-grahagana-ganitê Kumbha-samsthê
dinêśê su-
94 klô pakshê tṛitiyâ-yuji Ravija-dinê Rêvati-bhê Nṛiyugmê lagnê Gaṅg-
ânva-
95 vâv-âmbuja-vana-dinakṛid=viśva-viśvam̐bharâyâś=chakraṁ samrakshitum-
96 sad-guṇa-nidhir=adhipaś=Chôḍagamgô=bhishiktaḥ || Vira³⁷-śrir=bbu(bbhu)jadanḍa-
yugma-
97 lalitâ yasy=âri-darppa-chohida[h*] stambha-dvamdva-niyam̐trit-aika-kariṇt-sâ

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 98 dris̐yam=âkli(klri)pyati³⁸ i yat-pâda-dvitay-âmtika-praṇayin[â*]m̐ kshôpi-bhṛitâm=mau-
99 laya[h*] sphâyat-padma-yug-ânukâ(châ)ri-madhupa-ârêpi-śriyam̐ bibhrati
100 || Pûrvvayâm diśi pûrvvam=Utkala-pati[m*] râjyê vidhâya chyutam̐ paśchât=
paśchi-
101 ma-dik-tatê vigadi(li)tam̐ Vemg-im̐sam³⁹=apy=êtayôḥ lakshmi(kshmi)m̐ vamdana-mâli-
102 kâm=iva jaya-śrî-tôraṇa-stambhayôr=bbadhnâti sma samiddha-vitta-vibhava[h*]
103 śrî-Gaṅga-chûḍam̐piḥ || Sa śrimad-Anantavarma-mahârâjô râjâdhi-
104 râjô râjaparamêśvaraḥ paramabhâttâraḥ paramavaishṇavaḥ paramabra-
105 hman̐yah⁴⁰ mâtâpitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâta[h*] śrî-Chôḍagamgâdêvas=Samvâ-
106 viśhayê rap̐rakûṭa⁴¹-pramukhân kutumbinas=sarvvân=sar-
107 m̐hūya purôhit-âmâtya-yuvarâja-sam̐dhivi-
108 grahi - dauvârîka - pramukha - parijana - samaksham = ittham = âjñāpayati [i*]
109 Viditam=astu vō yathâ || Âsîd=âr̐ryya-kul-ôdbhavô Vâsudeva-nâ-
110 yakas=tad-bhâryyâ Gaṇḍama-nâyikâ tat-putrô Bhîmaya-nâmâ tad-bhâ-
111 ryyâ Mēḍama-nâyikâ tat-putrô Mâdhavas=tasm̐[ai*] mat-pâd-ôpajivînô
112 bhavad-viśhayê Tâmarakhaṇḍi-nâma-grâmas=satata-pratibaddhâbhîr=avichohinna-
113 samôpabhôgâbhis=cha pallibhis=sârdham̐ sa-jala-sthalam̐ sarvv-ôpadrava-rahi-

Fifth Plate.

- 114 m=â-cham̐dr-ârkka-pratishṭham=mâtâpitṛôr=âtmanâś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê viya-
115 d-udadhi-kh-êṁdu-ganitêshu Saka-vatsarêshu puṇyê=hani sakal-Ôtkala-samrâ-
116 jya-padavi-virâjamânais=Sim̐dûrapôra-nivâsibhir=asmâbhir=ddhârâ-pûrvvaka[m*] da-
117 ttas=Tad=bhâvibhir=api bhûmipâlâiḥ paripâlaniya iti ||

³³ This is a very anomalous character, more like a mark of punctuation than anything else; but it can only be meant for sa.

³⁴ Read râjâjô.

³⁵ Metre, Vajrasaṭha.

³⁶ Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

³⁷ Metre, Sragdharâ; and in the next verse.

³⁸ Metre, Śârdûlavikrîṭita; and in the following verse.

³⁹ According to the Dictionaries, the root kṛip is of the first class only, and is conjugated in the âtmanepada. Here, in composition with â, it is conjugated in the parasmaipada of the fourth class.

⁴⁰ Read śam.

⁴¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴² Read rashtrakûṭa.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Desirous of creating the three worlds, there became manifest the divine (god) **Ananta** (**Vishnu**) (line 3).⁴² From the water-lily (*that grew from*) his navel, there sprang (the god) **Brahman** (l. 4), reciting the Vēdas with his four mouths. From him there was born **Atri** (l. 5), the lord of sages. The son of Atri was **Sasāṅka** (the Moon) (l. 9).⁴³ From him was born **Budha** (l. 10). His son was **Purūravas**. From him was born **Āyus** (l. 11). His son was king **Nahusha** (l. 12). From him there was born **Yayāti** (l. 14). From him, king **Turvasu** (l. 15); "he came to maturity on the breast (*of his mother*) through the power of the ancient preceptor of the gods, his maternal grandfather (*'Sakra*)."⁴⁴ Being without sons, and being excessively distressed for a long time (*on that account*) (l. 16), he (**Turvasu**), the best of kings, practising self-restraint, propitiated (the river) **Gaṅga**, the bestower of boons, who is worthy to be propitiated, and obtained a son, the unconquerable **Gaṅgōya** (l. 17);⁴⁵ and, from that time forth, the succession of his descendants has been victorious in the world, under the name of the **Gaṅgānvaya** (l. 18).

The son of this person was **Virōchana** (l. 19). He begat **Samvēdya** (l. 21), the glory of the **Gaṅgānvaya**. From him there was born **Samvēdin** (l. 22).⁴⁶ He became possessed of a son through the birth of **Dattasēna** (l. 23). His dear Son was **Sōma** (l. 25). From him there was born **Aṃsudatta** (l. 26). From him, **Saurāṅga**. From him, **Chitrāmbara** (l. 27), who alone, in the whole circuit of the earth, was worthy to be spoken of by the title of 'king.' His son was **Saradhvaṇa**. His son was he who had the appellation of **Dharma** (?) (l. 28).⁴⁷ And his son was **Parikshit** (l. 30). He obtained a glorious son, **Jayasēna** (I.). And his son again was named **Jayasēna** (II.) (l. 31). He begat **Jitavīrya** (l. 32). And he, king **Vṛishadhvaṇa** (l. 33). His son was **Pragalbha** (l. 34).⁴⁸ His son was **Kōlāhala** (l. 36), who built the city named **Kōlāhalapura** (l. 37), in the great **Gaṅgavāḍi** viśaya, and made a temple of the god **Hari**. And his son was **Virōchana** (l. 40).

When there had gone by in that city eighty kings, who enjoyed the city of **Kōlāhalapuri** (l. 40), in his lineage there was born king **Virasimha** (l. 41). His sons were five in number; **Kāmārṇava** (I.), **Dānārṇava**, **Gupārṇava** (I.), **Mārasimha**, and **Vajrahasta** (I.) (l. 42). Then **Kāmārṇava** (I.) gave over his own territory to his paternal uncle (l. 43), and, with his brothers, set out to conquer the earth, and came to the mountain **Mahēndra** (l. 44). Having there worshipped the god **Gōkarṇasvāmin** (l. 45), through his favour he obtained the excellent crest of a bull (*vṛishabha-lāṅghana*); and then, decorated with all the insignia of universal sovereignty, having descended from the summit of the mountain **Mahēndra** (l. 47), and being accompanied, like **Yudhisṭhira**, by his four younger brothers **Kāmārṇava** (I.) conquered (king) **Balāditya**, who had grown sick of war (l. 48), and took possession of the **Kaliṅga** countries (l. 49). And his capital (*rājadhāni*) was the city named **Jantāvura** (l. 49), which quite surpassed the city of (the god) **Surēndra**. Having decorated his younger brother **Dānārṇava** with the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*) (*of royalty, as a token that he should succeed him in that kingdom*) (l. 50), to **Gupārṇava** (I.) he gave the **Ambavāḍi**

⁴² Accordingly, these Gaṅgas were comprised in the Vishṇuvamśa or lineage of Vishṇu.

⁴³ And thus they belonged also to the Sōmavamśa or Lunar Race.

⁴⁴ I have not succeeded in obtaining an explanation of this verse. The story of Yayāti is given in the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book iv. chap. 10; and may be briefly stated thus:—By his wife Dēvayāni, the daughter of Śakra, he had two sons, **Yadu** and **Turvaśu**; and by his other wife **Sarmisṭhā**, the daughter of **Vṛishaparvan**, three sons, **Druhyu**, **Anu**, and **Pūru**. Being cursed by Śakra, in connection with his marriage to the second wife, he became old and infirm before his time. But subsequently, appeasing his first father-in-law, Śakra, he obtained permission to transfer his decrepitude for a thousand years to anyone who would bear it in his place. With the exception of **Pūru**, all his sons refused, and were cursed by him in consequence. **Pūru**, however, relieved his father of the infliction, and in return, when the time had expired, was made by his father his principal successor in the sovereignty; his brothers being appointed viceroys under him.—The preceptor of the gods is properly **Bṛihaspati**. But the epithet seems here to be applied to Śakra, the preceptor of the demons.

⁴⁵ Here the descent branches off from the Purāṇic genealogy. According to the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, book iv. chap. 16, **Turvaśu**'s son was **Vahni**; his was **Gōbhānu**; and so on; and no reference is made to the circumstances mentioned in the present verse.

⁴⁶ See note 14 above.

⁴⁷ See note 17 above.

⁴⁸ See note 21 above.

vishaya (l. 51); to *Mārasimha*, the *Sōdā* or *Sēdā* maṇḍala (l. 52); and to *Vajrahasta* (I.), the *Kaṇṭhaka* vartani. And thus for thirty-six years he governed the *Kaliṅga* countries (l. 53).

Of him, *Kāmārṇava* (I.) (l. 58), who adorned the family of the *Gaṅgas* (l. 57),—who obtained the fulfilment of all their desires by propitiating the divine *Gōkarṇasvāmin* (l. 56), established on the pure summit of the mountain *Mahēndra* (l. 55), who is the sole architect for the construction of the universe, and the father of all things animate and inanimate (l. 56); and who are of the *Atrēya* gōtra (l. 57),—the younger brother, *Danārṇava* (l. 59), reigned for forty years.

His son, the second *Kāmārṇava* (l. 60),⁴³ reigned for fifty years; his city was the city named *Nagara* (l. 61), in which he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the god *Īśa* (*Siva*) in the *līṅga*-form, to which he had given the name of *Madhukēśa* (l. 62) because it was produced from, a *madhūka*-tree. His son, *Raṇārṇava* (l. 63), made the earth happy for five years. His son, the second *Vajrahasta* (l. 64), protected the earth for fifteen years. His younger brother, the third *Kāmārṇava* (l. 65), caused the earth to be prosperous for nineteen years. His son, *Guṇārṇava* (II.) (l. 66), held the earth in subjection for twenty-seven years. His son, *Jitāṅkusa* (l. 67), kept the earth without a rival wife in his affection for fifteen years. Then his brother's son, *Kaligalāṅkusa* (l. 67), adorned the *Kaliṅga* countries for twelve years. Then his father's brother, king *Guṇḍama* (I.) (l. 69), was the ornament of the earth for seven years. His younger brother, the fourth *Kāmārṇava* (l. 69), enjoyed the earth for twenty-five years. Their younger brother, *Vinayāditya* (l. 70), protected the earth for three years. Then the fourth *Vajrahasta* (l. 72), the son of his elder brother *Kāmārṇava* (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; and made the earth as soft as clay with the water that was the rut of a thousand elephants given away by him. Then his son, the fifth *Kāmārṇava* (l. 74), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, the second king *Guṇḍama* (l. 74), reigned for three years. His maternal half-brother, the sixth *Madhu-Kāmārṇava* (l. 75), for nineteen years. Then his son, *Vajrahasta* (V.) (l. 76), for thirty years; the whole earth was filled with the fame of him, the ornament of the *Gaṅgakula* (l. 77); and he, the lord of *Trikaṇṭha* (l. 82), fully deserved the name of *Vajrahasta* ('he who holds a thunderbolt in his hand'), because he was able to ward off a thunderbolt which, missing its proper path, was falling from the hand of the god *Vajrin* (*Indra*) onto the earth. His son *Rajarāja* (l. 83), reigned for eight years; he first became the husband of the goddess of victory in battle with the *Dramilas* (l. 85), and then wedded *Rajasundari*, the daughter of the *Chōḍa* king (l. 86); and when *Vijayāditya* (l. 87), beginning to grow old, left (the country of) *Veṅgi*, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the *Chōḍas*, he, *Rajarāja*, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (l. 89). His eldest son, equal to (the ancient king) *Vikramāditya* in the prowess of his mighty arm (l. 90), was *Chōḍagaṅga* (l. 92), who was anointed king of the whole world in the *Saka* year (l. 93) that is numbered by the *Nandas* (nine), the apertures of the body (nine) and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with *Kumbha*, in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, joined with the third lunar day, under the *Rēvati* nakshatra, and during the *Nṛiyugma* lagna. He, the ornament of the *Gaṅgas* (l. 103), first replaced the fallen lord of *Utkala* in his kingdom in the eastern region (l. 100), and then the waning lord of *Veṅgi* in the western region (l. 101), and propped up their failing fortunes.

And he, the illustrious *Mahārāja Anantavarman* (l. 103), the *Rājādhirāja*, the *Rājaparamēśvara*,⁴⁴ the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the most devout worshipper of the god *Vishṇu*,⁴⁵ who is most

⁴³ It should be noted how, in most cases, in a very exceptional manner, this record uses the ordinal adjectives to distinguish the different kings of the same name.

⁴⁴ Here, line 104, *rājaparamēśvara* seems to be a fuller form of the usual supreme title *paramēśvara*. But, on the analogy of similar epithets in other dynasties, it may be a *biruda* of *Anantavarman*, meaning 'a very *Paramēśvara* (*Siva*) among kings.'—It is rather curious that, along with one at least of the paramount titles, the feudatory title of *Mahārāja* should be attached to the name of *Anantavarman*.

⁴⁵ See also, contrasted with the *Nandi* on the seal, and with the epithet *paramamahāśvara* in the other two grants, the use of the epithet *paramaishanara* here is rather peculiar. But the grantee, *Mādhava*, and his grandfather, *Vāśudēva-nṛiyaka*, were plainly *Vaiṣṇavas*. And the sectarian title in question was possibly assumed out of compliment to them.

kindly disposed to Brahmāṇs, — he, (otherwise called) the glorious Chôḍagaṅgadêva (l. 105), who meditates on the feet (*pād-ānudyāta*) of his parents, having called together the cultivators, headed by the *Rāshtrakūṭas* (l. 106), in the Samvā vishaya, issues a command in the presence of the *Purôhita*, *Amātya*, *Yuvarāja*, *Saṁdhivigrahin*, *Dauvārika*, and other officials of his retinue :—

“ Be it known to you (l. 109) that there was Vāsudēvanāyaka, born in a noble family; whose wife was Gaṇḍamanāyikā (l. 110). Their son was Bhīmaya; whose wife was Mēḍamanāyikā (l. 111). Their son is Mādhava. And to him, my dependent (*pād-ōpajivin*), for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourselves (l. 114), in the Saka year (l. 115) that is numbered by the sky (nought), the oceans (four), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), on a meritorious day, with libations of water there has been given by Us, decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utkala (l. 115), and residing at the town of Sindūrapōra (l. 116), the village of Tāmarakhaṇḍi (l. 112), in your vishaya, together with the hamlets that have always belonged to it and have been uninterruptedly enjoyed with it, — including its water and dry land (l. 113); free from all exactions; and constituted to endure as long as the sun and the moon. Therefore it should be preserved in grant by future kings also.”

No. 180.—VIZAGAPATAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF ANANTAVARMA-CHODAGANGADEVA.
SĀKA-SAMVAT 1057.

This inscription has been noticed by Mr. Sewell in the *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 32, where the plates are mentioned as having been obtained from the Senior Assistant Collector of Vizagapatam, and as belonging to the trustees of the temple of Saṅgam.

The plates, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $9\frac{1}{4}$ " by $4\frac{1}{8}$ ". The edges of the plates are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; and the inscription is well preserved and legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter; it had been not cut when the grant left my hands again. The ends of it are secured in the lower part of a flat oval disc, similar to that of No. 178 above, and measuring about 2" by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ", which again takes the place of the ordinary seal. On the upper side of this disc again there is fixed an image of the bull Nandi, couchant; and on the surface of the disc there are visible the same emblems as in the case of No. 178. — The total weight of the three plates, with the ring, disc, and image, is about 6 lbs. 8 oz. — The characters belong to the South-Indian Nāgarī alphabet. As far as the end of line 12, they are of exactly the same type with those of No. 178; but from there to the end they follow a different type of the same class, presenting older characteristics, especially in using the superscript form of the vowel *i* in combination with a consonant. This change in the characters occurs, it will be noticed, at the beginning of the second plate; but the context runs on quite properly; and for this reason, as well as from the uniform size and appearance of the three plates, and from the fact that the ring had not been cut, there seems to be no doubt that the first plate is the one which belongs properly to the second and third. The engraving is good and fairly deep; but the plates are thick and substantial, and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all. As usual, the interiors of the letters shew marks throughout of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language is Sanskrit; and the whole record is in prose, except for five verses in lines 18-23, and 27-31, and one of the customary benedictive verses in line 38. The formal part of the record, as far as the end of line 26, agrees almost word for word with the corresponding portion of No. 178. In line 37, the word *gali-vanra*, or possibly *gali-vandha*, requires explanation. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the dental nasal, instead of the *anuvāra*, before *ś*, in *trīṇīṣatam*, lines 13 and 17; and in *vinīṣatī*, line 15; (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *ḍ*, after *r*, in *chūḍāmanēr=bbbhagavatō*, line 4; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* throughout, e.g. in *śavda*, line 5; *samupalavdha*, line 6; *avdakān*, line 9; *āhvujā*, line 22; and *kuṭumvān*, line 26.

This inscription is another record of king Anantavarman, otherwise called Chôḍagaṅgaḍēva, of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga; and, as in the case of No. 178, the charter recorded in it, is issued from the city of Kalinganagara. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being to record the grant of the village of Sumuda, with its hamlet, in the Sammag or Sammaga vishaya and in the Kalinga dēsa, to a person named Chôḍagaṅga, — evidently a name-sake of the king.

In lines 20 to 23, we have the same verse that occurs in Nos. 178 and 179 above, giving the date of the accession of Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgaḍēva. And line 32 f. gives the actual date of the grant itself, which, without full details for calculation, is in the month of Vṛiśchika, i.e. in the solar month Mārgaśīrsha, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1057, expressed in numerical words. Here, again, the given year is not distinctly specified, either as current or as expired. As an expired year,¹ it is equivalent to A.D. 1135-36.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm Svasti Sṛimatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dāya³-dāna-dākshīṇya-satya-
śaucha-śau-
- 2 ryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitṛā(tra)kūṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇām vimala-viyā(chā)r-
āchāra-puṇya-salila-
- 3 prakṣhālita-Kalikāla-kalmasha-mashīṇām mahā-Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya
sachar-āchāra-gu-
- 4 rōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmṇāṇ-aika-sātradhārasya śasāṅka-chūḍāmaṇi(ṇē)r-bhbha(bbha)-
gavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāmi-
- 5 naḥ⁴ prasādāt=samāsādit-aikaśaṅkha-bhēri-paṇḍhamahāsavda(bda)-dhavalach[chh*]atra-
hēmachāmara-varavṛiśha-
- 6 bhalāṇcha(ñchha)na-samuj[j*]vala-samasta-sāmṛājya-mahimnām-anēka-samara-saṅga(ṅgha)-
ṭṭa-samū(mu)palavdha(bdha)-vi-
- 7 jayalakshmi-samālīṅgit-ōt[t*]uṅga-bhujadaṇḍa-maṇḍitānām⁵ Trikalīṅga-mahībhujaṁ⁶ 1⁶
Ga-
- 8 ṅgānām-anvayam=alaṅkarishṇōr-Vishṇōr=iva vikram-ākṛānta-dharāmaṇḍalasya Guṇa-
mā(ma)hārṇṇa-
- 9 va-mā(ma)hārājasya putraḥ⁷ śrī-Vajrahastadēvaḥ=chatuś-chatvārimśatam-avda(bda)-
kān kshitim-arakṣhīt
- 10 || Tat-tanayō Guṇḍama-rājā(jō) varsha-trayam-apālayat [11*] Tad-anu tad-anujāḥ
Kāmārṇṇavadēvaḥ pa-
- 11 ēcha-trimśad-varshāṇi || Tasy-ānujō Vinayādityaḥ samās=tisraḥ 1(11) Tata[h*]
Kāmārṇṇava-
- 12 tanayō Vajrahasta[h*] yō mada-galita-galān-gajāna(n) sahasram-artthibhyaḥ
samadāt=sa

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 pañcha-trinśa(mśa)tam=avda(bda)kān || Tatas=tad-agra-sūnuḥ Kāmārṇṇa(rṇṇa)vadēvō-
rddha-samām ||
- 14 Tatas=tad-anū(nu)jō Gū(gu)ṇḍa-mahīpatis⁸=triṇi va[r*]shāṇi || Tad-anū(nu)jāś=cha
dvaimāturaḥ Kāmā-
- 15 [r*]ṇṇava ēk-ū(ō)na-vinśa(mśa)ti-varshāṇi || Tatas=tu Kāmā[r*]ṇṇavad=Vaiḍumv.⁹
ānvaya-samudbhavāyām
- 16 Vinayamahādēvyāḥ jātāḥ śrī-Vajrahastadēvō [yō*] divaḥ patantam-atibhīṣhaṇa-

¹ On the analogy of the results for the dates in No. 178 above.² From the original plates.³ Read *dayā*.⁴, ⁵, ⁶, and ⁷ These marks of punctuation are unnecessary.⁸ See page 163 above, note 11.⁹ See page 163 above, note 13.

- 17 m=aśanīm śastry=ābhi¹⁰jaghāna sa¹¹ trayas-trinśa(mśa)tam=adva(bda)kān=avanim=
apālayat 1(11)
18 Tatas¹²=tu tasy=ātmabhavō=ri-marddanas=sa Bajarāja-kshitipah kshitīm samāh 1
19 arakshad=ashtaṇ Varuṇ-ālay-āmva(ba)rā[m*] nidhīr=guṇānām Nidhipāla-sannibhaḥ 11
Tatō¹³ Rājēh-
20 draoholasya tanayā Rājasundari rājās=tasy=āgra-mahishī satī sutam=asūyata 11
Sa-
21 k¹⁴-āvdō(bdō) nanda-ranta(ndhra)-grahagaṇa-gaṇitō Kumbha-samsthō dinēśō
suklō pakshō tṛitīyām¹⁵-yuji
22 Baviḥa-dinē Bēvati-bhō Nṛiyugmō lagnō Gaṅg-ānvavāy-āmva(bu)ja-vana-dinakṛid=
viśva-viśvambha-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 23 rāyās=chakraṁ samrakshitum sad-guṇa-nidhir=adhika (pa)ś=Chōḍagaṅgō=bhishiktaḥ 11
Kaliṅga-naga-
24 rāt=paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramabhaḥ[†*]āraka-mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati[b*]
śrīmad-Ana-
25 ntavarmmā Chōḍagaṅgadēvaḥ kuśalī 1 samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān=
Sammag¹⁶-visha-
26 ya-vāsinaḥ kuṭumvān¹⁷=sarvān=samāhūya ittham=ājūāpayati [†*] Vidi[ta*]m=astu
bhavatām 1
27 Śrīman¹⁸ Permādirāja dvishad-avanibhṛitām śōṇit-āmabhaḥ kavōshpaṁ tivr-
ōdanyasya pātum sa-
28 mara-bhuvi bhavat-tikshṇa-kōshēśhakasya¹⁹ 1 dhārām=ullaṅghya gaṇtu[m*] ripu-
narapatayaḥ kē
29 samarthā vadadhvam²⁰=majjanty=atr=aiva tūrnna(rṇṇa)m ripu-va(ba)la-vipina-
prauḍa(dha)-kāntāra-vahnō 1 Bhāry²¹=āpi
30 yā tasya [sa*]majña(?)-rūpā sat-putra-sūr=Māmkama-nāmadhēyā putras=tayōs=sad-
guṇavṛitta-śālī śrī-Chō-
31 ḍagaṅgaḥ prathit-ōra-śauryaḥ 1 Tasmai Chōḍagaṅgāy=āsmākam=āpta-kṛi(kri)yāya
Kaliṅga-dēśō²² 1
32 Sammaga-vishayō Sumuḍa-nāma-grāmas=Tittillīṅgi²³-nāma-vātakaṁ grāmas=ch=
āst [†*] śr[†*]-Sak-āvdō(bdō)-
33 shu muni-sa(ba)ra-viyach-ohha(cha)mdra-gaṇitēshu Vṛishchika-māsō sa-jala-
sthala=sarva-piḍā-vivarjitam=a-chaṁdr-ārka[sa*]mu-
34 pabhōginam=mātāpitṛōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhi[vṛi*]ddhayē dhārā-pūrvvakam=
asmābhir=datta iti 11

Third Plate.

- 35 Asya grāmasya simā-liṅgāni likhyantē 11 Pūrvvataḥ Veṅgim-vilva-sētu[h*]
āgnē[ya*]taḥ Go-
36 Ņga-rāpi²⁴ 1 tatō Pommikenḍa 1 dakshīni(pā)taḥ trikūṭa-vana-rāji-sētaḥ 1 pāschima-
taḥ kēsa(śa)-va(ba)dara-sē-

¹⁰ This bhi was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather faintly, between the *syā* and *tma* of *tasy-ātma*-
bhavō in the next line.

¹¹ First *śd* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *sa* by partial erasure of the *d*.

¹² Metre, Vamśastha.

¹³ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁴ Metre, Śragdharā.

¹⁵ Read *triflyā*.

¹⁶ In line 32 below, this name is written *Sammaga*.

¹⁷ Metre, Śragdharā.

¹⁸ Read *kuṭumbīna*.

¹⁹ Read *kaushēśhakasya*. I owe this emendation, without which the verse was unintelligible, to Prof. Kielhorn.

²⁰ Read *vada team*, or *sadava*.

²¹ Metre, Indravajrā.

²² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

²³ Or perhaps the text is *grāmō-śrī trillīṅgi*.

²⁴ Read *gaṅga-vāpt*; see line 39.

- 37 tuḥ | uttarataḥ Gaṅga(?)-raṇa-gali-vanraḥ²⁵ | iśānyataḥ vana-trikūṭa²⁶-vaṭa-nāndi-
vṛikṣa-sahita-sē-
38 tuḥ || Va(ba)hubhir²⁷=vvasuddhā dattā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)lām ||
39 Mahādēvi(vi)-taṭāk-ābhyantara-Gaṅg-[ā*]khyā-vāpi(pī) ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of the *Mahārāja* Guṇamahārṇava (II.) (line 8), who adorned the family of the Gaṅgas (I. 7), — who are of the *Ātrēya* gōtra (I. 2); who, through the favour of the divine Gōkarnasvāmin (I. 4), established on the summit of the great mountain Mahēndra (I. 3), who is the father of all things animate and inanimate, and the sole architect for the construction of the universe (I. 4), possess all the greatness of complete sovereignty resplendent with the single conch-shell, the kettle-drum, the *pañchamahāśabda*, the white umbrella, the golden *chāmara*, and the excellent crest of a bull (*vṛiṣabha-lāñchhana*) (I. 6); and who are the kings of (the country of) *Trikaliṅga* (I. 7), — the son, the illustrious *Vajrahastadēva* (III.) (I. 9), protected the earth for forty-four years.

His son, king *Guṇḍama* (I.) (I. 10), governed it for three years. After that, his younger brother, *Kāmārṇavadēva* (IV.), for thirty-five years. And his younger brother, *Vinayāditya* (I. 11), for three years. Then *Vajrahasta* (IV.) (I. 12), the son of *Kāmārṇava* (IV.), reigned for thirty-five years; he presented to applicants a thousand elephants whose throats were trickling with rut. Then his eldest son, *Kāmārṇavadēva* (V.) (I. 13), reigned for half a year. Then his younger brother, king *Guṇḍa* (*Guṇḍama* II.)²⁸ (I. 14), for three years. And then his maternal half-brother, *Kāmārṇava* (VI.), for nineteen years. Then to *Kāmārṇava* (VI.), from *Vinayamahādēvi*, who was born in the *Vaidumva*²⁹ family, there was born *Vajrahasta* (V.) (I. 16), who struck back, with his sword, a most terrible thunderbolt, as it fell; he reigned for thirty-three years. Then his son, king *Rajarāja* (I. 18), reigned for eight years. His chief queen (*agramahishī*) was *Rajasundarī* (I. 20), the daughter of *Rājēndrachōla*. And she bore him a son, king *Chōḍagaṅga* (I. 23), the sun of the collection of water-lilies which is the *Gaṅga* family (I. 22), who was anointed king in the *Saka* year (I. 21) that is numbered by the *Nandas* (nine), the apertures of the body (nine), and the planets (nine), when the sun was standing with *Kumbha*, in the bright fortnight, on Saturday, joined with the third lunar day, under the *Rēvatī* nakṣatra, and during the *Nṛiyugma* lagna.

From the city of *Kaliṅganagara* (I. 23), he, the most devout worshipper of the god *Mahēśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the *Māhārājādhirāja*, the supreme lord of *Trikaliṅga* (I. 24), the glorious *Anantavarman*, (otherwise called) *Chōḍagaṅgadēva* (I. 25), being in good health, having called together all the cultivators, headed by the *Amātyas*, in the *Sammag* *vishaya*, issues a command:—

“Be it known to you (I. 26):³⁰ — ‘O illustrious *Permādirāja* (I. 27),³¹ what hostile kings are able to cross the stream that is the edge of thy sharp sword, when in the battle-field it is eagerly thirsting to drink the tepid water which is the blood of inimical princes? say thou, (since none other can answer the question): straightway they are drowned in it, O thou mighty

²⁵ In Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, *vanra* is given as meaning ‘a co-partner, a co-heir.’ Here, however, it may perhaps be a mistake for *vandha*, i.e. *bandha*. The preceding two syllables, *gali*, may perhaps represent the *Kanarese* *kālī*, ‘a valiant man, a hero.’

²⁶ Here we should probably read *trikūṭa-vana*, as in the preceding line.

²⁷ *Metro*, *Śloka* (*Anuṣṭubh*).

²⁸ See page 163 above, note 11.

²⁹ The proper context is “to him, Our trusty agent, *Chōḍagaṅga*,” &c., in line 31. The intervening matter is by way of a parenthesis, introducing the grantee, and giving his parentage.

³¹ The Western *Chālukya* king *Vikramāditya* VI., whose reign ended only about ten years before the time of this grant, had the name of *Permādi*; but he does not seem to be the person mentioned in this parenthetical verse. At any rate, the name of *Māhikamadēvi* does not occur in the list of his known wives, who were seven in number (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 49 f.).

forest-fire for (*consuming*) the thicket that is the forces of (*thy*) enemies! ³² His (Permaḍi-rāja's) wife was she who had the name of Māṅkama (l. 30). ³³ And their son is the illustrious Chōḍagaṅga (l. 31). To him, Our trusty agent, ³⁴ Chōḍagaṅga, the village named Sumuḍa (l. 32), with the hamlet named Tittiliṅgi, ³⁵ in the Sammaga vishaya in the Kalinga dēsa, has been given by Us, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our parents and of Ourselves, in the Śaka year (l. 33) that is numbered by the Sages (seven), the arrows (of Kāmadēva) (five), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), in the month of Vṛischika; including all the water and dry land, free from all restrictions, and to be enjoyed as long as the moon and sun may endure."

The boundaries of this village (l. 35) are:—On the east, the bridge or causeway (*setu*) called Veṅgimvilvasētu; on the south-east, the irrigation-well called Gaṅgavāpī, and then (the village of) Dommikēṇḍa; on the south, the bridge or causeway running along by the wood called Trikūṭavana; on the west, the bridge or causeway of the *kēśa* and *badara*-plants; on the north,; ³⁶ and on the north-east, the bridge or causeway on which there are a fig-tree and a *nandi*-tree of the wood called Trikūṭavana (?) (l. 37).

Line 38 contains one of the customary benedictive verses. And the record ends with the statement, in line 39, that the irrigation-well called Gaṅgavāpī, spoken of in line 35-36, is in the interior of the tank called Mahādēvi-taṭāka.

SOME FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

Kāyavatāra.

In my article on the Bagumrā grant of Dadda II., *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 193, note 36, I objected to Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrājī's identification of Kāyavatāra with Kāvi, because the latter town is called Kāpikā in the Rāṭhōr inscription of Gōvinda IV. I was, however, unable to offer a definite counter-proposal. I think I can now make up the deficiency, and show that Kāyavatāra is probably the modern Kārvān, a large village situated at the junction of the B. B. and C. I. and Dabholi Railways in lat. 22° 3' N. and long. 73° 10' E. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. pp. 550-551, it is an ancient place of great sanctity, famous for its Śaiva temples. The local Māhātmya, the legends of which look modern and apocryphal, still retains the tradition that the name of the village is connected with Kāya. It asserts that Kārvān is derived from Kāyavirōhan or Kāyārahan (p. 19). Philological reasons make it impossible to agree with these derivations. But it is very possible that the first syllable of the word Kār-vān represents Kāyavatāra. For in Prakṛit the latter would become Kāāvaāra, which in Gujarātī must be contracted to Kāvār, and, on the analogy of Vaṭapadra-Vardla, Rāivaka-Rāyā(māla), and so forth, might even become Kār. The termination *vān* has probably to be taken as the adjectival affix corresponding to Sanskrit *vat*. The whole name would thus mean '(the village) possessing the Kāya-manifestation.' Now this appellation would suit particularly well, because in Kārvān the chief deity is Brahmēśvara-Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēśvara, because Ka and Brahman are synonyms. An ancient *līṅga*, which, as the *Gazetteer* states, was found some years ago, shows how the name Brahmēśvara arose. Its front part is "shaped into an image of Brahman with a small Vishnu on its head." I may add that Kārvān is not very distant from the village of Sāmri where Jayabhaṭa IV. granted a field while encamped at Kāyavatāra.

³² In giving me the emendation which cleared up the meaning of this verse, Prof. Kielhorn has adduced the following analogous verse by Hēmachandra:—

Mālaraj-śai-dhāryach nimagnā yē mahābhujah |
Unmajjantō vilōkyantē svarga-Gaṅgā-jalēhu tē ||

³³ Owing to the construction of the text, this name has a masculine termination. Her real name may be taken either as Māṅkamadēvi (Sanskrit), or Māṅkamma (Kannarese).

³⁴ *āpta-kriya*; compare *āpta-kārin*, in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

³⁵ Or perhaps Trillīgi; see note 23 above.

³⁶ The meaning of *ganga-rapa-gaṅgi-vanra*, line 37, is not apparent.

The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 4.

The Chaulukya grant No. 4, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 197, plate II. ll. 3-4, disposes of two objects, (1) of the village of **Sāmpāvāḍā** in the Varvvi (read Vardhi) Pathaka, (2) of the piece of land "out of the middle of the village at Sēshadēvatī, (but) belonging to the village of **Dōḍiyāpātaka** in the Gambhūtā Pathaka" (*tathā Gambhūtāpathakē Sēshadēvatigrāmamadyāt Dōḍiyāpātakasatkabhūmi-khaṇḍa* 1. The following lines 6-11 describe the boundaries of the village and of the piece of land. A comparison of their contents with the actualities on No. 77 of the Trigonometrical Survey Map, Gujarāt Series, yields the following results:—

According to the inscription.

- (1) **Sāmpāvāḍā**,
 bounded east by **Sēshadēvatā**
 " south { **Phīmchaḍī**
 Hāmsalapura
 " west [names lost]
 " north { **Rāpēḍya**
 Khāmbhila
 Āḍhiyāvāḍā
 (2) Land in **Sēshadēvatī**
 belonging to **Dōḍiyāpātaka**
 bounded east by { **Itīlā**¹
 Kālharī
 Vahichara
 " south **Phīmchaḍī**
 " west **Bhaṭṭāraka-Sēshadēvatā**
 " north **Dōḍiyāpātaka**

According to the map.

- Sāmpawārā** { lat. 23° 33' N.
 long. 72° 3' E.
 ○
 { **Phēchari**.
 Hasalpur [**Virangām Tālukā**].
 ○
 { **Khambēl**.
 Ādivārā.
 ○
Dōriwārā { lat. 23°, 32' N.
 long. 72° 5' E.
 { **Indla**.
 Kālri.
 Bechar [Map No. 78].
 Phēchari.
 ○
Dōriwārā.

Though the Trigonometrical Survey Map does not give the names of **Sēshadēvatī** and **Sēshadēvatā**, it still indicates their sites. For it marks about a mile south of **Dōriwārā** a nameless temple near a tank. This is the **Sēshadēvatā** of our grant, as may be recognised from the two statements, 1st, that it lay east of **Sāmpawārā**; 2nd, that it lay west of the land in **Sēshadēvatī**, which itself lay south of **Dōriwārā**. **Sēshadēvatī** was, of course, a hamlet built close to the temple and lay just east of it. The grantees of the village and the piece of land were according to the grant, *loc. cit.* ll. 5-6, the temples of **Analēsvara** and of **Salakhanēsvara** in **Salakhanapura**. The latter village is without a doubt the modern **Sankhalpur** in lat. 23° 2' N. and long. 72° 4' E. As happens frequently in Gujarātī words, two letters in this case, *n* and *l* have been transposed. As regards the districts named, the **Vardhi Pathaka** is the modern **Vaḍhiār** (*ṣiddhikāra*) which according to popular usage is the name for the eastern coast of the **Ran of Kachh**, and comprises parts of the **Virangām Tālukā**, of the **Gaikōvāḍī** division of **Kaḍī**, and of **Rāḍhanpur**. Our inscription shows that **Sāmpāvāḍā-Sāmpawārā** lay on its eastern boundary. For **Dōḍiyāpātaka**, **Dōriwārā** and **Sēshadēvatī** immediately to the east of **Sāmpāvāḍā** belonged to the **Gambhūtā Pathaka**. The latter, therefore, corresponded with the eastern portion of the **Vādāvli** sub-division of the **Kaḍī** district. According to the colophon of MS. 13, described in Prof. Kielhorn's Report of 1880-81, App. p. 11, it was a rather large district, containing one hundred and forty-four villages (*Gambhūtāchatuschatvāriṃśachhatapathakē*). If the village **Chāharapalli** mentioned there, is identical with **Chārol**² in lat. 23° 24' N. and long. 72° 14' E. (Trig. Survey Map. Guj. Ser. No. 78), it extended chiefly southwards. Its name appears to be derived from a village or town called **Gambhūtā**, which is identical with the modern **Gambhu**, just south-east of **Vādāvli** in lat. 23° 36' N. and long. 72° 14' E. The names correspond exactly according to the

¹ This is a mis-spelling for **Indilā**, which form occurs in grant No. 3.

² The names agree exactly, but there may have been another **Chārol** which has disappeared.

principles of Gujarātī phonetics, and it is still a considerable place with 1813 inhabitants according to the Trig. Surv. Map. This Gambhūtā-Gāmbhu is, of course, the place where Ślāṅkāchārya wrote his *Āchārāṅgaśikā*, ante, Vol. XV. p. 188. Mr. Fleet's suggestion, loc. cit., that Gambhūtā might possibly be Cambay, appears to me untenable also for other reasons. For the word Gambhūtā can never be corrupted to Cambay. Moreover, the correct name of Cambay is Khambhāyat; and the Prākṛit form is Khambhāittha, derived from Skambhatīrtha. The latter is a synonym for Stambhatīrtha, the usual Sanskrit name of Cambay in the Prabandhas and the inscriptions.

The villages mentioned in the Chaulukya grant No. 10.

In the Chaulukya grant No. 10, ante, Vol. VI. p. 208ff., Tribhuvanapāla presents to the *Sattrāgāra* in the Talapada of Mādā,³ (1), the village of Bhāmshara in the Vishaya Pathaka (plate I. l. 13); and (2), the village of Rājapuri in the Daṇḍihī Pathaka (plate I. l. 13). The boundaries of the two villages are described with great accuracy on plate II. ll. 3-9. Nearly all the places named there are found on Nos. 76 and 78 of the Trig. Survey Map, Gujarāt Series. A comparison of the statements in the inscription with the actualities on the maps, gives the following results:—

According to the inscription.

(1) Bhāmshara

bounded east by { Kurālī
Dāsayaaja
" south { Kurālī
Tribha
" west { Arāṭhaura
Umjha
" north { Umjha
Dāsayaaja
Kāmbali

(2) Rājapuri

bounded east by { Kūlāva[sāṇa]
Dāṅgarauā
" south-east { Chamdāvasaṇa
Indrāvaḍa
" south { Ahirāṇā
" west { Sirasāvi
Nandāvasaṇa
" north-west { Umṭatūyā
Sirasāvi
" north { Nandāvasaṇa
north-east { Kuṇyala

According to the map No. 76.

Bhākhar { lat. 23° 51' N.
long. 72° 28' E.

{ Dāsaj
{ Tarabh
{ Aithōr⁴
{ Unjha
{ Unjha
{ Dāsaj
{ Kāmbli [actually north]

Rajapur { lat. 23° 19' N. } Map
{ long. 72° 26' E. } No 78.

{ Jhulāsan [Map No. 6].
{ Dāṅgarwa
{ Charāsan
{ Idarād
{ Irānā
{ Sarsāō
{ Nandāsan
{ Utwa
{ Sarsāō
{ Nandāsan
{ Kiōl.

I may add that Kurālī probably exists. The map, No. 4, on which it ought to stand, is at present not accessible to me. I suspect that there is a mistake in one of the two names, Kūlāva-[sāṇa] and Jhulāsan, which do not properly correspond. Possibly the sign on the inscription has been misread. In Kuṇyala-Kiōl, the transposition of the second and third letters ought to be noted.

The results show that the Vishaya Pathaka included the districts south-east of Sidhpur, and the Daṇḍāhī Pathaka those east of Kaḍi. The meaning of the first name is clear; that of the second I am unable to explain.

³ As the chief priest in Maṇḍali-Māḍal (plate II. line 13) is made the manager of the villages, Mādā probably lay close to the latter town.

⁴ The correct name is Athōr, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII. p. 619.

SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SIVAGUPTA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which, at Mr. Fleet's request, I edit from rubbings supplied by General Sir A. Cunningham, was discovered in 1874 by Mr. Beglar,¹ at a temple of the village of Sirpur, — or Sripura, as it is called in the inscription itself, — about forty miles east by north from Rāypur, in the Central Provinces; and an account of it, accompanied by a photo-zincograph,² was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. pp. 25-26, and Plate xviii. A. When first discovered, and when the rubbings were taken, it was complete; according to Sir A. Cunningham, in 1881 the upper proper right corner of the stone had subsequently peeled off, carrying away the beginning of each of the first three lines.

The inscription contains 17 lines. The writing covers a space of about $13\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $14\frac{1}{2}$ " high, and was, at the time when the rubbings were taken, in a fair state of preservation; Judging from the rubbings, about ten *aksharas* were even then almost completely effaced; but every one of these can be readily supplied, so that the actual reading of the inscription, in my opinion, does not admit of any doubt whatever. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; they resemble those of the Ghôsrāwā inscription, of which a photo-lithograph is given *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 310, and may be referred to about the eighth or ninth century A. D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *Om namaḥ Sivāya*, the inscription, composed by Kṛishṇanandin, the son of Dēvanandin, is in verse. In respect of orthography, I have only to note that *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record that two persons, named Nāgadēva and Kēsava, subjects of a prince Sivagupta, assigned certain funds for providing garlands of flowers for the worship of Siva at the town of Sripura. And, by way of introduction, it is stated that Sivagupta, also styled Bālārjuna, was a son of Harshagupta, the son of Chandragupta, who was a son of Nannadēva, also called Nannēśvara, the son of Indrabala, who was a son of the prince Udayana, of the family of Saśadhara, 'the Moon,' i.e. of the lunar race; not, as has been stated elsewhere, in consequence of a misreading, 'of the race of Savaras' or 'of the Savara lineage.' Considering the promise given by Mr. Fleet in *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 294, I will only state here that, of these princes, Indrabala and Nannadēva are clearly the two chieftains who are mentioned in line 16 of the Rājim Copper-plate Inscription of Tivradēva, *ib.* p. 295.

The inscription is not dated, but it may, as intimated above, on palæographical grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grant of Tivradēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700.

In *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII. Plates xviii. B., and xix. C.D., Sir A. Cunningham has given photo-zincographic copies of three other (fragmentary) inscriptions from Sirpur, the characters of which closely resemble those of the present inscription, and which also are undated. Of these, the inscription B. has the name of Sivagupta in line 11; and C., the name of Harshagupta, which was followed by that of his son Si[vagupta], in line 4, and also the name of Sripuri, in line 8; as has been pointed out already by Sir A. Cunningham. I cannot attempt to edit these inscriptions from the published photo-zincographs.

TEXT.³

1 Om⁴ namaḥ Sivāya || Pāyād⁵=āliṅgitā yushmān=ka[ṇṭha]-mēchaka-rōchishā |
Sambhō[r=bha]⁶.

¹ *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 169.

² This photo-zincograph appears to have been taken from a rubbing so much touched up by hand that some of the letters are quite disfigured and spoilt; notably, at the end of line 2, the first *śa* of *śaśadhara-dnayaḥ*. It is a matter for regret that the rubbings before me are not suitable for photo-lithography.

³ From the rubbings.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre, *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh); here, and throughout.

- 2 am-āṅgarāgasya chchhāyā-kṛi[shā] ta]⁶nu-chchhaviḥ || Āsid=Udayanō nāma
nṛipah [Sa]⁷-
3 sadhar-ānvayaḥ | abhūd=Valabhidā tulyas=tasmād=Indrava(ba)lō va(ba)lī || Tatah
śri-
4 Nannadēvō=bhūd=abhimāna-mahōdayaḥ | pūrṇam Nannōsvar-ākhyō yas=chakār-
ō[r]vv[im Si?]-
vālayaḥ || Chandraguptō bhuvō gōptā tasya jajñō sut-ōttamaḥ | tata[h]
6 śri- Harshaguptō=bhūj=ja[gad-dha]⁸rsha-niva(ba)ndhana[m] || Tasy=ājanisht=śaṭja-
raṇaḥ
7 Sivaguptō mahipatiḥ | dhanur-vvijñāna-mukhyō yaḥ khyātō Va(ba)lā-
8 rjun-ākhyayā || Syāmām=asi-latām saṁkhyō kṛtvā yaḥ kara-saṅgin[im] |
9 priyām=iv=ālaṅkuritō matta-mātaṅga-mauktikaḥ || Yasya nirjitya nirjitya
10 su-bhṛitya iva sāyakaḥ | [vyu]tthitām rājakaṁ=iva straiṇam=arppayati
11 Smaraḥ || Tasya bhṛitya-[vi]śēhō=sti Nāgadēvō dvij-ōttamaḥ | Kēsavaś=cha
12 kal-ōdagrō vyagraḥ sukṛita-karmabhiḥ || Tābhyām saṁbhūya sādhubhyām gṛih-
13 tvā vitta-vistaraiḥ | sarvva-Sripura-vāsibhyō mālīkēbhyas=Trisūlinē || Kṛi-
14 [tsna]⁹-kilviśa-vighnāya kaṣṭ-āpat-pratighātinē | puruṣa-pramāṇam dattaḥ [ku]su-
15 ma-srak-śha(cha)tsaṭtaya[m] || Ētaḥ=ā mēdini-nāśād=āmōd-ōnmada-śaṭpadaḥ | astu
16 śaṭpada-kaṇṭhasya Srikauṣasya=ārcchana-kṛitō || Prasastim=atanōd-ētām vaidya-
17 śri-Dēvanandinaḥ | śri-Kṛishṇanandi tanayō naya-praṇaya-kētanam ||

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(L. 1.)—May the hue of the body of Sambhu, who covers himself with ashes, guard you,—which is darkened as it were by a shadow, encircled as it is by the dark-blue lustre of (his) neck !

(L. 2.)—There was, of the family of the Moon, a prince named Udayana. From him sprang the mighty Indrabala, equal to the destroyer¹⁰ of Vala. From him sprang the illustrious Nannadēva, the possessor¹¹ of self-reliance ; who, called 'Nanna, the lord,'¹² filled the earth with temples of (the lord) Siva. As his most excellent son, there was born Chandragupta, a protector of the earth ; (and) from him sprang the illustrious Harshagupta, a cause of joy to the world. To him was born the lord of the earth, Sivagupta, fond of war ; who, foremost in the knowledge of the bow, is famous under the appellation of Balārjuna ;¹³ who in battle, holding the dusky creeper-like sword in his hand, decorates it, like a mistress, with the pearls (*struck out of the frontal globes*) of infuriated elephants ; (and) to whom the god of love, like a good adherent, hands over the women-folk, having repeatedly conquered them with (his) arrows, like unto the lawless kings (*subdued by his master Sivagupta*).

(L. 11.)—His devoted servant is Nāgadēva, a distinguished twice-born ; and Kēsava, highly proficient in the arts (and) zealous in the performance of good deeds. These two good men together have given four garlands of flowers,¹⁴ of the measure of (*the height of*) a man, to the bearer of the trident,¹⁵ who takes away all sin (and) counteracts misery and misfortune, having obtained them for abundant money from all¹⁶ the gardeners dwelling at Sripura. Until the

⁶ These akṣaras are almost completely effaced.

⁷ This akṣara is faintly visible, but sufficiently clear to enable me to say that it is śa, and bears no resemblance whatever to the t in Sir A. Cunningham's photo-zincograph. The second akṣara of the following line, too, is distinctly dha, and cannot possibly be read va (or ba).

⁸ These akṣaras are almost completely effaced.

⁹ This akṣara is almost completely effaced.

¹⁰ i.e. Indra.

¹¹ mahōdaya = svamin, a meaning for which the dictionary has no quotation.

¹² Or Nannōtvara.

¹³ i.e. the young Arjuna ; Arjuna was famous as an archer.

¹⁴ In connection with the verse in line 15-16, I understand this to mean that they provided funds for always decorating the idol of Siva with four garlands, or made a payment to that effect to the gardeners of Sripura.

¹⁵ i.e. Siva.

¹⁶ I take the word sarva of the text to refer to mālīkēbhyas.

destruction of the earth, may these (garlands), the fragrance of which intoxicates the bees, serve for the worship of Śrīkaṣṭha, whose neck is (black) like a bee!

(L. 16.)—The illustrious Kṛishṇanandin, a home of prudence and kindness, the son of the illustrious Dēvanandin, the physician,¹⁷ has composed this eulogy.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 343).

7. kuslāparibhāsiyam °bhāsa V, kuslāparibhāshā, with 30 vv.; *sarvā jīvēḥ sukhaishinaḥ*.
8. viriyam with 26 vv.; of *bāla* and of *paṇḍiya*; in v. 25 buddhāḥ in a good sense = *janātātātā*.
9. dhammō with 36 vv.; in v. 1 *māhaṇḍa maimayā, brāhmaṇa matimatā* referred by the Schol. to Vira. It concludes: *gōravāni ya savvāni nīvēṇaṇa saṇḍhaḥ¹ muṇi tti bēmi* [264].
10. samāhi, samādhi, with 24 vv.; it concludes: *nō jīviām vō maraṇā °bhikṣaṇḥ charejjā bhikkhū valagā vimukko tti bēmi*; in place of *valagā* we find in 12, 13, where the same conclusion recurs: *valayā*, and in the schol. *valayam* is explained by *bhāvalayam, māyā, saṇḍraḥ*. If this reading is correct, perhaps Vedic *valaga* might be thought of.²
11. maggō, mārga, with 36 vv.; in v. 1 *māhaṇḍa matimatā* as in 9, 1.
12. samōsaraṇam, samava°, with 22 vv.; *kumārgatyāgah*; four *samasaraṇāni paratīr-thikābhūpagamasamūharūpāni*, i.e. the 180 *kiriyaḍvā* etc. (see p. 259, 266).
13. ahataham, yathātatham (hence by the ampliative *ika* or *ya* also): *āhattahiḥ, āhittihiḥ, āhattahijam*; *avitaha* (Av.), with 23 vv.; *samyakcharitram*.
14. gaṇtha (gaṇdhō V), grantha, with 27 vv.; *grantham dhanādikaṇ tyaktvā*. . .
15. jam-aṇam, yam aṭṭam (according to the opening words), or *ādāṇiyam*; with 25 vv.
16. gāhā or gāthāśhōḍaśakam;³ despite this name, a prose explanation of the names *māhaṇḍa, samaṇa, bhikkhu, niggaṇtha* and their identical signification (*ekārtha*).

b. Second brutaśkandha.

1. puṇḍarīḥ, °riyam V, puṇḍarika.⁴ Comparison of the bhikkhu with a lotus flower in the middle of a pond; it begins (see above, p. 248): *suṇaṇ mē āsuṇaṇ, tēṇaṇ bhagavayā* [265] *ēvam akkhāyam*: *iha khalu puṇḍariya nāmaṇ ajjhayaṇē, tassa ṇaṇ ayaṇ aṭṭhē paṇṇattē*. This introductory formula, the second part of which occurs again in *aṅga 6 et seq.*, is repeated with corresponding modification in *ajjh. 2-4*. All four *ajjh.* are in prose.
2. kiriyaṭhāṇam, of the 12 or 13 *kriyāsthāna*.
3. āhāraparinnā, °parijñā. In the schol. a variant of the scholars of Nāgārjuna is adduced with the words Nāgārjunī(yā) tu paṭhamti. *Nāgajjuṇavāyaga*, or °*ṇāyaria, °ṇarisi*, is mentioned with great honour in the opening of the *Nandī* and of the *Āv.* in the list of teachers v. 39, 40, 45, and in fact as separated by three gradations merely—Bhūadinnā, Lōhichcha and Dūsagaṇi—from the author himself, whom the scholiast calls Dēvavāchaka = Dēvarddhigāṇi, Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 15n.
4. pachehakkhāpakiriyā, pratyākhyānakriyā.
5. in S. *Āv. V. āṇagāraṇ* (°*rasuya* S.); here however correctly *apāyārasutam, anāchārasu-tam*, in 34 vv.; it opens as follows: *ādāya baṇbhachēraṇ cha āsupannē (āsuprajñāḥ paṇḍitaḥ) imam charaṇ*; *assinū (asmin) dhammē apāyāraṇ n'āyareyyā kayā i vi* II
6. Addāijjam, Ādrakiyam, in 55 vv. A sermon of Ādraka, the son of a merchant who, according to the scholiast, from the sight of a picture of Jina sent to him as a debt of

¹⁷ Or, simply, 'the learned.'

¹ mōkṣam saṇḍadhyāt.

² cf. also the manner of death *valayamayakam* up. I. 70. "death by magic arts" Little can be made out of the commentaries. See the excellent glossary of Leumann which reaches me, May 1883, while these sheets are in the press.

³ *gāthāśhōḍaśakam* shōḍaśam adhyayanam. In V.: *gāthāśhōḍaśam nēmagāḥ*.

⁴ cf. *aṅga 6, 1, 19*.

gratitude by Abhayakumāra (the son of the king Śrēṇika of Rājagṛiha), obtained *jātimaraṇam* and turned to *pravrajyā* so as to receive the *pratyēkabuddha* dignity, etc. The sermon appears to be addressed to Gōsāla. In the last verse: *buddhassa āṇāḍe imāṇaṃ samādhūḥ (tattvajñāsyā śrī Vārasya ājñāyāṃ . .)*, buddha is used directly as a name of Vira [266].

7. Nālaṃdājjam, °dā V., Nālaṃdiyam,⁵ in prose; śrāvakaividhiḥ).⁶ Legend of Udaya (Udaka) Pēdhālaputta Mētaḥja,⁷ a Pāsāvachchijja, Pārsāvāpatiya, i.e. scholar, or follower of Pārśva, whom the *bhagavaṇ* Goyama (Indrabhūti) leads to Mahāvira, after he has heard the same from the *Kumāravuttiyā* (Kumārāputriyā), *nāma samaṇā niggaṇṭhā*. Udaya thus⁸ leaves the chāujjāma dhamma of Pārśva and accepts the pañchamahavvaīyam sapaḍikkamaṇam dhammam of Mahāvira.

The table of contents in *aṅga* 4 (or *Nandī*) is as follows: — *kim taṃ sūyagaḍe ?⁹ sūyagaḍe ṇaṃ sasamayā sūijjānti parasamayā s. sasamayaparasamayā s., jīvā s. ajīvā s. jīvājīvā s., lōgō s. alōgō s. lōgālōgō s.;¹⁰ sūyagaḍe ṇaṃ jīvājīvā¹¹ punna-pāv'-āsava-saṃvara-nijjara-baṇḍha-mō-kkhāvasāṇa payatthā sūijjānti; samaṇāṇaṃ achirakālapavvaīyāṇaṃ kusamayamōhamatimō-hiyāṇaṃ saṃdēhajāya-sahajabuddhi-paripāma-saṃsaīyāṇaṃ¹² pāvākaramalipamaṇaṇavisōhaṇ-ttham, asīyassa kiriyāvāsayassa, chaurāsīḍe akiriyāvāṇaṃ, sattaṭṭhīḷe annāpiyavāṇaṃ, vattisāḍe vēṇāyavāṇaṃ, tiṇhaṃ tēsaṭṭhāṇaṃ annadiṭṭhiyā¹³ sayāṇaṃ būhaṃ¹⁴ [267] kichchā sasamaḍe ṭhāvijjāi;¹⁵ nāṇādiṭṭhāṃta¹⁶ vayaṇaṃ nissāraṃ suṭṭhu darisayaṃta vivihavitttharāṇṇagamaparamasab-bhāva-guṇavisitthā mōkkhapahōdārāgā¹⁷ ndārā annāṇatam'āṇḍhakāraduggēsu divabhūyā sōpāṇā chēva siddhisugāgharuttamassa¹⁸ nikkhōbhaṇippakampasuttatthā.¹⁹*

I have before me the commentary of *Harshakula*,²⁰ from the *Tapāgacha*. It was composed "varshē 1583," but not after Vira, but after Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1527.²¹ The origin of the *Tapāgacha* dates from Vira 1755.

III. The third *aṅgaṃ*, *ṭhāṇam sthānam*; an enumeration arranged in categories designed for the instruction of the more advanced and in fact for the eighth year of their instruction.²² The categories comprise successively subjects or conceptions conceived as one, two, and so on up to ten. Hence the whole text consists of 10 *ajjhayaṇa*, which are called *ēkasthāna*, *deisthāna*, etc.; *ajjh.* 2—4 each contain 4 *udd.*, *ajjh.* 5 three *udd.*, the rest of the *ajjh.* have no such sub-division, and exist as *ēgasarāṇi* (V) of one *udd.* each.

From the miscellaneous contents of this compendium I extract the following: — the *nakshatras*: *addā*, *chittā*, *sāti* [268] are designated as *ēgatārē*, and then the number of the stars of the other *nakshatras* is enumerated.²³ In an enumeration of the divisions of time in 2, 4 — beginning with *dealiyā* and reaching to *sisapahēliya*,²⁴ *pallōvama*, *sāgarōvama*, *ōsappiṇi*, *ussappiṇi* — the

⁵ Named from Nālandā, a suburb (P dhiriki) of Rājagṛiha.

⁶ In the preceding 22 *ajjh.* sādhu-āchārah prarūpitāḥ.

⁷ *Mēdāryagōtrēna* schol.; I conjecture that this is a misunderstanding for *Mēvārya* — see above, p. 235. *Mēvāryā* is regarded as the tenth scholar of Mahāvira; see Hém. v. 32.

⁸ s. Bhagavati 2, 185 and Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 160.

⁹ sūchanāt sūtraṃ, sūtrēna kṛitaṃ tat sūtrakṛitaṃ.

¹⁰ In N. we first read lōē alōē, lōyālōē, then jīvā aj. j. lastly sasamaḍe p. sasamaṇasamaḍe; so also in the following *aṅgas*. The verb is in each of the nine instances in the plural: sūijjānti. The triads: jīvājīvā-jīvāṇaṃ (jīvā ajīvā jīvājīvā) lōkō'lōkō lōkaḥ (lōkālōkaḥ), sat asat sad-asat are assigned specially to the *Tērāsiyaa*, *Tērāsiika*, by Abh. on *aṅga* 12, 1.

¹¹ jīvājī¹⁰ to visōhapattham is omitted by N.

¹² saṃdēhajātāḍe cha saḥajabuddhiparipāṇasamāsayitāḍe cha yē.

¹³ pāsamdiya N.

¹⁴ pratikābhēpam.

¹⁵ vijjānti N.

¹⁶ nāṇā¹⁰ etc. omitted in N.

¹⁷ mōkshapathāvatāraka.

¹⁸ gṛihōttamasya.

¹⁹ sūtraṃ chā'rthāḍe cha niryukti-bhāṣya-saṃgrahapī-vṛitti-chūrpi-pañjikādirūpa iti sūtrārthāḍe.

²⁰ We have a commentary to the fourth *pāṇṇa* by a certain Harshakula.

²¹ The statements in reference to genealogy at the end are in agreement with Dharmasāgara's *Survivants* of the *Tapāgacha*, of the members of which patriarchs 44, 52-57 are mentioned; so that between 53 and 54 a *Jagichchondramuni* is referred to. See Kl. p. 257 ab.

²² tatra bhavyasya mōkshābhilāshipaṇaḥ sthitagurūpadēśasya prāpinō, 'abṭavārshapramāṇapravrajyā-paryāyasyai'va sūtratō'pi sthāṇaṅgaṇaṃ dēyam, Abhayadēva; see above, p. 223, 224.

²³ See my treatise on the *nakshatras*, 2, 381. *Ind. Stud.* 9, 448, 10, 293. Accord. to the schol. we have here to do with the *kṛitika* series cf. *Bhag.* 1, 373, 441. The names of the *nakshatras* appear here invariably in their secondary form: dhanitṭha, bhaddavayā, etc. The name of the alibudhnyā is (2, 3) corrupted into *visiddhi* (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 296).

²⁴ A number of 194 places! tasyāṇaṃ chaturnavatyadhikāṇaṃ aṇkasthāṇasatāṇaṃ bhavati.

yuga is inserted between the year and the century as intermediate gradation and the quinquennial *yugam* is thereby still used as a means of calculation. On the other hand, we have here the same enormous extension of periods of time, which we find in *upāṅga* 6 (*Jambuddivapannatti*), and in the *Anuyogadevāsūtra*; see *Bhagav.* 1, 427,²³ though the latter works contain some modifications not present here. The existence of the above-mentioned *upāṅga* is furthermore recognized directly in 4, 1: *chattāri pannattī aṅgabāhīriyā paṇṇattāu*, *taṇṇa (jahā): chaṇḍapannatti, sūrapannatti, Jambuddivapannatti, divasāgarapannatti*. The three *pannattis*, which are here mentioned in addition, occur again in 3, 1: *taṇṇa pannattī kālāṇam ahijjanti, taṇṇa: chaṇḍapannatti, sūrapannatti, divasāgarapannatti*. Here and in 4, 1, are found the titles of *upāṅga* 7, 5, 6, in 3, 1, those of *up.* 7, 5; to which in both cases the *divasā*²⁴ is joined, which, though not an independent member of the *Siddhānta*, appears however as a section of the third *upāṅga*. That we have here to deal with the *upāṅgas* respectively named so and not merely [269] with homonymous doctrines, is proved by one circumstance especially; that besides the above-mentioned enumeration of the periods of time, the *abhijit* series of the *nakṣatras*, which belongs to these works, is here already known — see *ojjh.* 7 near the end.²⁵ And even if the direct mention of *upāṅga* texts is in this case doubtful because such mention in the *aṅgas* does not occur in the text, but in the insertions at the hand of the redactor, in this case the designation (in 4, 1) of the four texts as *aṅgabāhīriya* is so distinct and so points to their actual existence apart from the *aṅgas*, that all doubts are put at rest. How far the existing texts of *upāṅga* 7, 5, 6, are meant by this, is, as we shall soon see, still an open question. One circumstance is worthy of note: — the order of names here is different from that of the existing texts; and the fourth name is equivalent merely to a part of the third *upāṅga* and not to the *upāṅga* itself.

We find in chapter 10 a second and more important statement or mention of texts existing apart from the *aṅgas*. In that chapter are specified not merely the names [270] of ten *dasāu* (i.e., texts containing ten *ajjhayaṇas*), but also the names of each of the 10 *ajjh.* Among these are the names of four *aṅgas* (7 — 10), references to a fifth (11), and the name of the fourth *chhēdasūtra*; the other four names have in our *Siddhānta* no place whatever (*asmākaṃ apratīti*, *Abh. fol.* 285a).

At the head stand the *kammavivāgadasāu*; by this name the eleventh *aṅga* is meant — *vivāgasū, vipākārutam*; it contains, however not merely 10 but 20 *ajjh.*; and the names adduced here as being those of the ten *ajjh.* are found only in part in *aṅga* 11. Two of them, at least, are exactly the same (1, 4) and three partly so (6—8); so that we cannot gainsay that there is some connection²⁷ between these *dasāu* and *aṅga* 11. The names of the ten *ajjh.* here are: *Miyāputtē*,²⁸ *Guttāsē*,²⁹ *aṇḍē*,³⁰ *Sagaḍe 'ti ā varē*³¹ | *māhaṇē*, *Nāṃdisēṇē*³² ya, *Sorī*³³ ya, *Udumbarē* | *sahasuddhā āmalā*³⁴ *kumārē* *Lēchal 'ti ya* 1. It is well to be noted that in *aṅga* 4 (§ 13) too a text entitled *kammavivāga* is mentioned, [271] though 43 *ajjh.* are ascribed to it; and in the *Kalpasūtra Jinachar.* (§ 147) 55 *ajjh.* are attributed to the *pācaphalavivādyāni* alone: this was a subject which invited repeated working over!

The titles of *aṅgas* 7 — 9 appear as *dasāu* 2 — 4; and complete agreement exists in reference

²³ According to Leumann's communication this occurs also in *aṅga* 5, 5, 1, 6, 7, 25, 5.

²⁴ *mahānakkhattē sattatārē paṇṇa taṇṇa: abhitiyā paṇṇa satta nakkhattā puvvādāriyā paṇṇa taṇṇa: abhiti, savaṇē, dhaṇṭṭhā, sattabhisayā, uttarabhaddavayā, rēvatī: assilyādiyā paṇṇa satta nakkhattā dāhādāriyā paṇṇa taṇṇa: assipi, bharapi, kattiya, rōhiṇi, magasira, addā, pupavvasū; pūssātiyā paṇṇa satta nakkhattā avarādāriyā paṇṇa taṇṇa: pūssē, asilēṣā, mahā, puvvāphagguṇi, uttarāphagguṇi, batthā, chittā; sātiyāliyā paṇṇa satta nakkhattā uttarādāriyā paṇṇa taṇṇa: sāti, viśāhā, asurāhā, jētūṣā, mūlā, puvvā āsāhā, uttarā āsāhā. cf. *Nakṣ.* 2, 377n, *Ind. Stud.* 10, 304, and see my comments on *aṅga* 4, 7.*

²⁵ *Abh.* identifies them directly with the first *ṛutaskandha* of the eleventh *aṅga* and represents the names and the contents of the single 10 *ajjh.* as being all in harmony with the contents of the 10 *ajjh.* found there.

²⁶ *Mrigā*, wife of *Vijaya*, king of the city *Mrigagrāma*.

²⁷ *gās trāsītavān iti Gōtrāsē . . idam ēva chō 'jjhitaka nāmnā Vipākārutē vjjhitakam uchyatē.*

²⁸ cf. *aṅga* 6, 1, 3; *kukkuṭādyantkavidhānādhakabhāṇḍavyavahāriṇō . . Vipākārutē chā 'bhaggaṣeṇa itī 'dam adhyayanam uchyatē.*

²⁹ *śakajam itī chā 'param.*

³⁰ *Vipākārutē cha Nāṃdivardhanahārūyatē.*

³¹ *Saurika.*

³² *sahasuddhā A (with A fallen out), sahasuddhā B: sahasā akaśmāl uddhāḥ prakriṣṭō dāhāḥ sahasāpāṇ vā lōkasyō 'ddāhāḥ sahasrōddhāḥ, āmalāḥ tti rārutē rārutir ity āmarakāḥ samastyēna mārir . .*

to the *uśāgadasāu* (*aṅga* 7), even as regards the names of the ten *ajjhayānas*. The eighth and ninth *aṅga*, the *antagadadasāu* and the *aṇuttarāvastīyadasāu* have here however only ten *ajjh*, allotted them, whereas in the *Siddhānta* they have 93 or 33. The names of the ten *ajjh* are for *antagadad* : Namī Mayamgō Somilō Rāmaguttō^{35*} Sudāmsapō ebēva | Jamālī ya Bhagālī ya Kīmkammē Pillatē ti ya | Pē³⁶lē Ambatthaputtē³⁶ ya ēm (ēvam) ētē dasa āhiyā || Among these I can discover but one name, *Bhagālī*, which shows any connection with *aṅga* 8, 4, 2 (*Mayālī*) ; or perhaps we may extend the number to two names connected with 9, 3, 4, 5 *Pellāc*, *Rāmaputtē*. The names of the ten *ajjh*, of the *aṇutt*³⁷ are, *Isidāsē ya Dhannē ya Sunakkhattē kattitē* (*Kārttika*) *ti ya | Saṁdhāṇē Sālibhaddē ya Āpaṁdē Tēyalī³⁷ ti ya | Dasannabhaddē Aīmuttē ēm ētē dasa āhiyā ||* Among these there are at least three names which recur in *aṅga* 9, 3, 1-3.

It is perfectly manifest that the author of *aṅga* 3 possessed entirely different texts of *aṅgas* 8, 9, than those in our possession. The same holds good in the case of *aṅga* 4, since it ascribe to these *aṅgas* only ten *ajjh*, each. See below. The means made use of by Abhayadēva to reconcile this discrepancy are very simple. He says, on *aṅga* 8, after [272] recognizing the fact of the discrepancy : — *tatō vāchanāntarāpēkshayāni* (*°kānti* ?) '*māni*' *ti saṁbhāvayāṁō, navajanmāntaram apēkshayāi* '*lāni bhaviṣhyānti*' *ti vāchyaṁ, janmāntarāṇāṁ tatā* '*nabhidhīy*' *mānatvād iti* — and likewise on *aṅga* 9 : — *tad ēvam ihā* '*pi vāchanāntarāpēkshayā adhyayanavi-bhāga uktō, na punar upalabhyamānavāchanāpēkshayē*' *ti*. His statements in reference to the stories themselves are given with tolerable detail on *aṅga* 9.

As the fifth member of the ten *dasān* the *āyāradasāu* are enumerated. The names cited for the ten *ajjh*, belonging to these are identical with those of *chhēdasūtra* 4. This therefore proves that the latter is to be understood by the *āyāradasāu*.

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.

REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS. in the BOMBAY PRESIDENCY during the year 1883-84 by R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., Bombay Government Central Press, 1887. Pp. 479, viii.

Dr. Bhandarkar's Second Report is a worthy successor of the first. It shows the most conscientious devotion to the Search, and is full of instructive and interesting matter. The beginning describes the results of a journey to Aphilvād-Pāṭan (this, not Pāṭhan, is, p. 1 note, the correct spelling), which Dr. Bhandarkar undertook in 1883 together with Professor A. V. Kāṭh-vāṭe of Ahmadābād. The two scholars visited the old Jaina Bhandārs, which I saw in 1875 and 1879, and obtained access to some hitherto unknown important Brāhmanical libraries. In the Bhandārs they found at least something to glean, though most of the works, which Dr. Bhandarkar enumerates as inspected, are represented by one or several copies in the earlier portions of the Deccan College collection. To these books, known already some years ago and partly copied for Government from the Pāṭan MSS., belong the important *Vyutpattidīpikā*, the *Prāmāṇamāñjarī*,

the *Vijayaprabastī*, the *Sēshasaṁgraha*, the *Kumārāpdlacharitas* of Jinamaṇḍana and, if I mistake not, of Jayasimhasūri, the *Sammatitarka-tikā*, the *Aptamīmāṁsāśaṅkara*, and the *Kāvya-kalpalatāvr̥tti*. Among the new finds, on the other hand, may be mentioned as particularly valuable a good old copy of the rare *Kīrtikaumudī* and a mutilated *Abhilashitachintāmañi*. Dr. Bhandarkar had also made a catalogue of the Bhandār of the Tapāgachha and prints it in Appendix J. Another copy, which I had prepared in 1875, ought to be in the Deccan College. I did not print it, because the descriptions of the books are too imperfect. I merely marked certain books which Paṇḍit Nārūsathkar examined, and some of which, e. g. the *Vijayaprabastī*, and the *Narandrayāndanda-kēṇya* by Vasantapāla, *recte* Vastupāla, I then had copied, and included in the collection of 1875-77. Among the Brāhmanical libraries discovered at Pāṭan by Dr. Bhandarkar, that of Jasvantrai Gōpālraī seems to be the most important, as it contains six of the, in Western India, rare *Samhitās* of the Bhāgavata-Pāñcharātra sect.

^{35*} *Rāmaputra*, with the Digambaras, see the *Tattvārthavārttika* in Prof. Peterson's Second Report, p. 157. Also the existent Svētāmbara text presents *Rāmaputtē*, see below p. 324.—L.

^{36*} Thus B. *Avacaddha*° A. With the Digambaras we find (l. c.) *Yamālī kavallika-Nishkambala-Pālī*. *Ambarāshaputra*. In some better MS. the first name might turn out to be *Yamālī* and in the second some name corresponding to *Bhagālī* may be hidden.—L.

³⁷ *Taitalisenta iti yō jātādhyayanēha* (*aṅga* 8, 1, 14) *śrūyatē sa nā* 'yam, tasya siddhigamanaśravapāt. We have here in all probability an intentional variation.

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's important new views on the doctrines and the age of the Bhāgavatas will be noticed below. His discoveries make it desirable that all the sacred works of the sect should be collected and be carefully studied. I would recommend that copies of those not yet procured should be obtained from the Sārasvata Bhāṇḍāgāra of the Mahārāja of Mysore (see Dr. Kielhorn's Supplementary Catalogue). The great Bhāgavata Maṭh at Mulhār in Khāndēsh, which I have never been able to visit, might also be tried.

Two MSS. acquired at Pāṭan, a copy of Halāyudha's *Kavirahasya* and a curious fragment of a brief history of Gujarāt from the beginning of the Chāpōtkata dynasty down to the reign of Aurangzeb, induce Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar to offer some historical remarks. With respect to the former work he maintains, in my opinion correctly, that it was written during the reign, not of Krishnarāja of Vijayanagara, but of an older Rāshtrakūṭa prince, called Krishṇa. The verses printed in App. III. are found in all MSS. from Bombay and Gujarāt, and occur also in a copy of my private collection, (now in the India Office Library), which is accompanied by the commentary of one Ravidharman. The Dekhaṇī text, which leaves out the name of the Rāshtrakūṭas, is, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar shows, not worth much. I also agree with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar in believing it probable that the *Abhidhāna-ratnamālā* has been written by the author of the *Kavirahasya*. It is an ancient Kōsha, as it is quoted by Hēmachandra and his pupil Mahēndra, and probably has been used by Yādavaprakāśa for his *Vaijayanatī* about 1000 A.D. Which of the three Rāshtrakūṭa Krishnarājas is the theme of Halāyudha's laudation, cannot be determined for the present. It may have been Krishnarāja I., as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar thinks, but there is no proof for the assertion. The *Kavirahasya* is, however, certainly more than 900 years old.

A full account of the contents of the historical fragment is given in pp. 9-14 and App. III. L. The piece is certainly very interesting. But I doubt that it deserves the great confidence which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar places in it. Among its dates and statements which we can control, there are numerous errors. In the Hindu period the dates of Kumārāpāla and Mālarāja II. are, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar admits, very much out. Its assertion, too, that Kumārāpāla's mother was a sister of Siddharāja-Jayasinhha is incredible. Tribhuvanapāla, the father of Kumārāpāla, was Jayasinhha's second cousin. Hence a marriage with the sister of the latter would have been opposed to the sacred law and to the custom of the Rājputs, who all practice exogamy and are very strict in this respect. Jinamapāna's state-

ment in the *Kumārāpāla-charita*, that the mother of his hero was a Kāśmīrian princess, is more plausible. In the statements on the Muhammadan period there are a number of very bad errors. Mudāpar (Muzaffar) began to reign, not in V. S. 1418 or 1361-62 A.D., but in 1396 A.D.; Ahimud (Ahmad I.), not in V.S. 1436 or 1379-80 A.D., but in 1412 A.D. The reigns of Sultān Muhammad from 1443 A.D. and of Kutb from 1451 A.D. have been left out. Dāud Shāh did not reign 36 years from V. S. 1468 or 1411-12 A.D., but for seven days in 1459 A.D. Under these circumstances I cannot consider the new document more trustworthy than the *Vichitrāśrēṇī* of Mērutunga, for my reliance on which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar blames me. The text of the latter work no doubt contains mistakes which are due to clerical errors in the original of the bad copies of the Government and Bhāṇḍārkar's editions. (Thirteen or fourteen years ago I saw a really good copy at Barōdā, but could not obtain it.) But late researches have convinced me that the mistakes are not as formidable, as I formerly thought, and as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar holds. I am now able to prove that an old tradition existed, which asserted the existence of eight Chāpōtkata kings, and assigned a long reign to the last of them. Hence I do not attach any weight to the new dates for Tribhuvanapāla, Visaladēva, and the other Vāghēlā kings. The latter, though corroborated by another late writer, Dharmasāgara, p. 150, are contradicted by a Paṭṭāvali, an abstract of which Mr. Bhāṇḍārkar published in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 137. According to this work, Tribhuvanapāla ruled not four years but two months and twelve days, Visaladēva 18 years, 7 months and 11 days, Arjunadēva 13 years 7 months and 26 days, Sāraṅgadēva 21 years, 8 months, and 8 days. These circumstantial statements look more trustworthy than the round figures of the other sources. But I would not now pin my faith on any Paṭṭāvali or Prabandha, whose assertions, like those of the Purāṇas, can only be accepted provisionally in the absence of really historical information from contemporary works, inscriptions, and MSS.

On his return from Pāṭan, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar looked over some portions of the Jaina Bhāṇḍāras at Ahmadābād. His personal examination of their contents was rewarded by several very interesting discoveries. The most important find is a large fragment of a second copy of Bilhāṇa's *Vikramānka-dēvacharita*, including cantos i. 62 to vii. 76. The MS., though much younger than the Jēsalmir copy, is yet, as Professor Bhāṇḍārkar says, very valuable. On examining the *varietas lectionum* given in App. III. R., I find that it allows us to correct the printed text in 41 verses, while in some

other cases it confirms the corrections which I pointed out as necessary in the Addenda and Corrigenda. Two of these various readings are also important in other respects, as they make it probable that Bilhana wrote the first copy of his poem in the Śāradā characters of his native country. The Jēsalnīr copy reads, v. 7, तन्मद्वि-
रपादचूर्णितं सैन्यमेककवलं चकार सः ॥, while the Ahmadābād MS. has उन्मद्वि. The latter is without a doubt the correct reading. The error of the writer of the Jēsalnīr MS. is most easily explained, if it is assumed that he transcribed from a Śāradā MS., because in that alphabet त and उ are almost indistinguishable. The same supposition best explains in vi. 49 the mistake जवनमुत्तथाव-
नानुरूपं for जवसमुत्तथावनानुरूपा. For in the Śāradā alphabet there is very little difference between म and न and between मि and नि. The majority of the remaining 180 or 190 new readings is made up of mistakes, or is due to the rage of the Paṇḍits for altering the old texts, which has caused so much mischief in most classical Sanskrit works. I trust that at some future visit to Ahmadābād Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's hope of finding the missing portion of the MS. may be realized.

Another very valuable find is Sōmēśvara's second Mahākāvya, the *Surathōtsava*, pp. 19-20, App. III. S, which in its fifteenth canto gives an account of the author's ancestors, the Purōhitas of the Chaulukya kings, and contains various important notes on the history of Gujarāt. The name of Sōmēśvara's family was, according to the Sanskrit text, Gulēcha, not Gulēva, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar doubtfully writes on p. 20, and this race belonged to the Nāgara sub-division of the Gujarāt Brāhmanas. Even this note possesses considerable interest, as it shows that the Nāgaras were in the tenth century as influential as they are in the present day, and that the modern Gulēchas, whose name I remember to have met with in Gujarāt, can boast of a prouder pedigree than most of the noble houses of Europe. The first member of the family who attained to the dignity of domestic priest to the sovereign of Gujarāt was Sōla, and the king who appointed him was Mōlarāja I., the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty. These statements too possess a considerable significance. The appointment of a new Purōhita proves that on Mōlarāja's accession considerable changes in the royal household were made. Such things would not have happened, if the Chaulukya prince had ascended the throne of Gujarāt by the right of succession on the extinction of the Chāudā line. But they were only too natural, if Mōlarāja I., as his land-grant asserts, "conquered the Gōrjaramaṇḍala by the strength of his arm." Among Sōla's descendants

was Āma who saved the life of the sixth Chaulukya prince, Karṇa. Regarding him it is said that he made a Kṛityā or evil spirit, which the Purōhita of the king of Mālva had raised, turn against its author. The reason which moved the Mālava priest to use his magic skill is stated to have been, that the territory of his master was harassed by the king of Gujarāt. Here we have again an indication that the reign of "goodman" Karṇa, was not as peaceable as the *Deyārayamahākāvya* and the *Prabandhas* represent it to have been. While these works do not mention any wars, Bilhana's drama, *Karṇasundarī*, which Paṇḍit Durgāprasaḍ has lately discovered and published in the *Kāvyamālā*, speaks of a successful expedition against the Muhammadan rulers of Sindh and their Kābuli allies. Now we learn that the hereditary feud between Mālva and Gujarāt did not sleep during Karṇa's reign. I will add that a contemporary of Sōmēśvara makes the same assertion, as a paper to be published in the *Transactions* of the Vienna Academy will show. It is also interesting to see that in the eleventh century A.D. the Purōhitas had to show their skill in the foul rites of the Atharvaveda, which made their office the object of much obloquy. In the notes on the exploits of Siddharāja, the employer of Āma's son, Kumāra, the assertion that the king humbled the prince of the Sapādalaksha country, or of Sākambhari-Sāmbhar in Rājputānā, deserves attention. Curiously enough Hēmachandra, Siddharāja's court Paṇḍit and annalist, does not speak of this war, nor do the later Prabandhakāras. Only Sōmēśvara mentions it in the *Kīrtikāsmudrā*, and again in the *Surathōtsava*. In spite of Hēmachandra's silence it is perfectly credible, because it helps to explain Arṇōrāja's attack on Gujarāt, which occurred immediately after Jayasimha's death. It may, however, be doubted whether the result of the war was as favourable to Gujarāt as Sōmēśvara asserts. It is more probable that Jayasimha tried to extend his sway also to the north-east, but failed. That would explain Hēmachandra's otherwise inexplicable silence regarding the event. The next name in the list of Sōmēśvara's ancestors, that of Āmiga, is chiefly interesting because it occurs in the *Prabandhas*. Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, p. 205 (Bomb. edition), and the *Prabhāvakacharita*, tell of a squabble of his with Hēmachandra. The latter work places the event in the reign of Jayasimha, while Mērutuṅga, I think with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, more correctly assigns it to the time of Kumārapāla. Both works mention that Āmiga held the office of Purōhita. The remarks on Āmiga's sons contain too, something new. First, the statement that

Kumārāpāla, though a convert to Jainism, received an orthodox burial and that his ashes were thrown into the Ganges, possesses some interest. It shows that the Brāhmanical reaction on Ajayapāla's accession to the throne was indeed complete, as the Jaina Prabandhas too assert. More startling and hardly credible is the second statement that Kumārāpāla had a son who became king. According to the *Suratīhāsava*, xv. 31-32, it looks as if Sōmēśvara meant to say that this son of Kumārāpāla was Ajayapāla. All the Prabandhas, as well as Kṛishṇāji, the author of the *Batsamāli*, assert that Kumārāpāla had no son, and that Ajayapāla was the son of his brother Mahipāla, whom, according to some, he tried to set aside in favour of his daughter's son, Pratāpamalla (see my essay *Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra* p. 50, *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie* 1889). It may be that Sōmēśvara has made a slip, just as in the *Kīrtikaumudī* ii. 32, where he calls the king of Mālvā, made prisoner by Jayasinhha, Naravarman, while it was Yaśōvarman, Naravarman's son, according to Hēmachandra, an eye-witness of the king's triumphal entry on his return from Mālvā. It would lead me too far, if I were to discuss the further details on the history of Sōmēśvara's father, Kumāra, who was Āmiga's second son, those on the author's own life, and those on Vastupāla, his Jaina patron and friend. I will only add that the panegyric on Vastupāla indicates that the work was written before the death of the latter in Vikrama-Samvat 1297. The Dabhōi Prasasti of V. S. 1311 shows that Sōmēśvara survived his friend by many years.

Amongst the other works which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar saw in Ahmadābād the complete copy of Jayanta's commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* possesses a considerable value, as it proves that Mammaṭa's treatise was in great repute at the end of the 13th century even in Gujarāt, and as the author turns out to have been the son of the Purōhita of king Śāraṅgadēva's minister. The date of the work V. S. 1350 is the same as that of Śāraṅgadēva's inscription at Ābū. To Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's remarks, p. 17, No. 18, on the *Prākṛit Subhāṣitāvalī* of Jayavallabha, which is variously called in the MSS. *Vajjālaya*, *Vijjālaya*, *Vijjālagga* and *Vijjāhalao*, I may add that I have drawn attention to its existence in my Report for 1874-75, when I was shown a copy by the keeper of Hēmachandra's Bhaṇḍār at Pāṭan. I then secured one copy, and later, in 1879-80, a second. With respect to No. 8, I must state that I believe the title *Kārikāṭikā* which is given on p. 65, to be the correct one. The copy in my private collection (now in the I. O. L.) of a portion of the work, which was transcribed

from a MS. of the Madras Government Collection, gives too *Kārikā*, not *Kārikā*.

The next portion of Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's Report, pp. 23-157, contains very full and most instructive notes on the MSS. purchased for Government in 1883-84. The number of his acquisitions amounts (see App. II.) to 737, 325 of which come from Gujarāt and North-Western India, and 412 from the Marāṭhā Country. Under the heading *Vēdas*, there is, besides some not very important works, at least one curiosity, a MS. containing portions of the *Vdjanēyisaṅhita* in the Krama- and Jaṭā-pāṭhas. I have seen a similar MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society in Bombay.

In the second section we have large fragments of the *Srautasūtras* of Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and Kātyāyana, accompanied by the glosses of ancient commentators, and a host of *Kārikās* and *Prayōgas*, together with a sprinkling of works belonging to the other *Āṅgas*. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar offers short remarks on the majority of their authors, and gives a full analysis of the authorities quoted by *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana*-Bhāskaramiśra, of whose important *Kārikās* he has obtained a complete MSS. He shows that *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana* is quoted by Hēmadri, and must therefore be anterior to the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. His authorities, of course, date from still earlier times. To them belong Karka, the commentator of the *Sūtras* of Kātyāyana, Dhūrtasvāmin, the author of a *Bhāṣya* on Āpastamba, Gārgya-Nārāyaṇa, and Bhavanāga, commentators of Āśvalāyana, and Bhavasvāmin, the commentator of Baudhāyana. Among these Bhavasvāmin must be particularly ancient, because he is quoted by Kēśava, the author of the *Prayōgasāra*, who himself is one of the authorities of *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana*. Bhavasvāmin must therefore have flourished before the tenth century. The same may be said of Dēvasvāmin, according to whose commentary on Āśvalāyana [Gārgya-] Nārāyaṇa composed his own *Vṛitti* on the *Srautasūtras*. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar further remarks that among the ancient commentators and writers on *Mīmāṃsā*, as well as in ancient inscriptions, the title *svāmin* is common, while it does not occur during the last six centuries. He therefore thinks with Professor Weber that it is a mark of antiquity. With respect to Śābarasvāmin, the most ancient commentator on *Mīmāṃsā*, he shows that he cannot be placed later than 400 or 500 A.D., as his *Bhāṣya* was explained by Kumārila, who lived about 700 A.D. He finally conjectures that Bhavasvāmin, Dēvasvāmin and Agnisvāmin flourished about the same time. I can only say that I fully

agree with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar in thinking that most of the Bhāṣyas on the Sūtras belong to a very much higher antiquity than European Sanskritists usually assume. With respect to Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa, the son of Divākara and author of the *Grihyavṛitti*, and Dēvasvāmin, this may also be proved by means of the *Āvalādyana-grihyakārikā* by Bhaṭṭa-Kumārilaśvāmin, a copy of which, No. 509, is in Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's collection of 1883-84. This work, which I know through a MS. of my private collection (now in the I. O. Library), frequently quotes the opinions of Nārāyaṇa, of Jayanta, the author of the *Vimalōdaya-mūlā*, and of the Bhagavadvṛttikāra. In the verses appended to the printed Vṛtti of Nārāyaṇa (Calcutta ed., p. 264), it is stated that the Bhāṣya of the Grihyasūtras was composed by Bhagavat-Dēvasvāmin, and that the Vṛtti was written by his favour, i. e. cribbed from the Bhāṣya. Now it seems to me from the style of the Kārikās that they really belong, as Dr. Burnell too says in his remarks on the Tanjore copy, to the great Mīmāṃsaka Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. Thus we obtain the sequence: Kumārila, *circa* 700 A.D., quotes Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa, who in his turn quotes Bhagavat-Dēvasvāmin. The title *bhagavat* given to the latter, indicates that he was in Nārāyaṇa's times a half-mythical personage and lived centuries before him. As Naidhruva-Nārāyaṇa himself cannot be placed later than 600 A.D. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's estimate that Dēvasvāmin flourished about 400 or 500 A.D. is very moderate, — in fact too moderate.

In Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's notes on the Śrautasūtras quoted by Trikaṇḍamaṇḍana, pp. 29-30, the discovery that Upavarsha, the Mīmāṃsaka, wrote a work of this class, is valuable. He probably belongs to the historical times of India, and if his works were recovered, we might get a chance of settling a portion of the chronology of the so-called Vēdic period. The discovery of the existence of a Pāpiniya-Charaṇa is also interesting, though it could be inferred from the quotations from a lawbook by a Pāpini. With respect to Laṅgākāṣi, it may be noted that according to Dēvapāla's commentary on his Grihyasūtra, it contained 39 Adhyāyas. The Bhāradvāja Śrautasūtra is not so very rare as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar thinks. There is a copy of nine Prāśnas in the Bombay University Library, another in Munich, and a third in Berlin, all three of which are transcripts of the Barōḍā MS. And Dr. Oppert's Catalogue enumerates various MSS. in the Madras Presidency, the original home of the Charaṇa. A portion of the Grihyasūtra with the commentary of Kapardisvāmin is in the Elphinstone College Library Collection of 1866-68.

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar next turns, pp. 32-44, to a brief description of the Śrauta rites, interspersed with remarks on their development. His views on the latter show that he may be reckoned as an adherent of the critical and historical school of philology, and is a good deal ahead of most of his compatriots. There is only one point on which I must differ from him. I do not think that the arguments which he brings forward on p. 34, are sufficient to show that Baudhāyana is younger than Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba. There is too distinct a current of tradition, corroborated by much circumstantial evidence, that Baudhāyana, the Pravachanakartā, wrote the first Sūtra of the Taittirīya school. It is, however, quite a different question if his Śrautasūtras have not been largely added to. This is certainly the case with the Dharma and Grihya-sūtras.

In the third class there is a copy of the *Nīlāmata-Purāṇa* or, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar prefers to call it, "the Kāśmīramāhātmya according to Nīlāmata," which, he says, is complete. If so, it is a very valuable acquisition, because the copies which I brought from Kāśmīr are, with the exception of that restored by Sāhebrām, certainly full of lacunae, especially in the beginning. In this portion occur the statements which Kalhana used for his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and it would be well worth the while to print them. I would ask Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar to do this in the Appendix to his next Report. As regards the title, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar will find one of the reasons why I have called the work a Purāṇa at the end of the extracts in my Kāśmīr Report, p. lx. l. 10. Another reason is that in Kāśmīr, its home, all the Paṇḍits call it a Purāṇa, not a Māhātmya, though, as I have shown at length in my Report, p. 41, its contents are the same as those of a Māhātmya. The larger Māhātmyas are sometimes, *gauravārtham*, called Purāṇas; compare e.g. the so-called Sthalapurāṇas of Southern India. Under these circumstances I do not think it necessary to alter the title of the work.

Under Dharma also there are some valuable acquisitions, such as a second copy of the Kāśmīr text of Manu (the first being that which I acquired in 1876), two Kāṇḍas of Aparāditya's commentary on Yājñavalkya, of which the Deccan College has now a fine store, a MS. of the *Madanapārijāta*, of the *Āvalādyanagrihyakārikā* of Bhaṭṭa Kumārilaśvāmin, as well as numerous more modern treatises, the dates of which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar mostly settles very satisfactorily. In connection with the subject I am glad to point out that Mr. Śrīdhar R. Bhāṇḍārkar's date for Viśvēśvara exactly agrees with that which I have given at p. cxxv. of the introduction to my translation of Manu on the strength of Dr. Schram's calculations. I took the

verse from Mr. Sarvādhikārin's Tagore Lectures, but have since verified it, as well as the pedigree of Madanapāla in the copies of the *Madanavinodanighantu* preserved in the India Office Library. Visvēśvara's date is of some importance, because his commentary on the *Mitāksharā* is held to be of authority, and because his patron rescued the *Manubhāshya* of Mēdhātithi from destruction. The remarks on the *Vidddrnavabhañjana* have been made before in Dr. Peterson's Second Report, p. 53.

In the next class, — Poems, Plays, and Fables, there are some new anthologies, one of which comes from Kāśmīr, and a new commentary on the *Mahadūṭaka* by Balabhadra. The *Vṛttis* on Kālidāsa's and Bhāravi's poems are already represented in the earlier collections, and among them Jōnarāja's commentary on the *Kirdārjuntya*, by five copies which I brought from Kāśmīr. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar shows that Jōnarāja wrote this work in Śaka-Samvat 1370.

An ancient copy of a portion of the *Kāśikī-Vṛtti* on Pāṇini's Sāstras permits Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, p. 58, to slightly modify the prevailing opinion as to the share which each of the two joint authors took in its compilation. Jayāditya, it now appears, wrote the notes on Adhyāyas i.-v. and (not i.-iv.) and the remainder belongs to Vāmana. The general results of an elaborate note, pp. 59-60, on the family of Rāmachandra, the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, are, that it belonged to the Tailāṅgi subdivision of Brāhmaṇa, and that it counted among its members several writers on the Sāstras. From the copy of the Puna Sanskrit College Collection it appears that Rāmachandra wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Under the heading *Kōshas*, p. 61ff., Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar gives, in connection with the description of a copy of Rāyamukuta's *Padaachandrikā*, a list of the authors and works quoted by that voluminous scholiast in his notes on Kāṇḍa i. of the *Amarakōsha*. This list is further extended to Kāṇḍas ii.-iii., on p. 467ff., by Pandit Durgāprasāda. It seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar that the same task had already been done according to three MSS. by Professor Aufrecht in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 109-121, still more elaborately and on principles which make the verification of the quotations much easier.

In the next section Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar discusses the contents of the philosophical works purchased, among which those on Rāmānuja's system and on Kāśmīrian Śaivism are particularly interesting. Here we have also, pp. 69-74, the nucleus of his new theory on the Bhāgavata sect, which has been set forth more fully in his valuable paper inserted

in the *Abhandlungen der Arianischen Section des VII. Intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, pp. 101-109. He shows that the Viśiṣṭa Advaita system of Rāmānuja is a somewhat modified and more methodical form of the ancient Bhāgavata, Pāñcharātra or Sāttvata religion, which is named and described in the *Sāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata. This creed, which inculcates the worship of the supreme Vāsudēva and teaches the doctrine of *bhakti*, has originally nothing to do with the Vēdas and Upanishads. It arose from the same current of thought from which the Bhagavadgītā sprang. Its sacred books are the Samhitās of the Nāradapañcharātra, some of which turned up at Anhilvād, while one has been printed and known long ago. Its founder was a Kshatriya, like Śākyamuni-Gōtama and Vardhamāna, the Jñātrika who originated the systems known as Buddhism and Jainism. He seems to have been Vāsudēva of the Sāttvata sub-division of the Yādava tribe. Or it may be that this Vāsudēva was a king of the Sāttvatas, who after his death was deified, that a body of doctrines grew up in connection with his worship, and that the religion spread from his clan to other classes of the Indian people. In its origin this religion must have developed into the Pāñcharātra system of the Samhitās. Then it was mixed with other elements, indicated by the names of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛishṇa, Rāma, gods and deified heroes, who were identified with Vāsudēva. Hence arose the various forms of modern Vaishnavism. In order to prove the great age of the original worship of Vāsudēva, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar points to the often-quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini, iv. 3, 98, where the formation of the name of a devotee of Vāsudēva is taught, and to the remarks of Patañjali thereon, who states that the Vāsudēva meant is *tatrabhagavat*. He further shows that the Pāñcharātra system was known to Śaṅkarāchārya as well as to Bāṇa, and that one of the Samhitās is quoted by Rāmānuja.

I believe that Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar is on the right track, and that, if he fully works out his ideas with the help of all available materials, he will be able to offer the outlines of the earlier history of Vaishnavism. The task is of course a very difficult one. It will require a careful study of the Samhitās, and of their history, and a careful utilization of the hints contained in Brāhmaṇical, Jaina, and Buddhist literature, as well as in the inscriptions.

It will, I firmly believe, eventually appear that both Vaishnavism and Śaivism, which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar too declares, p. 76, to be perhaps as old as the worship of Viṣṇu, are co-eval with even the earlier portions of the so-called Vēdic period.

Already in my discussion of the great Nānāghāt inscription of Queen Nāyanikā, *Arch. Surv. W. India*, Vol. V. p. 74, I have pointed out that the invocation *namō Saṃkṛāṣṇa-Vāsudeva-nā Chandasū[tā]nā* furnishes additional proof for the age of the worship of Kṛishṇa in India. Of late an apparently still older inscription has been discovered in Rājputānā and published by Kavirāj Syāmalādīśa and Dr. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. VI. p. 77ff., in which "the worship of Bhagavat Saṃkṛāṣṇa and Vāsudeva," and a Vaiṣṇava temple, are mentioned. This is another valuable piece of evidence for the antiquity of the worship of Vāsudeva. The earliest mention of the Sāttvata sect, known to me, occurs in the Tuśām rock inscription, *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 270, where an *dryya-Sāttvatta-yōgśchārya* is mentioned; Mr. Fleet assigns it to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Professor Kern, who too is convinced that Vaiṣṇavism does not date from modern times, states, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, Vol. I. p. 17, that the Ājivikas, who existed in Buddha's times, and who received caves from Aśōka, and from his son, Daśaratha, were Brāhmanical ascetics worshipping Nārāyaṇa. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar will, perhaps, be able to say in a future report whether this assertion receives support through the Saṃhitās of the Pāñcharātra religion.

No less interesting are Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's remarks on Kāśmīrian Saivism, which show that the doctrines of the Spandasūtras, in spite of numerous points of resemblance, yet differ from Sāyaṇa's *Saivaśāstra*, with which I identified it in my Kāśmīr Report. The system is, it now appears, non-dualistic, and a pure idealism like the Pratyabhijñāśāstra, of which it seems to have been the forerunner. In his notes on its literature, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar tries to make out that the Spandakārikās belong, not to Vasugupta, but to his pupil Kallaṭa. As the tradition is conflicting, the point must remain doubtful. With respect to Utpala's *Spandaprādīpikā*, he shows that its author is different from the Utpala who wrote on the Pratyabhijñā-system. The former was the son of Trivikrama, while the father of the latter was called Udayākara.

The MSS. on Kāśmīrian Saivism purchased in 1882-83 are eleven in number, and they are all represented in the earlier parts of the Deccan College collection. But Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar was right in taking them, as they come not from Kāśmīr itself, but from the Pañjāb, where frequently better texts are obtainable than in the valley (see my Kāśmīr Report, p. 83).

In the 13th section there are no works of any great importance. But the extracts from a

Kāśmīrian *Khaṇḍokhādyaśādharaṇa* are interesting, as they furnish new rules for converting Laukika into Śaka years. Their results agree with those obtained by means of the verse given to me by the Kāśmīrian Jōshis, if the Kali years are considered as *past*, and the Laukika years as *current*. I believe it will be advisable to test these and all other statements regarding the Saptarshi era by calculations of the numerous dates with week days added, which are found in the MSS. of the Deccan College collection and elsewhere. Dr. Kielhorn's articles on the Chēdi and Nēpāl eras show that the labour expended on such calculations is by no means useless.

Under the heading Tāntrika literature, p. 87, we find twenty works written in the Śāradā character, more than half of which, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar remarks, are not included in my collection of 1875-77. The very clear sketch of the *Sāmbhavadārśana*, pp. 89-90, is interesting and most amusing. One of the aims of the faithful student is, it appears, to imagine that he is a woman. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar adds — "There is a Śākta ascetic in a village in the vicinity of Poona, who, I am told, dresses himself like a female."

The purchases in the first sub-division of Class XVII. Digambara literature, amount to about forty, and contain several important novelties, such as the *Niyamasāra* of Kundakundāchārya, one of the ancient teachers of the Nagnāṣas. The *Pravachanasāra* of the same author, which Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar takes to be a new acquisition, is already contained in No. 639 of my Collection of 1875-77. The steady growth of the store of Digambara books in the Bombay collections is most satisfactory. Both Dr. Peterson and Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar have made year by year very important additions, the purchases being chiefly effected at Jaypur and in the Pañjāb. I think it would be advisable if efforts were made to obtain also books from the Southern Marāṭhā country, Kanara, and the Madras Presidency. The operations will be somewhat more difficult in these districts, but they will eventually yield ample reward, because a very large number of the more ancient Digambara works have been composed in Southern India, and the northern MSS. are transcripts from southern copies written in Kanarese, Telugu, or Grantha characters. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's extracts from the Digambara works, which he purchased, pp. 92-126, are most judiciously and carefully made, and furnish much important new information. His analysis of the contents of the *Pravachanasāra*, of Sakalakīrti's *Tattvārthasāradīpikā*, and of the *Kārttikāyānuprākāśhā* with Subhachandra's commentary, gives a very clear and intelligible view of the religious teaching of

the Digambaras and of their tradition regarding the Jaina literature; while the extracts from a number of *Prasastis* furnish a considerable number of new dates and statements regarding the succession of the teachers of the sect. In between we find also other valuable historical and literary notes, such as, pp. 104-105, those on the Paramāra princes of Mālvā in the thirteenth century, under whom that most fertile author Āśādharma wrote his numerous works, and those on the Rāshtrakūṭas Amoghavaraha and Akālavara, p. 121; see also *Corrigenda*, p. II. It is impossible for me to notice in detail all the important points in this portion of the Report, but I strongly recommend its study to scholars interested in the religious history of India. In connection with his abstracts, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar gives us also his views on the origin and the history of the Jaina sect. Like Professor Jacobi, myself, and other Sanskritists, he denies, p. 102 and p. 125, that the Jainas are a Buddhist sect, and admits that their founder may have been a contemporary of Śākyamuni-Gautama. But he holds that Jainism as a system is later than Buddhism, that it was remodelled about the first century of our era, after the men who knew the original doctrines by heart, had died, and that it received a new set of sacred books about the year 139 A.D. He thinks that the sect must have been unimportant up to that period, and adds that this view is corroborated by the scarcity of ancient Jaina inscriptions. It would lead me too far if I were to enter on a discussion of these views and the arguments by which they are supported. I will only say this much, that I am glad to note our agreement as to one of the main points,—the independent origin of the Jaina religion. With respect to the other points, on which I must differ from Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, I will add that the Aśoka inscriptions, which speak of "countless religious communities consisting of ascetics and householders," mention by name only three, the *Buddhists*, the *Niganthas* or *Jainas*, and the *Ajivikas*, which therefore must have been those most noteworthy in the 3rd century B.C. and that the Mathurā inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period which confirm the Svētāmbara (not the Digambara) tradition regarding the old teachers and schools, become every year more numerous. Last year brought us Dr. Burgess's important inscription, dated in the seventh year of Kanishka; this year Dr. Führer has unearthed four very valuable documents of the same period. Among the thirty-seven Svētāmbara MSS. pur-

chased in 1883-84, there does not seem to be anything new or very important. In making his extracts, pp. 144-155, from Dharmasāgara's *Pravachanaparīkṣā* or *Kupakṣahakāṣikāditya*, Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar seems to have overlooked that Professor Weber has published an elaborate treatise on the same work in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy. A great portion of the extracts, p. 138 ff., from Samayasundara's commentary on the Kalpasūtra had already been given by Professor Jacobi in the notes to his edition of the Kalpasūtra.

The concluding pages of the Second Report are directed against a remark which I made in my review on Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's First Report, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 62. I there pointed out that it was not safe to refer every date in the MSS. to which the word *Saṃvat* is prefixed to the Vikrama era, because at least some cases occurred in which the word referred to the Śaka era, and I gave two instances to the point. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar answers that the meaning of the word *Saṃvat* admits of no dispute, and during the last five centuries has always been used to denote the Vikrama era. He maintains that, if the usual interpretation of the word *Saṃvat* leads to wrong historical results, the cause must be a mistake of the writer, and he suggests that the writer may have copied a real old *Saṃvat* date from his original, and have added some historical note regarding his own time, or that he may have put in a wrong date by a slip of the pen. With respect to one of my cases, that of the MS. of the *Idar* copy of the *Mahābhāṣya*, he thinks that it will not do to take *Saṃvat* 1514 as equivalent to 1592 A.D., because Rāḍ Nārāyaṇadāsa lost his throne in 1576, and Mr. K. Forbes immediately after speaks of his successor Viramadēva. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar then goes on to prove his main point by giving a number of *Saṃvat*, i.e. Vikrama-*Saṃvat* dates which in MSS. occur together with Śaka dates, and by quoting a passage from a commentary on the *Bhāṣvatīkāraṇa*, composed in Śaka-*Saṃvat* 1577, where the author declares that the era of Vikramāditya bears the name *Saṃvat*.

The question whether particular dates in the MSS. to which the word *Saṃvat* is prefixed, do refer to the Śaka era, cannot, it seems to me, be decided on general grounds, but only on the merits of each single case. I therefore deal first with Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's objections to my two cases and with his attempts at explaining them in a manner differing from mine. As regards the difficulty about Rāḍ Nārāyaṇadāsa II.,¹ the fuller informa-

¹ As the *Gazetteer*, *loc. cit.* pp. 402-403, shows, there was an earlier Rāḍ Nārāyaṇadāsa I., who began to rule in 1428 A.D. He died (the date is not mentioned), before 1445 A.D., in which year Rāḍ Bhān was on the throne.

He cannot be meant in the colophon of the MS. of the *Bhāṣya*, as its dates, if referred to the Vikrama era, would be equivalent to 1455-56 and 1456-57 A.D.

tion in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V. p. 404, shows that he was conquered by Akbar in 1576 A.D. and that his capital fell into the hands of his foes. But the *Gazetteer* adds:—"Following his usual policy, Akbar, asking for no more than an admission of his supremacy, restored the Rāo to his state, and made him commander of 2000 infantry and 500 cavalry." His reign did, therefore, not come to an end in 1576, and there is no reason why he may not have been alive and ruler of Idar in 1592. Unfortunately the *Gazetteer* does not give the date of the beginning of his successor's reign, and I have no means to supply the omission. As regards the suggestion that the writer may have put in an older Sāmvat date and have added an historical note referring to his own time, that is, in my opinion, very improbable. For the fact that an historical note is given, shows that the man did not work mechanically, but did think about the date, and it is hence not likely that he made so absurd a mistake. It is, however, unnecessary to continue this discussion of the probabilities, as there is another case in which no doubt or other explanation than that given by me is possible. This is the date of the oldest MS. of the *Gaṇaratnamahā-dedhi*, see Professor Eggeling's edition, p. v. Its colophon runs as follows: *sāmvak* (i. e. *sāmvat*) 1151 *virōdhi* (i. e. *virōdhi*)-*sāmvatsarē kīrttika vadi* (i. e. *badi*) 5 *budhē*. That this is a date of the Saka-Sāmvat is proved, as Professor Eggeling has first stated, by the mention of the Virōdhi *sāmvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle, which corresponds only to Saka 1151, according to the southern luni-solar system. It is further proved by Dr. Schram's calculation of the *tithi* and of the week-day, the whole being equivalent to 7 Nov. 1229 A.D. which was a Wednesday. In this case the figures of the date cannot have been copied from an older MS. dated Vikrama-Sāmvat 1151, because the *Gaṇaratnamahādedhi* was composed when 1197 years of that era had elapsed (Eggeling, *loc. cit.* p. viii.). Nor is an error of the copyist in the figures possible, because the details agree accurately with the requirements of the Saka era. The fact that this writer uses *Sāmvat*, or to be quite exact *Sāmvak*, for *Sakakālā* or *Sakusāmvat*, is therefore indisputable, and it is very remarkable, because Colonel Tod obtained this MS. from one of the Jaina libraries of Rājputānā. The Jaina scribes have since even earlier times than the thirteenth century A.D. very frequently and as a rule used Sāmvat for the era of Vikramāditya, and this era alone has been the official and the popular one in Rājputānā as well as in Gujarāt, at least since the tenth century. Yet we have here an indisputable deviation from an otherwise hard and fast rule. Whatever the explanation may be, the fact, it

seems to me, makes it advisable to be cautious with Sāmvat dates, even if they occur in MSS. coming from districts where the term Sāmvat is usually understood to denote the era of 58 B.C. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's assertion that the term Sāmvat is used in the present day and has been used since some centuries for the Vikrama era is, with certain restrictions, perfectly correct. The restrictions are that the conventional use of the term does not extend to Kāśmīr and the adjacent Hill-states of the Pañjāb nor to Nēpāl. In Kāśmīr and the hill territory Sāmvat still refers as a rule to the Saptarshi era or Lōkakāla, and in Nēpāl to the era of A.D. 878-9. In the other parts of India of which I have personal knowledge, the majority of the Paṇḍits and Jōshis would unhesitatingly make the same remark about Sāmvat which, as Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar shows, a commentator of the *Bhḍavalkaraṇa* has put down in writing. This point I have not disputed and do not dispute. What I mean to say is that in spite of this state of things, there are cases in which the writers of MSS. have used Sāmvat for Saka-Sāmvat, and that it is advisable to make certain of the meaning of Sāmvat in all cases where it is worth the while and possible to do so. For as long as these apparent counter-instances are not removed, the popular usage creates only a strong presumption, not an absolute certainty, that in each given case a Sāmvat date is a Vikrama-Sāmvat date. If Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar succeeds in removing them, I shall be glad of his success, as he will have eliminated one of the many elements of uncertainty which have to be taken into account by those dealing with Hindu dates.

In conclusion, I cannot but give expression to my conviction that Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar has again proved by his Second Report how eminently useful the search for Sanskrit MSS. may be made for Oriental philology, and that he is entitled to the gratitude of all his fellow-workers for his patient industry and for the ability with which he has utilized his materials. I would add the request that his Third Report may not be delayed too long, and that his promise to issue preliminary annual lists of his purchases may be kept. I would also ask both him and Dr. Peterson to extend their operations to the South of India, at least by procuring MSS. from the Madras Presidency. Dr. Oppert's Catalogue shows that many valuable works not yet represented in the Deccan College collection, and probably not obtainable in the Bombay Presidency, are extant in Madras; and in Bombay agents are available to whom, it seems, *na kinichid agamyam*.

G. BÜHLER.

Vienna, 20th February, 1889.

THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

WHILE engaged in calculating or verifying Hindu dates in which the year of one era or another is coupled with a year of the *Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter*, I have had frequent occasion to resort to the third memoir of Warren's invaluable *Kāla-Saṅkalita*, pp. 197-216, and I have often admired the ingenuity and clearness with which that great scholar has treated his subject. At the same time, I cannot but confess that the use of Warren's Tables is somewhat troublesome; and it has appeared to me that the process of finding the exact beginning and end of a cycle-year, according to the different rules, might be simplified by giving certain fractions of days, etc., in decimals of days, and by expressing the epochs of the several eras, as well as other items, in days of the Julian period, a method which has been followed successfully by Dr. Schram in his *Hilftafeln für Chronologie*.¹ Besides, Warren's book is now difficult to obtain. The following simple rules and Tables may therefore not be altogether unwelcome to scholars who either do not possess a copy of the *Kāla-Saṅkalita* themselves, or have no large public library within easy reach.

A.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*.

(a)—According to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the epoch of the Kaliyuga, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —

588 465·7500 days.²

(b)—The length of one solar year is—

365·2587565 days.³

(c)—The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, without Bija or correction, is —

361·02672103 days.

(d)—The length of one year of Jupiter's cycle, with Bija or correction, is —

361·0346511 days.

Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Kaliyuga, in accordance with the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, multiply (b), i.e. the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add 588 463·6024 (i.e. the epoch of the Kaliyuga diminished by 2·1476, the time by which the apparent Mēsha-samkrānti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, according to Warren, preceded the epoch). Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Kaliyuga 4871, current, we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365 \cdot 2587565 \times 4870 \\ 1778 \ 810 \cdot 1441550 \\ + \ 588 \ 463 \cdot 6024 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

2367 273·7466 days of the Julian period, which by Tables I.

and II. correspond to

9th April, A.D. 1769, new style, 17 h. 55·1 m.

In other words, the solar year Kaliyuga 4871, current, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, commenced 17 h. 55·1 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 9th April, A.D. 1769, new style.

¹ That portion of Dr. Schram's work which has reference to the Hindu luni-solar calendar, has now been re-cast by the author, and will be published in a following number of this Journal. Dr. Schram's Table for converting a day of the Julian period into the European date, (the use of which will appear from the examples given at the end of this article) is, for the sake of ready reference, by the author's permission, appended also to the present paper (Table I.).

² i.e. midnight between the 17th and 18th February, 3102 B.C.

³ These figures (b), (c), and (d) are based on the following data:—The number of civil days in a Mahāyuga is 1577917828; in the same period there are 4320000 revolutions of the sun; revolutions of Jupiter (without correction) 364220; and revolutions of Jupiter, as corrected by the Bija, 364212.

2. To find the end of any one year of Jupiter's cycle, without or with Bija, multiply either (c), i.e. the length of one cycle-year without Bija, or (d), i.e. the length of one cycle-year with Bija, by the number which that particular year holds in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the beginning of the Kaliyuga (and which, as will be shown under 3, below, in practice can be readily ascertained), and to the product add (a), i.e. the epoch of the Kaliyuga. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II., as before.

Thus, assuming a year Vilamba to be the 4926th of Jupiter's years, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find—

(a) for the end of Vilamba without Bija:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361 \cdot 02672103 \times 4926 \\ 1778 \ 417 \cdot 62779378 \\ + \ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500 \\ \hline 2366 \ 883 \cdot 3778 \text{ days of the Julian period, which by Tables I. and} \end{array}$$

II. correspond to

15th March, A.D. 1768, new style, 9 h. 4 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba without Bija ended (and the following year Vikârin commenced) 9 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 15th March, A.D. 1768, new style.

(b) for the end of Vilamba with Bija:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361 \cdot 0346511 \times 4926 \\ 1778 \ 456 \cdot 6913186 \\ + \ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500 \\ \hline 2366 \ 922 \cdot 4413 \text{ days of the Julian period, which by Tables I.} \end{array}$$

and II. correspond to

23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style, 10 h. 35·5 m.

In other words, the year Vilamba with Bija ended (and the following year Vikârin commenced) 10 h. 35·5 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 23rd April, A.D. 1768, new style.

Having found the end of Vilamba, we find the commencement of Vilamba by deducting the length of one cycle-year, without or with Bija, as the case may be, thus:—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{end of Vilamba without Bija, } 2366 \ 883 \cdot 3778 \\ \text{less one year without Bija, } - \ 361 \cdot 0267 \\ \hline \text{remainder } 2366 \ 522 \cdot 3511, \end{array}$$

i.e. 20th March, A.D. 1767, new style, 8 h. 25·6 m., — beginning of Vilamba without Bija;

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{end of Vilamba with Bija, } 2366 \ 922 \cdot 4413 \\ \text{less one year with Bija, } - \ 361 \cdot 0347 \\ \hline \text{remainder } 2366 \ 561 \cdot 4066, \end{array}$$

i.e. 28th April, A.D. 1767, new style, 9 h. 45·5 m., — beginning of Vilamba with Bija.

3. How to find the number of any year of Jupiter, mentioned in a date, in the series of Jupiter's years counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, may be best shown by two examples:—

First Example.

An inscription on a Sati-pillar at 'Boram-Dêo' in the Central Provinces, (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII, Plate xxii.) is dated—

Samvat 1445 Bhâva-nâma-samvatsa(tsa)rê Âsvi(âvi)na-sudi 13 Sômê;
i.e. 'the (Vikrama) year 1445, in (Jupiter's) year named Bhâva, the 13th of the bright half of Âsvina, on Monday;'—and the corresponding European date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1445) is Monday, 14th September, A.D. 1888, when the 13th *tithi* of the bright half ended 19 h. after mean sunrise.

The question here is:—Which year of Jupiter, counted from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, was the year Bhâva (the 42nd year in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; see Table III.), which is mentioned in this date?

To answer this question, we substitute for the Vikrama year (1445) of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga (4489), obtained by adding 3044; this year of the Kaliyuga (4489) we divide by 85; and we add the quotient to the dividend, counting fractions exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ as 1, thus (4489 divided by 85 = $52\frac{69}{85}$ = 53; 4489 + 53 = 4542); dividing the sum (4542) by 60, the remainder will be, approximately, the number which the year we are concerned with holds in the Sixty-Year Cycle, when counted from Vijaya as No. 1; (4542 divided by 60 leaves remainder 42). Where the remainder actually corresponds with the number of the year of the date in the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya, (as is the case in the present instance), the sum previously divided by 60 (here 4542), is the very number sought (here 4542). But where the remainder falls below or exceeds that number (which would have been the case here if the remainder had been 41 or 44), the difference (in the assumed case, either 1 or 2) must be either added to, or subtracted from, the sum (here 4542) divided by 60 (in which case the year sought would have been either 4543 or 4540, respectively).⁴

In the present date, then, Bhāva was the 4542nd year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and we now find, by the rule given under 2, —

(a) for the end of Bhāva without Bija :—

$$361 \cdot 02672103 \times 4542$$

$$1639 \ 783 \cdot 36691826$$

$$+ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500$$

$$2228 \ 249 \cdot 1169, \text{ i.e. 12th August, A.D. 1388, 2 h. 48.3 m. ;}$$

(b) for the end of Bhāva with Bija :—

$$361 \cdot 0346511 \times 4542$$

$$1639 \ 819 \cdot 3852962$$

$$+ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500$$

$$2228 \ 285 \cdot 1353, \text{ i.e. 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14.8 m.}$$

The result is, that the year Bhāva, whether without or with Bija, was current at the commencement of the solar year Kaliyuga 4489 (= V. 1445) expired; and that, with Bija, it actually included the day (the 14th September, A.D. 1388) which is mentioned in the inscription.

Second Example.

My manuscript of the *Kārikā-Vṛitti* is dated —

Samvat 1464 varshē Āshāḍha-vadi tṛitīyāyām tithau Manmatha-samvatsarē Budhē ;
i.e. 'in the (Vikrama) year 1464, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Āshāḍha, in (Jupiter's) year Manmatha, on Wednesday.'

Here it so happens that, had the year Manmatha not been mentioned in the date, the corresponding European date might be either, —

for the northern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning, Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise; or —

for the southern expired Vikrama year 1464, by the *amānta* reckoning, Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

In fact, the question as to which of these two dates is the date on which the writing of my MS. was finished, must and can only be decided by the year Manmatha.

Manmatha is the 3rd year of the Sixty-Year Cycle, counted from Vijaya; and proceeding as before, we have : — Vikrama 1464 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4508; 4508 divided by 85 = $53\frac{1}{5}$; 4508 + 53 = 4561; 4561 divided by 60 leaves remainder 1; this being 2 less than Manmatha

⁴ It will be clear from the above that, the first thing to do, is always to substitute for the year of the date the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga; and in this respect it makes no difference whatever whether, the Vikrama year of a date is a northern or southern year. Should the year of the date be a Śaka year, we should also first substitute the corresponding year of the Kaliyuga, obtained by adding 3179; and we should proceed similarly in the case of any other era.

(3), we have $4561 + 2 = 4563$ as the number (from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) of the year Manmatha of our date. We now find —

(a) for the end of Manmatha without Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361 \cdot 02672103 \times 4563 \\ 1647 \ 364 \cdot 92805989 \\ + \ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500 \\ \hline 2235 \ 830 \cdot 6781, \text{ i.e. 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16.5 m.;} \end{array}$$

and for the beginning of Manmatha without Bija, by deducting one year without Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 2235 \ 830 \cdot 6781 \\ - \ 361 \cdot 0267 \\ \hline 2235 \ 469 \cdot 6514, \text{ i.e. 19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m.} \end{array}$$

(b) for the end of Manmatha with Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 361 \cdot 0346511 \times 4563 \\ 1647 \ 401 \cdot 1129693 \\ + \ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500 \\ \hline 2235 \ 866 \cdot 8630, \text{ i.e. 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42.7 m.;} \end{array}$$

and for the beginning of Manmatha with Bija, by deducting one year with Bija :—

$$\begin{array}{r} 2235 \ 866 \cdot 8630 \\ - \ 361 \cdot 0347 \\ \hline 2235 \ 505 \cdot 8283, \text{ i.e. 24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52.8 m.} \end{array}$$

The year Manmatha, without Bija, therefore lasted from—

19th May, A.D. 1408, 15 h. 38 m., to 15th May, A.D. 1409, 16 h. 16.5 m.; and the same year, with Bija, from —

24th June, A.D. 1408, 19 h. 52.8 m., to 20th June, A.D. 1409, 20 h. 42.7 m.; and it is clear that of the two otherwise possible European equivalents of the Hindu date (Wednesday, 25th May, A.D. 1407, and Wednesday, 11th July, A.D. 1408) only the second can be the true date, because only this date falls in the year Manmatha.

4. It is apparent that the above rules may be combined to ascertain or verify the occasion of a kshaya or expunged year of Jupiter. Thus it may be shown that Subhakrit, the 10th year of the cycle, counted from Vijaya (inclusive), with Bija, was such a year in Kaliyuga 4873, current. By the above we find that Kaliyuga 4872 ended, and Kaliyuga 4873 began —

$$\begin{array}{r} 365 \cdot 2587565 \times 4872 \\ 1779 \ 540 \cdot 6616680 \\ + \ 588 \ 463 \cdot 6024 \\ \hline 2368 \ 004 \cdot 2640680, \text{ i.e. 10th April, A. D. 1771, new style, 6 h. 20.3 m.;} \end{array}$$

and that Kaliyuga 4873 ended —

$$\begin{array}{r} 2368 \ 004 \cdot 2640680 \\ + \ 365 \cdot 2587565 \\ \hline 2368 \ 369 \cdot 5228, \text{ i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 12 h. 32.8 m.} \end{array}$$

We also find that (since Subhakrit in Kaliyuga 4873 must have been the 4930th year of Jupiter from the commencement of the Kaliyuga) Subhakrit with Bija commenced, or the preceding year Plava (4929) ended —

$$\begin{array}{r} 361 \cdot 0346511 \times 4929 \\ 1779 \ 539 \cdot 7952719 \\ + \ 588 \ 465 \cdot 7500 \\ \hline 2368 \ 005 \cdot 5452719, \text{ i.e. 11th April, A.D. 1771, new style, 13 h. 5.2 m.;} \end{array}$$

and that Subhakṛit with Bija ended —

2368 005·5452719

+ 361·0346511

2368 366·5799, i.e. 6th April, A.D. 1772, new style, 13 h. 55·1 m.

It is therefore clear that Subhakṛit, since it commenced after the beginning of Kaliyuga 4873 current, and ended before the end of Kaliyuga 4873 current, *was a kshaya* or expunged year in 4873. And by deducting the sum of days for the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 from the sum of days for the commencement of the year Subhakṛit, we find that the commencement of Subhakṛit with Bija was due 1 day, 6 h. 44 m. 54 s. after the commencement of Kaliyuga 4873 current.

5. By Warren's Rules and Tables the Jupiter's years will be found to begin and end about 2·1476 days, = 2 days 3 h. 32 m. 30 s., earlier than by the above rules. Thus, according to the *Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 201, the commencement of the year Vikārin (or the end of Vilamba), with Bija (above, 2), fell on 21st April, A.D. 1768, new style, instead of falling on the 23rd April; and the solar time of Vikārin expired, at the commencement of Kaliyuga 4871 current, according to Warren, was —

353 days 27 d. 10 p. 31·0640 c., i.e. about 353 days 10 h. 52·2 m. = 353·4529 days, whereas by my rule it was only 351·3053 = (353·4529 — 2·1476) days. Similarly, by Warren's Tables, the year Bhāva, with Bija, (above, 3, *First Example*), would end on the 14th September, A.D. 1388, 23 h. 42·2 m., whereas by my rule it ended on the 17th September, A.D. 1388, 3 h. 14·8 m., i.e. 2 days 3 h. 32·6 m. later. And according to the *Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 266, Plava, with Bija, was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4872, current, while by the above rules Subhakṛit was an expunged year in Kaliyuga 4873, current.

The reason of this difference is that Warren has calculated the Jupiter's years from the apparent Mēsha-saṁkrānti at the commencement of the Kaliyuga, whereas they should have been calculated from the mean Mēsha-saṁkrānti or the vulgar epoch of the Kaliyuga, which, according to Warren, was 2·1476 days later than the apparent Mēsha-saṁkrānti. This important correction I owe in the first instance to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, and I have found Mr. Dikshit's remarks on the subject confirmed by the practice of four MS. calendars in the Royal Library at Berlin. Thus, to give only one instance, in a calendar for the expired northern Vikrama year 1841 we read:—

Saṁvat 1841 Sākē 1706 Rākshasa-nāma-saṁvatsara-pravṛtṭiḥ | Tasya guru-mānēna mēshāt prāg bhukta-māsādi 3 2 33 36 1;

i.e., at the commencement of the (expired) Vikrama year 1841 or the (expired) Saka year 1706 (= Kaliyuga 4885, expired), the Jupiter's year current is Rākshasa (the 4943rd year from the commencement of the Kaliyuga); and of this year there have elapsed at the time of the Mēsha-saṁkrānti (of Kaliyuga 4885 expired) 3 months, 2 days, 33 daṇḍas, 36 palas, = 92·5600 days, of Jupiter's own time.

By my own rules, we have —

end of Kaliyuga 4885, current, = 2372 752·6279

— beginning of Rākshasa, without Bija, = 2372 659·8053

remainder 92·8226;

i.e., the beginning of the year Rākshasa, without Bija, preceded the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by 92·8226 solar days. To convert these into days of Jupiter's own time, say, as 361·0267 solar days (the length of the Jupiter's year without Bija) to 360 days of Jupiter's own time, so are 92·8226 solar days to 92·5586 days of Jupiter's own time. Deducting 92·5586 from 92·5600, the remainder will be 0·0014 days = 2 minutes, by which the year Rākshasa, according to my rule, will commence later than it does according to the MS. calendar. According to Warren, the commencement of Rākshasa, without Bija, would precede the commencement of Kaliyuga 4885, expired, by about 94·9721 solar days, i.e. Rākshasa would commence about 2 days 3 h. 33·3 m. earlier than it is made to begin by the MS. calendar.

B.—The beginning and end of the Cycle-year according to the Jyōtistattva.

(a)—According to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, the epoch of the Saka era, expressed in days of the Julian period, and in such a manner as to yield current days and hours, etc., after mean sunrise (at Ujjain), in the final results, is —
1749 621·1979 days.

(b)—The length of one solar year is —
365·25868055 days.

Rules.

1. To find the beginning of any year of the Saka era, in accordance with the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, multiply (b), i.e. the length of one solar year, by the number of years expired, and to the product add (a), i.e. the epoch of the Saka era. Convert the result into the European date by Tables I. and II.

Thus, for the beginning of Saka 1680, current, we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365\cdot25868055 \times 1679 \\ 613\ 269\ 324\ 643\ 45 \\ + 1749\ 621\ 1979 \end{array}$$

2362 890·5225, i.e. 9th April, A.D. 1757 new style, 12 h. 32·4 m., which differs by six seconds from the commencement of Saka 1680, current, as given in Warren's First Chronol. Table, p. xxiv.

And similarly, for the beginning of Saka 1311 expired (or 1312 current) we find—

$$\begin{array}{r} 365\cdot25868055 \times 1311 \\ 478\ 854\ 130\ 201\ 05 \\ + 1749\ 621\ 1979 \end{array}$$

2228 475·3281, i.e. 26th March, A.D. 1389, 7 h. 52·5 m. which agrees to the very second with the result obtained from Warren's Table XLVIII., Second Part.

2. The Jyōtistattva rule yields, for the commencement of any expired Saka year, the last expired Jupiter's year; and since it furnishes the means of determining what portion of the current Jupiter's year had elapsed at the commencement of the said Saka year, it enables us to calculate accurately the moment when the last expired Jupiter's year ended or the current one commenced. The rule is given by Davis (*Asiat. Res.* Vol. III. p. 214) and Warren (*Kāla-Saṃkalita*, p. 202), as follows:—

"The Saka year note down in two places. Multiply (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient (its integers) add to the second number noted down, and divide (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will show the year last expired, counting from Prabhava (inclusive) as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left by the divisor 1875, may be reduced to months, days, etc., expired of the current [Jupiter's] year."

Applying this rule, e.g. to the expired Saka year 1311, we find—

$$\frac{1311 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 17 \frac{1258}{1875}; \text{ and } \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22 \frac{8}{60}.$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction ($\frac{8}{60}$) shows that at the beginning of Saka 1311, expired, the last expired year of Jupiter was the 8th, counted from Prabhava (inclusive), i.e. Bhāva. And the first fraction ($\frac{1258}{1875}$) indicates that the end of Bhāva occurred $\frac{1258}{1875}$ of one solar year^s

^s This may be seen from the fact that 1875 reduced to days by Table IV. yields one solar year (in accordance with the *Ārya-Siddhānta*):—

$$\begin{array}{r} 1000 = 194\ 904\ 63 \text{ days.} \\ 800 = 155\ 843\ 70 \text{ " } \\ 70 = 13\ 636\ 32 \text{ " } \\ 5 = 0\ 974\ 02 \text{ " } \\ 1875 = 365\ 258\ 67 \text{ days.} \end{array}$$

before the commencement of Saka 1311, expired, (or the end of Saka 1311, current). This fraction may be reduced to days by my Table IV. (which is based on Warren's Tables XIV. and XVI.), as follows:—

numerator	1000	=	194·80463	days.
"	200	=	38·96093	"
"	50	=	9·74023	"
"	8	=	1·55844	"
<hr/>				
	$\frac{1259}{1875}$	=	245·06423	days.

And deducting this amount from the commencement of the expired Saka year (which in the present instance has been found already under 1), we find exactly when the year Bhāva ended, or, which is the same, when the following year Yuvan began:—

Saka 1311 expired	2228 475·3281
	— 245·0642
remainder	2228 230·2639,

i.e. 24th July, A.D. 1388, 6 h. 20 m.,—end of Bhāva or commencement of Yuvan.

Or, to give another example (*Kāla-Saṅkalita*, p. 203), for the commencement of Saka 1 current, = Saka 0 expired, we find—

$$\frac{0 \times 23 + 4291}{1875} = 2 \frac{541}{1875}; \text{ and } \frac{0 + 2}{60} = 0 \frac{2}{60}; \text{ i.e. Jupiter's year expired } 2 = \text{Vibhava.}$$

And numerator 500 = 97·40231 days;

" 40 = 7·79218 "

" 1 = 0·19480 "

$$\frac{541}{1875} = 105·38929 \text{ days;}$$

i.e., at the commencement of the Saka year 1 current, there had elapsed of the current Jupiter's year 3 = Sukla, 105 days 9 h. 20·6 m., which agrees with Warren's result to the very second;⁶ and the year Sukla began—

epoch of Saka era	1749 621·1979
	— 105·3893
remainder	1749 515·8086,

i.e. 19 h. 24·4 m. after mean sunrise (at Ujjain) of 29th November, A.D. 77.

3. The working of the Jyōtistattva rule shows that, according to the rule, the length of the ordinary Jupiter's year is $\frac{1853}{1875}$ of a solar year, i.e. 360·9730 (or, more accurately, 360·972978706) days; and, having found the end of one Jupiter's year, we therefore find the beginning of the same year, or the end of the following year, by simply either deducting that amount from, or adding it to, the number of days previously found (without starting afresh from the preceding or following Saka year). For instance, —

end of Bhāva (under 2)	2228 230·2639
	— 360·9730
remainder	2227 869·2909,

⁶ In a note on pp. 203 and 204 Warren has shown by an elaborate calculation that, by the Sārya-Siddhānta rule, there had elapsed of the year Sukla, at the end of Kaliyuga 3179 or the commencement of Saka 1 current — 70 days 8 d. 56 p. 30·9865 c. = 70 days 3 h. 34 m. 36 s. = 70·1490 days.

As the year Sukla (the 37th year of the cycle, when counted from Vijaya) in Kaliyuga 3179 was the 3317th year, and the preceding year Vibhava the 3216th year of Jupiter, from the commencement of the Kaliyuga, we find —

end of Kaliyuga 3179	= 1749 621·1893
less end of Vibhava	= 1749 553·1878
remainder	68·0015;

i.e. the end of Vibhava or commencement of Sukla preceded the end of Kaliyuga 3179 really by only 68·0015 days (or by 2·1475 days less than was found by Warren).

i.e. 29th July, A.D. 1387, 6 h. 5·89 m., — beginning of Bhāva;
 end of Bhāva (under 2) 2228 230·2639
 + 360·9730

sum 2228 591·2369,

i.e. 20th July, A.D. 1389, 5 h. 41·1 m., — end of Yuvan.

And in a similar manner it would be possible, without starting a new calculation, to ascertain the end of any previous or subsequent year (as will be shown below, *not separated* from the year the end of which has already been found, *by an expunction*), by either subtracting or adding one ordinary Jupiter's year multiplied by the difference in the Sixty-Year Cycle between the year the end of which we know and the year the end of which we wish to find. For instance, given the end of Bhāva (No. 8), we find the end of the year Tārāga (No. 18), by adding 360·9730 (or 360·97298) \times 10, thus:—

end of Bhāva 2228 230·2639
 + (360·97298 \times 10) = 3 609·7298
 sum 2231 839·9937,

i.e. 11th June, A.D. 1398, 23 h. 50·9 m., — end of Tārāga (No. 18).

4. Were we to calculate the Jupiter's years, *e.g.*, for the expired Saka years 60 and 61, the result would be as follows:—

$$\frac{60 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 2 \frac{1461}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{60 + 2}{60} = 1 \frac{2}{60};$$

$$\frac{61 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 3 \frac{8}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{61 + 2}{60} = 1 \frac{4}{60}.$$

Here the numerators of the second fractions ($\frac{2}{60}$ and $\frac{4}{60}$) tell us that, at the commencement of Saka 60 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was No. 2 = Vibhava, and the Jupiter's year current was No. 3 = Sukla; and that, at the commencement of Saka 61 expired, the Jupiter's year last expired was (*not* No. 3, but) No. 4 = Pramôda. The year Pramôda accordingly commenced after the beginning of Saka 60 expired; and since it ended before the close of the same year, it was a *kshaya* or *expunged* year. And from the first fractions ($\frac{1461}{1875}$ and $\frac{8}{1875}$) we see that the duration of the year preceding the expunged year amounted to exactly one solar year, as may also be clearly demonstrated by the following figures:—

Numerator 1861 by Table IV.	=	362·53141
" 8 " " "	=	1·55844
Beginning of Saka 60 expired	=	1771 536·71873
deduct for $\frac{1861}{1875}$	=	362·53141
End of No. 2 = Vibhava ...	=	1771 174·18732
Beginning of Saka 61 expired	=	1771 901·97741
deduct for $\frac{8}{1875}$	=	1·55844
End of No. 4 = Pramôda ...	=	1771 900·41897
deduct for end of No. 2 = Vibhava, —	=	1771 174·18732
remainder.....	=	726·23165 days;
which is made up of one solar year... =	=	365·25868
+ one ordinary Jupiter's year..... =	=	360·97297
sum.....	=	726·23165 days.

With the above data, and assuming the occasions of expunged years to be known,[†] we might now of course calculate the end of any of Jupiter's years whatever, taking as our basis the end of any one year which may happen to be already known to us. For instance, the end of the

[†] Expunged years fell within the expired Saka years 60, 145, 231, 316, 401, 486, 571, 657, 742, 827, 912, 998, 1083, 1168, 1253, 1339, 1424, 1509, 1594, 1679, 1765.

year Bhāva, which precedes Saka 1311 expired, being known, we find the end and value of the Jupiter's year immediately preceding the present year, Saka 1811 expired, thus:—

(Saka 1311), end of Bhāva	2228 230-2639
(Saka 1811—1311 =) 500 ordinary Jupiter's years . .	180 486-4888
6 solar years, for six expunctions between	
Saka 1311 and 1811	2 191-5521
sum	2410 908-3048;

i.e. 27th September, A.D. 1888, new style, 7 h. 18·9 m., — end of the Jupiter's year which preceded the commencement of Saka 1811 expired. And since Bhāva was the 8th year of the cycle, the year, the end of which we have thus ascertained, is $(8 + 500 + 6 = \frac{514}{60} = 8\frac{34}{60})$ Sarvarin, the 34th year of the cycle.*

C.—The Brihat-Samhitā rule.

The Brihat-Samhitā rule (Kern's translation, *Jour. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. V. p. 48, agrees with the Jyōtistattva rule, except that, — instead of multiplying by 22, adding 4291, and dividing by 1875, — we are directed to multiply by 44, to add 8589, and to divide by 3750. Applying this rule to the Saka year 1311 expired, we find:—

$$\frac{1311 \times 44 + 8589}{3750} = 17\frac{2523}{3750}, \text{ and } \frac{1311 + 17}{60} = 22\frac{8}{60}.$$

The fraction $\frac{2523}{3750}$ being equal to $\frac{1261\frac{1}{2}}{1875}$, is converted into days by Table IV. as follows:—

numerator 1000 =	194·80463 days;
„ 200 =	38·96093 „
„ 60 =	11·68828 „
„ 1 =	0·19480 „
„ $\frac{1}{2}$ =	0·09740 „

$$\frac{1261\frac{1}{2}}{1875} = \frac{2523}{3750} = 245·74604 \text{ days.}$$

Deducting this amount from the commencement of

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Saka 1311 expired} &= 2228\,475\,3281 \\ &\quad - 245\,7460 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{we obtain } 2228\,229\,5821,$$

i.e. 23rd July, A.D. 1388, 13 h. 58·2 m., for the end of Bhāva or commencement of Yuvan, according to the Brihat-Samhitā rule.

In other words, the Jupiter's year, by this rule, ends earlier than it does by the Jyōtistattva

* Calculating in the ordinary way, we have—

$$\frac{1811 \times 23 + 4291}{1875} = 23\frac{1008}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1811 + 23}{60} = 30\frac{34}{60}.$$

Year last expired: 34 = Sarvarin, the end of which precedes the beginning of Saka 1811 expired by

$$\begin{aligned} \text{numerator 1000} &= 194·80463 \\ \text{„ 8} &= 1·55844 \end{aligned}$$

$$\frac{1008}{1875} = 196·36307 \text{ days.}$$

$$\text{Beginning of Saka 1811 expired: } 365\,258\,89055 \times 1811$$

$$\begin{aligned} &661488\,470\,47605 \\ &+ 1740621\,1979 \end{aligned}$$

$$2411104\,66837$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{deduct for 1008} & \\ \text{1875} & \quad - 196\,36307 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{remainder } 2410908\,3053; \text{ which differs from the above result by 42 seconds.}$$

I may state that handy Tables for the Jupiter-years according to the Jyōtistattva, based on the above data, and similar Tables for the Śūrya-Siddhānta, will be published in a following number of this Journal.

rule (B 2, above), exactly as much as $\frac{8589}{3750}$ is larger than $\frac{4291}{1875}$. The difference between these two fractions amounts to $\frac{7}{3750} = \frac{3\frac{1}{2}}{1875} =$

numerator 3 = 0.58441 days,

" $\frac{1}{2}$ = 0.09740 "

$\frac{7}{3750} = 0.68181$ days;

and this is the very difference between the results of the two rules;⁹ for —

end of Bhāva by Jyō. t. rule 2228 230.2639;

deduct " " " " Bri. S. rule 2228 229.5821;

end of Bhāva by Jyōt. t. rule, later by 0.6818 days = 16 h. 21.8 m.

D.—The Cycle-year according to the so-called Tēliṅga rule.

According to this rule, the Jupiter's year coincides with the luni-solar year; and the name of the current Jupiter's year may be found thus:—To the expired year of the Kaliyuga add 13; to the expired Saka year, 12; and from the expired Vikrama year subtract 3; divide (the sum or the remainder) by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current Jupiter's year, counting from Prabhava (inclusive).¹⁰ Thus—

for K. Y. 4490 expired, = S. 1311 expired, = V. 1446 expired, we have:—

$$\begin{array}{r} 4490 \\ + 13 \\ \hline 4503 \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{r} 1311 \\ + 12 \\ \hline 1323 \end{array} \qquad \begin{array}{r} 1446 \\ - 3 \\ \hline 1443 \end{array}$$

divided by 60 in every case the remainder is 3 = Sukla.

Simplification of a portion of the preceding Rules.

The working of the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and *Jyōtistattva* rules, as described above, is rendered somewhat tedious by the various multiplications which have to be gone through to find the ends of the several years. To facilitate this part of the process, I append Tables V. and VI., from which the ends of the years may be found simply by addition. In these Tables the figures for the epochs of the eras have been included in the figures for the days corresponding to the units of the years; and, as regards their use, it need only be observed that the figures for the days corresponding to the year 0 must necessarily be added up with the rest, whenever the unit of the figures for the year is 0.

To show the working of these Tables,¹¹ we will ask:—

- On what day of the Julian period, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, did the solar year Kaliyuga 4870, current, end (or the year 4871, current, begin)?
- When did Jupiter's year 4926 (Vilamba), without Bija, end?
- According to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, when did Saka 1311, expired, begin?

⁹ So far as I can see, the only important difference in the results obtained by the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* rule is that, in accordance with it, expunctions take place in the expired Saka years 230, 997, and 1333, instead of taking place, as is the case by the *Jyōtistattva* rule, in the expired Saka years 231, 998, and 1339.

¹⁰ When I wrote the above, I had not seen the following passage in Alberuni's *India*, Sachan's Translation, Vol. II. p. 129:—"This is the method for the determination of the years of the *shashiyabda*, as recorded in their books. However, I have seen Hindus who subtract 3 from the era of Vikramāditya, and divide the remainder by 60. The remainder they count off from the beginning of the great yuga. This method is not worth anything. By-the-by: it is the same whether you reckon in the manner mentioned, or add 12 to the *Sakakāla*."

¹¹ The results obtained from Table VI. for the commencement of the Saka year, in accordance with the *Ārya-Siddhānta*, agree exactly with the beginnings of the years, as put down in Warren's First Chronological Table, pp. xxi—xxvi. As regards the results obtained from Table V., A., for the commencement of the solar year in accordance with the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, I may state that they will be found to be uniformly later by 23 minutes 36 seconds than the results obtained from Professor Kern Lakshman's and Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, published *ante*, Vol. XVII., pp. 269-272. Professor Kern Lakshman's results being for Bombay time and my own for Ujjain time, the real difference is 15 minutes 36 seconds, by which my results are uniformly later, and by which, accordingly, Kern Lakshman has put the *Mēsha-samkrānti* at the commencement of the Kaliyuga earlier than I have done. Taking the difference between Ujjain time and Bombay time to be 13 minutes, Kern Lakshman's *Mēsha-samkrānti*, expressed in days of the Julian period, would be 588 463.6916 days.

TABLE I.

For converting a day of the Julian period into the European date.

Old Style.		Year.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Year.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
Year A.D.	Day of Julian period.	00	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		
0	1721 057	00	000	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335	50	18	263	294	322	353	383	414	444	475	506	536	567	597
100	1757 582	01	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670	700	51	628	659	687	718	748	779	809	840	871	901	932	962	
200	1794 107	02	731	762	790	821	851	882	912	943	974	004	035	065	52	993	024	053	084	114	145	175	206	237	267	298	328	
300	1830 632	03	1 096	127	155	186	216	247	277	308	339	369	400	430	53	19	359	390	418	449	479	510	540	571	602	632	663	693
400	1867 157	04	461	492	521	552	582	613	643	674	705	735	766	796	54	724	755	783	814	844	875	905	936	967	997	028	058	
500	1903 682	05	827	858	886	917	947	978	008	039	070	100	131	161	55	20	089	120	148	179	209	240	270	301	332	362	393	423
600	1940 207	06	2 192	223	251	282	312	343	373	404	435	465	496	526	56	454	485	514	545	575	606	636	667	698	728	759	789	
700	1976 732	07	557	588	616	647	677	708	738	769	800	830	861	891	57	820	851	879	910	940	971	001	032	063	093	124	154	
800	2013 257	08	922	953	982	013	043	074	104	135	166	196	227	257	58	21	185	216	244	275	305	336	366	397	428	458	489	519
900	2049 782	09	3 288	319	347	378	408	439	469	500	531	561	592	622	59	550	581	609	640	670	701	731	762	793	823	854	884	
1000	2086 307	10	653	684	712	743	773	804	834	865	896	926	957	987	60	915	946	975	006	036	067	097	128	159	189	220	250	
1100	2122 832	11	4 018	049	077	108	138	169	199	230	261	291	322	352	61	22	281	312	340	371	401	432	462	493	524	554	585	615
1200	2159 357	12	383	414	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688	718	62	646	677	705	736	766	797	827	858	889	919	950	980	
1300	2195 882	13	749	780	808	839	869	900	930	961	992	022	053	083	63	23	011	042	070	101	131	162	192	223	254	284	315	345
1400	2232 407	14	5 114	145	173	204	234	265	295	326	357	387	418	448	64	376	407	436	467	497	528	558	589	620	650	681	711	
1500	2268 932	15	479	510	538	569	599	630	660	691	722	752	783	813	65	742	773	801	832	862	893	923	954	985	015	046	076	
1600	2305 457	16	844	875	904	935	965	996	026	057	088	118	149	179	66	24	107	138	166	197	227	258	288	319	350	380	411	441
1700	2341 982	17	6 210	241	269	300	330	361	391	422	453	483	514	544	67	472	503	531	562	592	623	653	684	715	745	776	806	
		18	575	606	634	665	695	726	756	787	818	848	879	909	68	837	868	897	928	958	989	019	050	081	111	142	172	
		19	940	971	999	030	060	091	121	152	183	213	244	274	69	25	203	234	262	293	323	354	384	415	446	476	507	537
		20	7 305	336	365	396	426	457	487	518	549	579	610	640	70	568	599	627	658	688	719	749	780	811	841	872	902	
		21	671	702	730	761	791	822	852	883	914	944	975	005	71	933	964	992	023	053	084	114	145	176	206	237	267	
		22	8 036	067	095	126	156	187	217	248	279	309	340	370	72	26	298	329	358	389	419	450	480	511	542	572	603	633
		23	401	432	460	491	521	552	582	613	644	674	705	735	73	664	695	723	754	784	815	845	876	907	937	968	998	
		24	766	797	826	857	887	918	948	979	010	040	071	101	74	27	029	060	088	119	149	180	210	241	272	302	333	363
		25	9 132	163	191	222	252	283	313	344	375	405	436	466	75	394	425	453	484	514	545	575	606	637	667	698	728	
		26	497	528	556	587	617	648	678	709	740	770	801	831	76	759	790	819	850	880	911	941	972	003	033	064	094	
		27	862	893	921	952	982	013	043	074	105	135	166	196	77	28	125	156	184	215	245	276	306	337	368	398	429	459
		28	10 227	258	287	318	348	379	409	440	471	501	532	562	78	490	521	549	580	610	641	671	702	733	763	794	824	
		29	593	624	652	683	713	744	774	805	836	866	897	927	79	855	886	914	945	975	006	036	067	098	128	159	189	
		30	958	989	017	048	078	109	139	170	201	231	262	292	80	29	220	251	280	311	341	372	402	433	464	494	525	555
		31	11 323	354	382	413	443	474	504	535	566	596	627	657	81	586	617	645	676	706	737	767	798	829	859	890	920	
		32	688	719	748	778	809	840	870	901	932	962	993	023	82	951	982	010	041	071	102	132	163	194	224	255	285	
		33	12 054	085	113	144	174	205	235	266	297	327	358	388	83	30	316	347	375	406	436	467	497	528	559	589	620	650
		34	419	450	478	509	539	570	600	631	662	692	723	753	84	681	712	741	772	802	833	863	894	925	955	986	016	
		35	784	815	843	874	904	935	965	996	027	057	088	118	85	31	047	078	106	137	167	198	228	259	290	320	351	381
		36	13 149	180	209	240	270	301	331	362	393	423	454	484	86	412	443	471	502	532	563	593	624	655	685	716	746	
		37	515	546	574	605	635	666	696	727	758	788	819	849	87	777	808	836	867	897	928	958	989	020	050	081	111	
		38	880	911	939	970	000	031	061	092	123	153	184	214	88	32	142	173	202	233	263	294	324	355	386	416	447	477
		39	14 245	276	304	335	365	396	426	457	488	518	549	579	89	508	539	567	598	628	659	689	720	751	781	812	842	
		40	610	641	670	701	731	762	792	823	854	884	915	945	90	873	904	932	963	993	024	054	085	116	146	177	207	
		41	976	007	035	066	096	127	157	188	219	249	280	310	91	33	238	269	297	328	358	389	419	450	481	511	542	572
		42	15 341	372	400	431	461	492	522	553	584	614	645	675	92	603	634	663	694	724	755	785	816	847	877	908	938	
		43	706	737	765	796	826	857	887	918	949	979	010	040	93	969	000	028	059	089	120	150	181	212	242	273	303	
		44	16 071	102	131	162	192	223	253	284	315	345	376	406	94	34	334	365	393	424	454	485	515	546	577	607	638	668
		45	437	468	496	527	557	588	618	649	680	710	741	771	95	699	730	758	789	819	850	880	911	942	972	003	033	
		46	802	833	861	892	922	953	983	014	045	075																

12 When calculating for one of the secular years 1700, 1800, 1900, new style, use the line 00 {g. K.}, not 00.

(a) End of Kaliyuga 4870 current, by Table V, A.	(b) End of Jupiter's year 4926, without Bija, by Table V, B.	(c) Commencement of Saka 1311, expired, by Table VI.
4000 = 1461 035·02600	4000 = 1444 106·88412	1000 = 365 258·68055
800 = 292 207·00520	900 = 324 924·04893	300 = 109 577·60416
70 = 25 568·11295	20 = 7 220·53442	10 = 3 652·58681
0 = 588 463·60240	6 = 590 631·91033	1 = 1749 986·45658
4870 = 2367 273·74655;	4926 = 2366 883·37780;	1311 = 2228 475·32810;

just as has been found above, pp. 193, 194, and 198, by multiplication and by the addition of the epochs.

The Saṁkrāntis and Solar Months.

For those who would wish to use the Tables V. A. and VI. to ascertain the exact end of a solar month or the occasion of a Saṁkrānti, I have added Table VII. which gives the collective numbers of days of the solar months. To give an example for the use of this Table, we will ask :—When did the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, take place in Vikrama 1234 = Kaliyuga 4278 expired (above, p. 138) ?

By Table V. A, 4000 = 1461 035·02600
 200 = 73 051·75130
 70 = 25 568·11295
 8 = 591 385·67245

By Table VII., Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti = 275·65844
 sum 2151 316·22114;

which by Tables I. and II. corresponds to 25th December, A.D. 1177, 5 h. 18·4 m. Accordingly, in Vikrama 1234 expired, the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place, at Ujjain, 5 h. 18·4 m. after mean sunrise of 25th December, A.D. 1177.

An Example for all Rules.

To show the working of the above rules, I select a date which is given in Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. II. p. 55, and which runs thus:—

Saṁvat 1531 Śākā 1396 pravarttamānē Subhakarita(n)-nāmni saṁvatsarē.....Kārttika-śudi 9 Budha-vāsarē Dhanishṭhā-nakshatrē Vṛiddhi-yōgē Kaulava-karapē i.e. 'while the (Vikrama) year 1531 (and) the Saka year 1396 is proceeding, in (Jupiter's) year Subhakarit, on the 9th of the bright half of Kārttika, on Wednesday, the nakshatra being Dhanishṭhā, the yōga Vṛiddhi, and the karapā Kaulava'

The corresponding European date (for the Vikrama year 1531 and the Saka year 1396, both expired, notwithstanding the expression *pravarttamānē* in the date), undoubtedly is Wednesday, 19th October, A.D. 1474, when the 9th tithi of the bright half and the karapā Kaulava ended 13 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in Dhanishṭhā up to 12 h. 29 m., and the yōga was Vṛiddhi up to 13 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And what concerns us now, is to find the beginning or end, or both, of the year Subhakarit which is mentioned in the date, in accordance with the different rules.

(a). The year Subhakarit according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta.

To find the commencement of Subhakarit, is equivalent to finding the end of the preceding year Plava, which is the 9th year of the cycle counted from Vijaya (inclusive). We now have:—

Vikrama 1531 + 3044 = Kaliyuga 4575; divided by 85 = $53 \frac{70}{85}$ = 54; 4575 + 54 = 4629; divided by 60 leaves remainder 9.

Accordingly Plava (the 9th year of the cycle, from Vijaya) was the 4629th year of Jupiter

TABLE II.

For converting the decimals of the day
into hours and minutes.

d	h	m	d	h	m	d	m	d	m
0.			0.			0.00		0.00	
00	0	0.0	50	12	0.0	00	0.0	50	7.2
01	0	14.4	51	12	14.4	01	0.1	51	7.3
02	0	28.8	52	12	28.8	02	0.3	52	7.5
03	0	43.2	53	12	43.2	03	0.4	53	7.6
04	0	57.6	54	12	57.6	04	0.6	54	7.8
05	1	12.0	55	13	12.0	05	0.7	55	7.9
06	1	26.4	56	13	26.4	06	0.9	56	8.1
07	1	40.8	57	13	40.8	07	1.0	57	8.2
08	1	55.2	58	13	55.2	08	1.2	58	8.4
09	2	9.6	59	14	9.6	09	1.3	59	8.5
10	2	24.0	60	14	24.0	10	1.4	60	8.6
11	2	38.4	61	14	38.4	11	1.6	61	8.8
12	2	52.8	62	14	52.8	12	1.7	62	8.9
13	3	7.2	63	15	7.2	13	1.9	63	9.1
14	3	21.6	64	15	21.6	14	2.0	64	9.2
15	3	36.0	65	15	36.0	15	2.2	65	9.4
16	3	50.4	66	15	50.4	16	2.3	66	9.5
17	4	4.8	67	16	4.8	17	2.4	67	9.6
18	4	19.2	68	16	19.2	18	2.6	68	9.8
19	4	33.6	69	16	33.6	19	2.7	69	9.9
20	4	48.0	70	16	48.0	20	2.9	70	10.1
21	5	2.4	71	17	2.4	21	3.0	71	10.2
22	5	16.8	72	17	16.8	22	3.2	72	10.4
23	5	31.2	73	17	31.2	23	3.3	73	10.5
24	5	45.6	74	17	45.6	24	3.5	74	10.7
25	6	0.0	75	18	0.0	25	3.6	75	10.8
26	6	14.4	76	18	14.4	26	3.7	76	10.9
27	6	28.8	77	18	28.8	27	3.9	77	11.1
28	6	43.2	78	18	43.2	28	4.0	78	11.2
29	6	57.6	79	18	57.6	29	4.2	79	11.4
30	7	12.0	80	19	12.0	30	4.3	80	11.5
31	7	26.4	81	19	26.4	31	4.5	81	11.7
32	7	40.8	82	19	40.8	32	4.6	82	11.8
33	7	55.2	83	19	55.2	33	4.8	83	12.0
34	8	9.6	84	20	9.6	34	4.9	84	12.1
35	8	24.0	85	20	24.0	35	5.0	85	12.2
36	8	38.4	86	20	38.4	36	5.2	86	12.4
37	8	52.8	87	20	52.8	37	5.3	87	12.5
38	9	7.2	88	21	7.2	38	5.5	88	12.7
39	9	21.6	89	21	21.6	39	5.6	89	12.8
40	9	36.0	90	21	36.0	40	5.8	90	13.0
41	9	50.4	91	21	50.4	41	5.9	91	13.1
42	10	4.8	92	22	4.8	42	6.0	92	13.2
43	10	19.2	93	22	19.2	43	6.2	93	13.4
44	10	33.6	94	22	33.6	44	6.3	94	13.5
45	10	48.0	95	22	48.0	45	6.5	95	13.7
46	11	2.4	96	23	2.4	46	6.6	96	13.8
47	11	16.8	97	23	16.8	47	6.8	97	14.0
48	11	31.2	98	23	31.2	48	6.9	98	14.1
49	11	45.6	99	23	45.6	49	7.1	99	14.3

TABLE III.

The Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter.

(The figures to the right refer to the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule only.)

No.	Name.	No.	No.	Name.	No.
1	Prabhava	35	31	Hemalamba ...	5
2	Vibhava	36	32	Vilamba	6
3	Sukla	37	33	Vikārin	7
4	Pramōda	38	34	Sarvarin	8
5	Prajāpati	39	35	Plava	9
6	Āngiras	40	36	Subhakrit	10
7	Srimukha	41	37	Sōbhana	11
8	Bhāva	42	38	Krōdhin	12
9	Yuvan	43	39	Viśvāvasu	13
10	Dhātṛi	44	40	Parābhava ..	14
11	Īśvara	45	41	Plavaṅga	15
12	Bahudhānya ..	46	42	Kilaka	16
13	Pramāthin ..	47	43	Saumya	17
14	Vikrama	48	44	Sādharaṇa ..	18
15	Bhṛīśya	49	45	Virōdhakrit ..	19
16	Chitrabhānu ..	50	46	Paridhāvin ..	20
17	Subhānu	51	47	Pramādin	21
18	Tāraṇa	52	48	Ānanda	22
19	Pārthiva	53	49	Rākshasa	23
20	Vyaya	54	50	Anala	24
21	Sarvajit	55	51	Pingala	25
22	Sarvadhārin ..	56	52	Kālayukta ..	26
23	Virōdhin	57	53	Siddhārthin ..	27
24	Vikṛita	58	54	Raudra	28
25	Khara	59	55	Durmati	29
26	Nandana	60	56	Dundubhi	30
27	Vijaya	1	57	Rudhirōdgārin	31
28	Jaya	2	58	Raktāksha ..	32
29	Manmatha ..	3	59	Krōdhana	33
30	Durmukha ..	4	60	Kahaya	34

TABLE IV.

For converting the fraction of the first term of the
Jyōtistattva and Bṛihat-Saṁhitā rules into days.

Nume- rator.	Days.	Nume- rator.	Days.	Nume- rator.	Days.
1000	194.80463	100	19.48046	10	1.94805
900	175.32417	90	17.53242	9	1.75324
800	155.84370	80	15.58437	8	1.55844
700	136.36324	70	13.63632	7	1.36363
600	116.88278	60	11.68828	6	1.16883
500	97.40231	50	9.74023	5	0.97402
400	77.92185	40	7.79218	4	0.77922
300	58.44139	30	5.84414	3	0.58441
200	38.96093	20	3.89609	2	0.38961
100	19.48046	10	1.94805	1	0.19480
				$\frac{1}{2}$	0.09740

since the commencement of the Kaliyuga; and to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit), without Bija, we proceed by Table V, B.:-

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 4000 & = & 1444\ 106\cdot88412 \\ 600 & = & 216\ 616\cdot03262 \\ 20 & = & 7\ 220\cdot53442 \\ 9 & = & 591\ 714\cdot99049 \\ \hline 4629 & = & 2259\ 658\cdot4416, \end{array}$$

i.e. 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35·9 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, without Bija; and, to find the end of Subhakrit without Bija, by adding one year without Bija, —

$$\begin{array}{r} 2259\ 658\cdot4416 \\ +\ 361\cdot0267 \\ \hline 2260\ 019\cdot4683, \end{array}$$

i.e. 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14·4 m., — end of Subhakrit, without Bija.

Similarly, for the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit) with Bija, we have by Table V, C.:-

$$\begin{array}{rcl} 4000 & = & 1444\ 138\cdot60424 \\ 600 & = & 216\ 620\cdot79064 \\ 20 & = & 7\ 220\cdot69302 \\ 9 & = & 591\ 715\cdot06186 \\ \hline 4629 & = & 2259\ 695\cdot1498, \end{array}$$

i.e. 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35·7 m., — end of Plava, or commencement of Subhakrit, with Bija; and, for the end of Subhakrit with Bija, by adding one year with Bija, —

$$\begin{array}{r} 2259\ 695\cdot1498 \\ +\ 361\cdot0347 \\ \hline 2260\ 056\cdot1845, \end{array}$$

i.e. 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25·7 m., — end of Subhakrit, with Bija.

Anyone who will take the trouble to calculate, e.g., the commencement of Subhakrit with Bija, by Warren's Tables, will find that, according to them, Subhakrit began 194 days 16 h. 4 m. 38 s. before the commencement of Kaliyuga 4576 expired; while according to my result it began only 192 days, 12 h. 32 m. 6 s. before the same moment, i.e. 2 days, 3 h. 32 m. 32 s. later (Kaliyuga 4576 expired having begun, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, 27th March, A.D. 1475, 16 h. 7·8 m.,—though for us this is of no moment whatever). And in the present case, one disadvantage of the rules given in the *Kāla-Saṅkalita* is that, starting as we must from Vikrama 1531 = Kaliyuga 4575 expired, we do not find the beginning of Subhakrit at all, and that, after we have written out one set of figures and have discovered the uselessness of proceeding any further, we must start a new calculation and write out another set of figures, with the basis of Kaliyuga 4576 expired.

(b). The year Subhakrit according to the Jyōtistattva.

Here it must be borne in mind that Subhakrit is the 36th and Plava the 35th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava inclusive.

Starting now from Saka 1396 expired, the year mentioned in the date, we have —

$$\frac{1396 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 18 \frac{1253}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1396 + 18}{60} = 23 \frac{34}{60}$$

Here the numerator of the second fraction ($\frac{34}{60}$) at once shows that, at the commencement of Saka 1396 expired, the last expired year of the cycle was only $34 = \text{Sarvarin}$; but (to avoid a fresh start with the basis of Saka 1397 expired) we shall nevertheless go on with our calculation, to find the end of Sarvarin; to which we shall then add one ordinary Jupiter's year to find the end of Plava (or commencement of Subhakrit); having found which, we shall add another year

TABLE V.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Kaliyuga, and of the Cycle-year without or with Bija, according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta.

Years.	A.—Days for solar years.	B.—Days for cycle-years without Bija.	C.—Days for cycle-years with Bija.
5000	1826 293·78250	1805 133·60515	1805 173·25530
4000	1461 035·02600	1444 106·88412	1444 138·60424
3000	1095 776·26950	1083 080·16309	1083 103·95318
2000	730 517·51300	722 053·44206	722 069·30212
1000	365 258·75650	361 026·72103	361 034·65106
900	328 732·88085	324 924·04893	324 931·18595
800	292 207·00520	288 821·37682	288 827·72085
700	255 681·12955	252 718·70472	252 724·25574
600	219 155·25390	216 616·03262	216 620·79064
500	182 629·37825	180 513·36051	180 517·32553
400	146 103·50260	144 410·68841	144 413·86042
300	109 577·62695	108 308·01631	108 310·39532
200	73 051·75130	72 205·34421	72 206·93021
100	36 525·87565	36 102·67210	36 103·46511
90	32 873·28808	32 492·40489	32 493·11860
80	29 220·70052	28 882·13768	28 882·77208
70	25 568·11295	25 271·87047	25 272·42557
60	21 915·52539	21 661·60326	21 662·07906
50	18 262·93782	18 051·33605	18 051·73255
40	14 610·35026	14 441·06884	14 441·38604
30	10 957·76269	10 830·80163	10 831·03953
20	7 305·17513	7 220·53442	7 220·69302
10	3 652·58756	3 610·26721	3 610·34651
9	591 750·93121	591 714·99049	591 715·06186
8	591 385·67245	591 353·96377	591 354·02721
7	591 020·41370	590 992·93705	590 992·99256
6	590 655·15494	590 631·91033	590 631·95791
5	590 289·89618	590 270·88361	590 270·92326
4	589 924·63743	589 909·85688	589 909·88860
3	589 559·37867	589 548·83016	589 548·85395
2	589 194·11991	589 187·80344	589 187·81930
1	588 828·86116	588 826·77672	588 826·78465
0	588 463·60240	588 465·75000	588 465·75000

TABLE VI.

For finding the end of any solar year of the Saka era according to the Ārya-Siddhānta.

Years.	Days for solar years of the Saka era.
1000	365 258·68055
900	328 732·81249
800	292 206·94444
700	255 681·07638
600	219 155·20833
500	182 629·34027
400	146 103·47222
300	109 577·60416
200	73 051·73611
100	36 525·86805
90	32 873·28125
80	29 220·69444
70	25 568·10764
60	21 915·52083
50	18 262·93403
40	14 610·34722
30	10 957·76042
20	7 305·17361
10	3 652·58681
9	1752 908·52692
8	1752 543·26734
7	1752 178·00866
6	1751 812·74998
5	1751 447·49130
4	1751 682·23262
3	1750 716·97394
2	1750 351·71526
1	1749 986·45658
0	1749 621·19790

TABLE VII.

For collective days of Solar Months.

End of month	Saṁkrānti.	By Sūrya-Siddhānta.	By Ārya-Siddhānta.
1 Vaiśākha.	Vṛ̥ṣha.	30·92557	30·92556
2 Jyāishtha.	Mithuna.	62·32891	62·32890
3 Ashāḍha.	Karkatā; Dakṣiṇāyana.	93·93948	93·93946
4 Śrāvana.	Siṁha.	125·43919	125·43917
5 Bhādrapada.	Kanyā.	156·44562	156·44558
6 Āṣvina.	Tulā.	186·90174	186·90170
7 Kārttika.	Vṛ̥ṣchika.	216·80370	216·80365
8 Mārgaśīras.	Dhanuḥ.	246·31038	246·31032
9 Pausa.	Makara; Uttariyana.	275·65844	275·65838
10 Māgha.	Kumbha.	305·11290	305·11283
11 Phālguna.	Mina.	334·91958	334·91950
12 Chaitra.	Mēsha.	365·25876	365·25868

to find the end of Subhakṛit (the next expunction being due only in Saka 1424 expired). We have then—

numerator	1000	=	194·80463	days
"	200	=	38·96093	"
"	50	=	9·74023	"
"	5	=	0·58441	"

$$\frac{1253}{1875} = 244·09020 \text{ days;}$$

and for the commencement of Saka 1396 expired, by Table VII. —

$$1000 = 365 \ 258·68055$$

$$300 = 109 \ 577·60416$$

$$90 = 32 \ 873·28125$$

$$6 = 1751 \ 812·74998$$

$$1396 = 2259 \ 522·3159 \text{ commencement of Saka 1396 expired;}$$

$$- 244·0902$$

$$2259 \ 278·2257 \text{ end of Sarvarin (No. 34);}$$

$$+ 360·9730$$

$$2259 \ 639·1987 \text{ end of Plava (No. 35) or commencement of Subhakṛit;}$$

$$+ 360·9730$$

$$2260 \ 000·1717 \text{ end of Subhakṛit (No. 36).}$$

Converting now the days of the Julian period for the beginning and end of Subhakṛit, we find:—

commencement of Subhakṛit: 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46·1 m.;

end of Subhakṛit: 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7·2 m.

(c). The year Subhakṛit by the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā rule.

Having already found the commencement and end of Subhakṛit by the Jyōtistattva rule, we find the same, in accordance with the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā rule, by deducting from the sums of days found, in either case, 0·6818[1].

Commencement of Subhakṛit by Jyōtistattva rule: 2259 639·1987

$$- 0·6818$$

$$2259 \ 638·5169,$$

i.e. 21st July, A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24·3 m., — commencement of Subhakṛit by Bṛihat-Saṃhitā rule.

End of Subhakṛit by Jyōtistattva rule: 2260 000·1717

$$- 0·6818$$

$$2259 \ 999·4899,$$

i.e. 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45·5 m., — end of Subhakṛit by Bṛihat-Saṃhitā rule.

(d). By the Tēlinga rule

the Jupiter's year for Vikrama 1531 and Saka 1396, both expired, would be the 28th year of the cycle, counted from Prabhava, i.e. Jaya, and the year Subhakṛit would not be due till Vikrama 1539 or Saka 1404, expired.

The result then is that the year Subhakṛit, which is mentioned in the date, lasted, — by the Sūrya-Siddhānta rule, —

without Bija, from 10th August, A.D. 1474, 10 h. 35·9 m., to 6th August, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 14·4 m.;

with Bija, from 16th September, A.D. 1474, 3 h. 35·7 m., to 12th September, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 25·7 m.;

by the Jyōtistattva rule, —

from 22nd July, A.D. 1474, 4 h. 46·1 m., to 18th July, A.D. 1475, 4 h. 7·2 m.;

by the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā rule, —

from 21st July A.D. 1474, 12 h. 24·3 m., to 17th July, A.D. 1475, 11 h. 45·5 m.

And accordingly, by every one of the three rules, the date, **Wednesday, the 19th October, A.D. 1474**, did fall in the year **Subhakrit**, and the writer of the date was strictly correct in quoting that year. — The result shows how necessary it may be to calculate exactly the commencement of a Jupiter's year; for, in accordance with the ordinary (and on the whole very useful) Tables, the writer certainly ought to have quoted the year **Plava**, because that year was current at the commencement of the solar year in which the date was written.

Illustration of the use of Table I.

(a) What was the European date (old style) for the day 2259 999 ?

Given the day...	2259 999	
Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries...	— 2232 407	= A.D. 1400 (old style)
Remainder	27 592	
Deduct next lower figure in table of years.....	— 27 575	= 75, July ;
Remainder	17,	A.D. 1475, July.

Answer :—17th July, A.D. 1475, old style.

(b) What was the European date (new style) for the day 2410 637 ?

Given the day...	2410 637	
Deduct next lower figure in column of centuries (new style)	— 2378 495	= A.D. 1800 (new style);
Remainder	32 142	
Deduct next lower figure in table of years.....	— 32 111	= 87, December ;
Remainder	31,	A.D. 1887, December.

Answer :—31st December, A.D. 1887, new style.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF CHEDI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit the first four of these inscriptions from rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by Sir A. Cunningham. And my account of the fifth inscription is also from a rubbing received in the same way; but in this instance, owing partly to the condition of the original inscription and partly to the deficiencies of the rubbing, I can do little more than point out the names of royal personages, which happen to be legible in the record, as it presents itself to me in the rubbing.

A. — Têwar Stone-Inscription of Gayakarnadêva.

The (Chêdi) year 902.

This inscription, according to Sir A. Cunningham,¹ is on a light-green stone, which appears to have been found at Têwar, the ancient Tripuri, once the capital city of the main branch of the Kalachuri rulers of Chêdi, and now a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces. No information is available as to where the stone is at present.

The inscription contains 22 lines. The writing covers a space of $12\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by $14\frac{1}{4}$ " high, and with the exception of perhaps one *akshara*, which is indistinct in the rubbing, it is in a state of perfect preservation. The size of the letters is between $\frac{2}{3}$ " and $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the introductory *ôṃ namaḥ Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, everywhere except in *bhavarṣi*, line 16, *abdhīḥ*, line 19, and *abḍa* (?), line 21; and the dental is twice put for the palatal sibilant.

¹ *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 90, No. vi.

The inscription was composed by Prithivīdhara, the son of Dharañdhara, and engraved by Mahīdhara² (lines 17-20); and its proper object is to record (in lines 5-17) the erection of a temple of Siva by a Pāsupata (or *pāñchārthika*³) ascetic, named Bhāvabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvatējas of the Ananta gōtra. There is nothing of special interest in this part of the inscription, excepting the name Gāhuṇḍa in line 15, which appears to be a local designation of Siva.

By way of introduction it is stated (in lines 3-4) that in the gōtra of Atri there was the king Karnadēva, whose son was the king Yaśahkarṇa, from whom again sprang the ruling king Gayakarnadēva; and (in lines 4-5) the wish is expressed that this Gayakarnadēva, together with his son, the Yucarāja or heir apparent, Narasimha, may rule the earth for ever. And Gayakarnadēva is mentioned again in the date, in the concluding lines 20-22, according to which this eulogy was put up "on Arkavāra or Sunday, on the first lunar day in the bright half of the month Suchi (or Āshāḍha), while the illustrious Gayakarnadēva was protecting the country, when the Chēdi time had gone on increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years;" i. e., in the Chēdi year 902, on Sunday, the first of the bright half of Āshāḍha.

In the original, the first portion of the date (*nava-sata-yugal-ābd-ādhikya-gē Chēdi-dishṭē*) is oddly expressed; but as, with the exception of the first akshara in line 21, which might possibly be *ākā*, every letter of the original is perfectly clear, and since *nava-sata* is 900 and *yugala* 'a pair' or 'couple' or 'two,' I do not see how *nava-sata-yugala* could mean anything but 902. Nor have I any doubt about the meaning of *Chēdi-dishṭē*; for according to the lexicographers *dishṭa* is one of the synonyms of *kāla*,⁴ and *Chēdi-dishṭa* therefore is equivalent to *Chēdi-kāla*, with which may be compared the well-known *Mālava-kāla*, used to indicate another era. I need hardly point out that, even if it had not been dated, the present inscription, in which Narasimha is described as Yucarāja, would necessarily have had to be placed before the Chēdi year 907, the date of Alhaṇadēvi's inscription in which the same Narasimhadēva is spoken of as ruling prince.

As regards the European equivalent of the date, I have shown *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 216, No. 5, that, with my epoch of the Chēdi era, it is Sunday, 17th June, A. D. 1151; and having convinced myself that Sir A. Cunningham's latest statements regarding the original date are substantially correct, I now attach to the date its due value for helping to fix the epoch of the Chēdi era.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Sivāya ॥ Trailōkya⁶-saudha-śilpi yas=trivēdī-vākya-satkaviḥ | nitya-prayatna-vô(bô)dh-ēchehhaḥ sô=shṭamūrttiḥ śriyē=stu vaḥ ॥
- 2 Kaladhautā⁷-suktir=iva chandira-kālā jayati Smarāntaka-śirō-vidhritā | alik-ākshihvani-janit-ōgra-trishā sutayā gi-
- 3 rēḥ surasarit-payasē ॥ Ātrēya⁸-gōtrē śkhila-rāja-chakra-jigishu-rājō=jani Karṇa-dēvaḥ | tasmād=Yaśahkarṇa-narēva(śva)-
- 4 rō=bbūt=tasy=ātma-jō=yam Gayakarnadēvaḥ ॥ Ā-kalpaṃ⁹ prithivīm śāstu śrīḥ Gayakarnā-pārthivaḥ | samgatō Narasimhēna yu-

² The same persons are mentioned in lines 26-29 of the inscription of Alhaṇadēvi of the Chēdi year 907; *Journal Americ. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 508, and *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 100. And, as was first pointed out by Dr. Hall, in *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 533, Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara, engraved an inscription (unpublished) of the year 926, which is now in the Nagpur Museum.

³ The dictionaries have no quotation for this word from the actual literature. Its meaning is evident from the *Sartadarianā-saṁgraha*; see translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.

⁴ Compare, e. g., *Amarakōśa*, Bo. Ed., p. 22, l. 8, *kālō dishṭō-py-anth-āpi*.—The word *dishṭa* does not appear to have been met with before, in this sense, in actual literature. Our writer, in my opinion, preferred it to the ordinary word *kāla*, because it begins with the same syllable with which the word *Chēdi* ends.

⁵ From the rubbing.

⁶ Metre, Pramitāksharā; the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction.

⁷ Metre, Upajāti.

⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 5 varājēna sūnunnā || Gōtrē¹⁰ 5 nāmā-samāhvayē=bhavad=ina-prakhyas=tapas-tōjasā dṛishṭā-
dṛishṭa-viśuddha-karmma-nirataḥ śrī-Bhāva-
6 tēja guruh ||(1) āchāryō=dhuta-kēval-ārtha-vachasām pāñchārthikō yaḥ sudhīḥ
kāma-kṛōdha-ja-vargga-durgga-vipina-plōsha-
7 sya dāv-ānalaḥ || 'Srutvā¹¹ samast-āgama-yōga-śāstraṁ vyākhyāya cha nyāya-
Kapāda-śāstraṁ | abhyasya yaḥ Pāsupataṁ cha yōgam
8 Sivasya sāyōjyam=avāpa vō(bō)dhāt || Prathamā¹²=tasya śishyō=yam Bhāva-
vra(bra)hma-tapōdhanah | tapah-karmma-ratō nityam karmma-sā[ū]-
9 nyāsikō=pi yaḥ || Kaupīnamātra¹³-vasanaḥ śuchi-bhasma-śāyl pāñchārthha-vō(bō)dha-
sukṛitī mita-bhaiksha-bhōjī | yō vra(bra)hmacharya-
10 vidhin=ānya-Sanat Kumārah Pātāñjal-āgama-nirūpita-yōga-saṁgaḥ || Bhiksh¹⁴-ōpārjita-
kāñchan-ānna-vasanaḥ saṁprīṇayaty-a-
11 rtthinah snēhēna praguṇikarōti sudhiyah saṁtarpitān-sūritaiḥ | klēś-ōnmūlana-
dharṁmya-karmma-nirataḥ sākshātkrīta-
12 Tryāmva(ba)kō Bhāvavra(bra)hma-samas=tapasvishu kalau dṛishṭō na pāñchārthikah ||
Parigraha¹⁵-vimuktō=pi [grīhṇā]ti hṛidi ya[h*] Sivam |
13 kāma-kṛōdhan nigṛihṇāti kshamāvan=api sad-vrataiḥ || Prāṇāyāma¹⁶-samādhi-siddha-
niyama-dhyān-āsanaḥ=anv-aham yaḥ kṛtvā
14 hṛiday-ānvu(bu)jō Smara-ripuṁ vu(bu)ddhyā samabhyasyati | maitrī tasya sudhī-
bhir=ātma-muditā śāstra-āgamē yōginah śishyāṇām karuṇā
15 bhavēch=cha viśay-ōpēkshā Siva-jñānataḥ || Rathayātrōtsav¹⁷-ārchchābhīr=Ggāhumḍa-
jagatīm-imām | sō=lañchakāra prakāra-dēvāgāra-mathair=a-
16 pi || Pūrtt'na¹⁸ dharṁmēṇa nivarttakēna muktir=bbhavēt=samyaminaś=cha
vō(bō)dhāt | ētad=[d*]vayam prāptum=ayam mumukshur=vyadhāpayad=dēvam=
imam Sivasya ||
17 Bhikshā¹⁹-dhanēna tēn=ōdam māmdiram Kāma-vidvishah | kṛitam muktayē bhaktyā
kīrttayē cha kṛitātmanām || Sruti²⁰-smṛit-ihāsa²¹-purāṇa-vēttā
18 viprah sudhīḥ śrī-Dharañdharō=bhūt | vyadhād=imām tat-tanayah prasastim
Prithvidharas²²-tarkka-viśuddha-vu(bu)ddhiḥ || Yāvan²³=Mēruh sva-
19 rṇṇa-kumbhaḥ prithivyām yāvad=Gaṁgā varttatō yāvad=abdhīḥ | yāval=lōkō
chandra-sūryan chakāstaḥ Sāmbhōr=ētat=kīrttanam tāvad=āstām ||
20 Viśvakarmma²⁴-kṛitam śāstraṁ vētti yō=rthēna karmmaṇā | utkīrṇavān=imām
śastām prasastim sa Mahidharah || Nava²⁵-sa(sa)ta-yugal-ā-
21 [bd ?]-adhikya-gō Chēdi-dishṭ[ō] ja[na*]padam=avat=imam śrī-Gayākarnpadōvō |
pratipadi Suchi-māsa-svēta-pakshē-rkka-vā-
22 rō Siva-saraṇa-samīpē sthāpit=ēyam prasastih || ²⁶ ||

B.—Lal-Pahāḍ Rock-Inscription of Narasimhadēva.

The (Chēdi) year 909.

This inscription¹ is rudely engraved on a piece of rock, on the top of a hill called Lal-Pahāḍ, near Bharhut (properly Bharaut) in the Central Provinces; Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, Lat. 24° 27' N., Long. 80° 55' E. It was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was published in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 94, and Plate ii.

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹¹ Metre, Upajāti.¹² Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁴ Metre, Upajāti.¹⁵ Metre, Upajāti.¹⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁴ Metre, Upajāti.¹⁵ The writer clearly meant to say -smṛit-tihāsa.¹⁶ For the doubling of the consonant th of prithvi see Pāṇini viii. 4, 47.¹⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁹ Between these signs of punctuation there is an ornamental full stop.²⁰ *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 1.¹² Metre, Vasantatilakā.¹³ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁰ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²¹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²² Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).²⁶ Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh).

The inscription contains eight lines, of which the last appears to be separated from the rest by an empty space. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space of about 17½" high by 2' 6" broad in the first three, and 1' 9½" broad in the following lines; while the separate eighth line is 16" long. Throughout, the writing appears to be well preserved, though in the rubbing one or two *aksharas* are not as distinct as one could wish them to be. The size of the letters is between 1½" and 2". The characters are Nāgari; and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal everywhere except in the word *śrī*.

After the introductory "Om, may it be well! (may) fortune (attend)!" the inscription (in lines 1-5) has (corresponding to the ordinary "in the reign of victory of," etc.) the words: "the feet of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Narasimhadēva, the lord over Trikalīṅga, who by his own arm has acquired the (title of) lord over the three Rājās, (viz.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, — (and) who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Paramēśvara, the illustrious Vāmadēva;" on the particulars of which see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 225. Lines 5-6 state the proper object of the inscription, which, if I understand the words rightly, is to record the construction of a *vaha*,² or water-channel, by Ballāladēva, (or as he calls himself in line 8, the *Rāta*, the illustrious Ballāladēva), son of the illustrious Kēśavāditya, Mahā-rājaputra of the village of Vadyavā, — probably some official or dependant of the king Narasimhadēva.³

In line 7 the inscription is dated in the year 909, on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, on Budha or Wednesday; corresponding, as I have tried to show, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 7, to Wednesday, 2nd July, A.D. 1158. In the same place I have stated that in A.D. 1158 Śrāvaṇa was an intercalary month, and that Wednesday, 2nd July, belonged to the first bright fortnight of the two Śrāvaṇas or the *adhika* Śrāvaṇa; and, to obviate the possible objection that this should have been indicated in the original date, I may for the present point out the date of the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions of Viśaladēva,⁴ of the (southern) Vikrama year 1220, as a clear and undoubted instance in which (just as is the case in the present inscription) a day of the *adhika* month is denoted by the date, though there is nothing in the wording of the date to show this. Another Chēdi date in which the *adhika* month has not been specified as such, has been already treated of by me, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 217, No. 9.

The village Vadyavā, which is spoken of in the inscription, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 [Om ?]⁶ svasti śrī[h ||*] Paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi[r]āja-pava(ra)mēśva(śva)ra-śrī.
- 2 Vāmadēva - pādānudhyāt(ta) - paramabhāṭṭāraka - mahārājādhirāja - pa[ra]-
- 3 mēśva(śva)ra - paramamāhēśva(śva)ra - Trikalīṅgādhipati - nijabhujōpār[jj]ita - a⁷.
- 4 sva(śva)pati⁸ - gajapati - narapati - rājatry(tray) - ādhipati - [ś]riman - Nara-

¹ Compare *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 206, note 33.

² On *Rājaputra*, used probably as the title of some official, see Mr. Fleet's note in *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 218. Mr. Fleet suggests to me that *Mahā-rājaputra* may denote here an official of higher rank than was held by the *Rājaputra*; and it may be pointed out that, just as in the present inscription the father, Kēśavāditya, is described as *Mahā-rājaputra*, and the son, Ballāladēva, as *Rāta* (= *rājaputra*), so in the next inscription the father, Jālhava, is described as *Māha-rāva*, and the son, Chhībula, as *Rāva*.—Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 94, speaks of the 'prince Ballāladēva, the son of Kēśavāditya and grandson of Rāja Narasimhadēva.' But it appears to me that the genitive *Vadyavā-grāmakāya* must necessarily be made dependent on *mahā-rājaputra* as the title of an official, just as in the next inscription 'durgasya depends on the following *mahārāva*, and since we know from the inscription A. that Narasimha in the Chēdi year 903 was still *Yuvorāja*, it is extremely improbable that only seven years later a grandson of his would have been spoken of as Ballāladēva in the present inscription.

⁴ Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. p. 233. This and similar dates will be treated of in a separate paper.

⁵ From the rubbing.

⁶ Judging from the rubbing, I am almost certain that the symbol for *śh* stands at the beginning of the line.

⁷ Read *jjit-ā*.

⁸ The whole word *asvapati* appears to have been originally omitted; and the three *aksharas* *svapati* are engraved before line 4, while the initial *s* has been added at the end of line 3.

5	sinhadēva-charaṇāḥ	Vadyavā-grāmakasya	mahā-rā-
6	japutra - śrīKēsa(sa)vāditya - putra -	Va(ba)llaladēvakasya	vahah *
7	Sa[m]vat 1° 909	Srā(sra)vaṇa-sudi 5	Vuddh[ā] ¹⁰ [1*] Śrī[h] ¹¹ [1*]
8		Rāuta ¹² śrī-Va(ba)llaladēva[h *]	

C.—Alha-Ghāt Stone-Inscription of Narasimhadēva.

The (Vikrama) year 1216.

This inscription,¹ together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the Alha-Ghāt, "one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rāwah to the plain of the Ganges;" Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 89, about Lat. 24° 55' N., Long. 81° 27' E. It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham, by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photolithograph, was published in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 115, and Plate xxviii.

The inscription contains seven lines. The writing covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' high, and is well preserved nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between 1½" and 1¼". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is ungrammatical Sanskrit, exhibiting, e.g. in line 4 the form *karāpitā*, and in line 6 *udharitah*, a word which may have its origin in the vernacular and the meaning of which is not apparent. As regards orthography, *b* is denoted by the sign for *s*; and *j* is used for *y* in *juga*, line 3; *s* for *ś* in *Kausāmbi*, line 5; and *sh* for *kh* in *lishitan*, line 6.

The object of the inscription is, to record (in lines 2-5) that the *Rānaka*, the illustrious Chhithula, a son of the illustrious Jālhana, *Mahārājaka* of Pipal[ḍau?]durga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near the *Shatashadikā Ghāt*, which may have consisted in the building of a road or the erection of a temple of the goddess Ambikā, or both, but the exact details of which are not clear to me. Line 5 appears to mention some person from *Kausāmbi* who had something to do with carrying out the *Rānaka's* orders; and lines 6 and 7 give the names of the writer of the inscription and of the artisans who were engaged in the work spoken of before.

But the really important part of the inscription are the introductory lines 1-2, from which we learn that what is stated in the sequel, took place "in the reign of victory of the illustrious Narasimhadēva," the *Mahārājādhirāja* of *Dāhala*, and which contain the date—"the year 1216, the first lunar day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, on Ravi or Sunday." For these statements, on the one hand, give us some idea of how far the kingdom of Narasimhadēva extended in the north or north-east; and on the other hand, the date being clearly recorded in the Vikrama era, they enable us to test in a general way the correctness of any conclusion regarding the epoch of the Chēdi era which may be arrived at on other grounds, and they have been so used by me, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 218. As regards the epithet *Dāhaliya* which is applied here to the king Narasimha, it has long been known that lexicographers give *Dāhala* as a synonym of *Chēdi*; and for passages in which the word is actually used in literature, I may refer to the *Vikramānka-dēvacharita*,² i. vv. 102 and 103, and xviii. vv. 93 and 95, and to Professor Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, Appendix, p. 243, l. 5, where, in an enumeration of places and countries, *Dāhala* is placed near *Kōśala*.

* This sign is superfluous.

¹⁰ Read *Budhē*; as the matter is of some importance, I may as well state that the first akshara and the consonants of the second akshara are clear in the rubbing.

¹¹ I believe that the akshara *śrī* of this word is quite certain.

¹² According to Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. pp. 1 and 94, these words (which I give from a separate rubbing) are below the rest, apparently separated from lines 1-7 by an empty space; but they were clearly engraved by the same artisan.

¹ *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 114, and preface, p. iv.

² Here *Karṣa*, one of Narasimhadēva's ancestors, is described as *śrī-Dāhala-kshiti-parivṛtiha* and *Dāhal-ādhitā*, and his country is called *Dāhal-śrī*.

The date having to be referred to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents would be :—
for the northern Vikrama year 1216, current, — Tuesday, 26th August, A.D. 1158 ;
for the northern Vikrama year 1216, expired,

or the southern current year, — Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159, when the first
tithi of the bright half ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise ; and
for the southern Vikrama year 1216, expired, — Thursday, 4th August, A.D. 1160.

The true date therefore is Sunday, 16th August, A.D. 1159 ; and the year 1216 of the
date must accordingly be taken to be the northern expired (or southern current) year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kausāmbi clearly is the village of Kōsam,
of which I have spoken above, p. 137 ; and Shaṭashaḍikā-ghāṭa I take to be the more ancient
name of the Alha-Ghāt. Pipal[ōau ?]durga I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Om⁵ [||*] Samvata(t) 1216 Bhādra-sudi-pratipadā Ravau || Pāhāliya-mahārājā-
- 2 vi(dhi)rāja-śrīNarasimghadēva-vijayarājyē || Pipal[ō]⁶[au ?]-durgga[sya ?]⁷ mahā-
- 3 rājaka-śrīJālhaṇā⁸-putra-rājaka-śrīChchhi⁹hulasya Kali-ju(yu)ga-
- 4 dharm-ārtha[m ?] Shaṭashaḍikā-ghāṭa-[va(ba)m]dhana-mārgga-ta[t ?]¹⁰-ām[v]i(mbi)kā-
- 5 dēva karā-
- 6 pitā iti || dharm-ārtha-kāma-mōksha-sādhana[m ?] || Kausā(bā)mvi(mbi)-nikāsa-¹¹rau-
- 7 ti[ā]nāmajāti udharitah || Thakura-śrīKamalādhara¹² lishi(khi)tam [i*]
- 8 Sūtradhāra¹³ Kamalasīhāh Sōmē : Kōkāsa || Pālhaṇa : [Da ?]lhaṇa ||

D. — Karanbēl Stone-Inscription of Jayasimhadēva.

According to a remark in pencil on the back of the rubbing, the stone which bears this
inscription¹ was found at Karanbēl,² now a heap of ruins a few miles from Bhēra-Ghāt, near
Jabalpur in the Central Provinces ; and it was lying at the house of a stone-cutter, when the
rubbing was taken. The stone is broken right through in the middle, from top to bottom, but
the fracture is so clean that hardly a single akshara has been lost.

The inscription contains 25 lines. The writing covers a space of 3' 6½" broad by 1' 7"
high, and it is well preserved throughout, so that the actual reading of the inscription is
hardly anywhere doubtful. The size of the letters is about ½". The characters are
Nāgarī, carefully drawn and skilfully engraved. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting the
introductory *ōm namah Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse. A curious grammatical mistake we
meet in line 4, where the writer has formed the aorist of *kīrtayati* as *achikīrtayati* ; otherwise the
inscription is remarkably free from errors, and in respect of orthography I have only to note
that *ḷ* is written by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *vapurbhīr*, line 2, *abja*, line 3, *bibhrad*,
line 5, *babhāra*, line 19, and *bibharti*, lines 23 and 24 ; that the rules of *sandhi* have not been
observed in *sukhayan=jaganti*, line 13, and *bhuvanam=viśva*³, line 23 ; and that for *ujjvala* we
have *ujjala*, in line 16.

⁴ From the rubbing.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ This vowel is perhaps *ā*.

⁷ This akshara is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like *tri*, with a vertical line before it ; but I am almost
certain that in the original there is a conjunct consonant, the second part of which is *y*.

⁸ Perhaps altered to *na*.

⁹ In the original really *Chchhi*.—One would expect the instrumental case *Chchhihulēna*.

¹⁰ This letter is doubtful. In the rubbing it looks like *t*, and the word intended may be *tata* ; but it may also
be *tathā*, or *tatra*, or *tasya*. In the following word *Amvika*, the *v* of the second syllable is very indistinct, but I
believe that it is there. The next aksharas, up to *iti*, are quite distinct. One would expect some case-termination
after *dēva* ; and for the following *karā*, *kāra*.

¹¹ I give these words, up to *udharitah*, as they appear in the rubbing and in the photolithograph. But the
third akshara of *nikāsa* may really be *sa*, and the whole word *nirāsa* ; and the vowel of the first akshara of line 6
appears to have been struck out, so that the word following upon *nirāsa* would seem to be *rauta*, for *riuta*. For
the following aksharas I cannot suggest any suitable meaning or emendation, beyond saying that the oddly shaped
d, the second akshara in line 6, may really be *śrī*.

¹² Read *dhārēṇa*.

¹³ Here again, and in some of the following names, the case-terminations have been omitted.

¹ *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 26, No. xi.

² *Journal Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 517, note g.

Judging from the introductory verses, the inscription probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of Siva; but it has clearly been left incomplete. For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved; and we miss at the end the names of the author and of the engraver, which, in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted. In consequence, the inscription also is left undated.

The contents of the inscription may be given in very few words. After the introductory "Om, adoration to Siva!" and six verses invoking the blessings of Siva, Gajānana, and Sarasvatī (ll. 1-4), the author relates that Prajāpati, the lord of the creatures, begat Atri, from whom proceeded the moon, whose son again was Budha; and that in the lunar family so founded, there was the famous king Arjuna (ll. 4-6). The family became generally known under the name of Kalachuri, and in it there was born the king Yuvarājadhēva, who conquered all regions and dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Sōmēśvara (ll. 6-7). He begat the king Kōkalla, from whom sprang Gāṅgēyadhēva (ll. 7-10). His son again was Karṇa, who was waited upon by the Chōḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Kīra princes (ll. 10-12); and his son was Yaśaḥkarṇa (ll. 12-13). Yaśaḥkarṇa's son was the king Gayakarṇa, who married Alhapādēvi, the daughter of king Vijayasimha (the son of the king Vairisimha who was a son of the king Hamsapāla in Prāgvāṭa) and his wife Syāmala-dēvi (the daughter of Udayāditya, the king of Dhārā), who bore to him the two sons Narasimhadēva and Jayasimhadēva (ll. 13-17). Narasimhadēva ascended the throne after the death of his father (ll. 18-20), and was on his death succeeded by his younger brother Jayasimhadēva, who ruled the country when the inscription was composed (ll. 20-25).

It will be seen that the contents of the inscription are almost identical with those of the introductory portion of the Bhēra-Ghāt inscription of Alhapādēvi,² and a comparison of the two inscriptions leaves no doubt that our author knew that inscription and closely followed it, when writing his own *prāśasti*. What is peculiar to our inscription, is mainly only this, that the genealogy (similarly to what is the case in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription)⁴ begins here with Yuvarājadhēva, and is continued to the ruling prince Jayasimhadēva. As of some importance however, it may be noted that Yuvarājadhēva is represented here as worshipping Sōmēśvara, the famous Sōmanātha in Gujārāt, a story which is told also of Lakshmaparāja (the son of Kēyūravarsha-Yuvarājadhēva and Nōhalā) in the Bīlharī inscription;⁵ that Vijayasimha, the father-in-law of Gayakarṇa, and his ancestors, whom we know to have ruled in Mēwād,⁶ are described as kings of Prāgvāṭa, and Udayāditya as lord of Dhārā; and that the name of one of the peoples whose princes waited upon Karṇa, is spelt here distinctly Kuṅga, not Kaṅga, which is the reading of the published version of Alhapādēvi's inscription.⁷ The word Prāgvāṭa occurs several times *e.g.* in Professor Peterson's *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS.*, Appendix, pp. 37, 40, 45, 187; but I am unable to determine whether it is only another name for Mēdapāṭa, or denotes a more extensive tract of country of which Mēwād formed part. Kuṅga clearly is the Koṅgu or Koṅgu-dēśa of Southern India, corresponding, generally, to the present districts of Salem and Coimbatore.⁸

Considering⁹ that Narasimhadēva was ruling in A.D. 1159, and Vijayasimhadēva, the son of Jayasimhadēva, in A.D. 1180, our inscription must have been composed between A.D. 1160 and 1180.

² *ib.* pp. 502-8; and *Archaeol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9.

⁴ *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 118.

⁵ *ib.* Vol. XXX. p. 330, verses 61 and 62. Dr. Hall misread verse 46, and in consequence he wrongly identified Lakshmaparāja with Yuvarājadhēva. In reality Lakshmaparāja, according to the Bīlharī inscription, was the son of Yuvarājadhēva and Nōhalā.

⁶ *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 346.—I am glad to be able to state that, in a short inscription from Udaypur in Mālava, I have at last discovered a reliable date for Udayāditya, the grandfather of Alhapādēvi,—Vikrama 1137 = A.D. 1080.

⁷ In reality, the reading of the original inscription probably is Kuṅga, but the first *akṣara* of the word is damaged.

⁸ See, *e.g.*, *Archaeol. Survey of Southern India*, List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, Vol. I. p. 193.

⁹ See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 218.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 Om namaḥ Sivāya ॥ Dēvaḥ¹¹ sadā samudit-ādbhuta-bhūti-sāmpat=sāmpādayatv=abhimataṁ bhavatām sa yasya ॥ svaḥsindhu-saṁgata-jatō śiras=īṁdu-lékhā navy-āṁkura-śrī[ya]m=anāratam=ātanōti ॥ Yan¹²=nityaṁ dravatām vi(bi)bhartti gurutām dhattē tatō=nyach=cha yad=yō cha sparśavatī gurutva-rahitē bhūtam yad=asparśavat ॥
- 2 yat-karmu=ōpahitam karōti bhuvanām kāl[ai]ḥ kal-ōllāsi yad=yasmin=yajña-phalam vapurbhbir=avatād=yushmān=amibhiḥ Sivaḥ ॥ Dhanyās=tā vahasē śirasy=avirataṁ yāsām kapā[la]-arajam vaktavyam ta iti vra(bra)vīmy=ata idam pūmstvēna sāmākirṭtaya ॥ n=aitad=yuktatamam bhavēn=na [cha] mayā stritvam tyaj=ēty=achyatē tach=ch=āsakyam=iti priy-ō-
- 3 ttara-vidhau vyagrō Haraḥ pātu vaḥ ॥ Bhūshā¹³ nētraśruti-virachitā yatra yatr=Ābjajanma¹⁴-vyākōśa-śrīḥ prabhavati mudē yatra nishṭhā prajānām ॥ mūrttāv=ēva prasarati rajō yatra yatr=ā[st]i sākshāt=kūṭasthā dhīḥ sa diśatu sadā Sambhur=abhyarthitam vaḥ ॥ Yō¹⁵ Dhūrjjaṣi-jatājūta-mukutād=aparam vidhōḥ ॥ dhattē=rddhan=damta-mishataḥ sa vaḥ pāyād=Gajāna-
- 4 naḥ ॥ Chatur-ggatis=chatur-vṛttis=chaturvargga-prayōjanā ॥ prspāṁchayatu chāturyam satām satyam Sarasvatī ॥¹⁶ ॥ Prajāpatir=abhidhyāna-prava(ba)ndhāt=samajjanat ॥ atṛitṛiyatayā putram yam=Atrim=achikīrttayāt¹⁷ ॥ Tasmāt¹⁸=samastabhuvan-ābhyudaya-aika-dhāma¹⁹ rāmā-maṇaḥ-sarasa-sāmmada-keli-kaṇḍaḥ ॥ vistārahētu-kiraṇaḥ kumud-āka-
- 5 rūṇām Bhūtēśa-bhūshana-śirōmanir=āvir-āsīt ॥ Manasa²⁰ iv=ātiviśuddhād=vō(bō)dha iv=ābhūd=Vu(ba)dhas=tasmāt ॥ bhuvan-ābhaya-kṛid=bhūbhṛid-vamśas=tīn=ājani sthēyān ॥ Āsīt²¹=Kālānidhi-kulē=tra karān=sahasraṁ bibhrad=div=ēva rajanāv=api sa-pratāpaḥ ॥ bhūmibhṛid=Arjjuna iti prathitēna nāmnā yasy=ādhun=āpy=abhimatāny=a-
- 6 bhitō bhavānti ॥ Tē tādṛśāḥ katichid=ēva kadāchid=ēva bhāgyair=bhavānti bhavinām bhuvan-aika-nāthāḥ ॥ gōtrē=tra yō samabhavann=adhik-ādrik-ōchecha-sāmpattayō=धिपतयाḥ prithiv-īśvarāṇām ॥ Asminn=avāntara-mahārha-viśēshayōgāt=prāptē kulē Kalachur=īty=abhidhā-prasiddhim ॥ janm=āsasāda sukṛitair=jja-
- 7 gatām Yayāti-tulyō guṇair=nnarapatir=Yuvarājadēvaḥ ॥ Yēn=ōrjjitēna jagati-patinā vijitya sarvvā diśaḥ samabhiḥṛi[tya] narēśvarāṇām ॥ tās=tāḥ śriyaḥ pa[ra]-ma-bhakti-bhara-śritā śrī-Sōmēśvarāya samopāyanam=akriyānta ॥ Tēn=āvanīśa-patinā bhuvan-aika-mallaḥ Kōkalla ity=ājani bha-
- 8 rtsita-vairi-bhallaḥ ॥ yat-kīrttanaiḥ kati na vi(bi)bhrati bhūri-sōbhām=anyōnya-vibhrama-sahasra-dharair=jjaganti ॥ Janit²²ātīśayita-śaktir=vva(bba)hutara-sāmdarśit-ōru-Bhava-bhaktiḥ ॥ Himavān=iva bhuvana-bhayaṁ yō jahre vāhinī-nivahaiḥ ॥ Tasmāt²³=va(ba)bhūva bhuvan-ābhyudaya-pragalbha-gāmbhīrya-gaurava-sahō-
- 9 dara-śaurya-dhairyaḥ ॥ Gāṁgēyadēva iti guptishu yasya bhūpā lajjām jahur-Ddaśamukh-Ārjjunayōḥ kathābhiḥ ॥ Naman²⁴-nṛipa-śirōbhīr=yat-pāda-padman

¹⁰ From the rubbing.¹¹ Metre, Sārdūlavikṛitā; and of the next verse.—Compare Dr. Hall in *Journal Amer. Or. Soc.* Vol. v. 1. p. 502, verse 3, and pp. 524-25.¹² Metre, Mandākrāntā.¹³ Metre, Ślōka (Anuśṭubh); and of the two next verses.—Compare *ib.* p. 502, verse 5.¹⁴ Between these signs of punctuation there is an ornamental full stop.¹⁵ *achikīrtt-yat*, wrongly for *achikīrtat* or *achikīrtat*.¹⁶ Originally *nā*, altered to *ma*.¹⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the four next verses.—Compare *ib.* p. 503, verse 7.¹⁸ Metre, Āryā.¹⁹ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁰ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²¹ Originally *nā*, altered to *ma*.²² Metre, Vasantatilakā.²³ Metre, Upagiti.²⁴ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁶ Metre, Vasantatilakā.²⁷ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

- virējatuh | kripāṇa-jala-sañjāta-jayaśri-jalajair=iva || Vairi²⁵-vikrama-niśā diśām mukha-śri-kuraṅgamada²⁶-patravallari | bhrū-latā vijaya-
- 10 vārija-sthitē=tasya khaḍga-latik=ākarōṇ=na kim || Samuttirṇa²⁷-ārṇavā sēnā yasy=ājñ=ēva mahibhritāḥ | varṇṇaniya-guṇa-grāmaḥ **Karṇṇaḥ** sa samabhūt=tataḥ || Avimukta²⁸-pāda-kaṭakāḥ prithutara-hār-āvagumthita-vikamthaiḥ²⁹ | pura iva vipinē=py=ari-nripa-nāribhir=yasya saṁtataṁ tasthē || Nīchaiḥ³⁰ saṁchara Chōḍa Kuṁga³¹ ki-
- 11 m=idam phalga tvayā valgyatē Hūṇ=aivam ragitum na yuktam=iha tē tvam Gauḍa garvvan=tyaja | m=aivam G[ū]rijara garija Kira nibhritō varttasva sēva-gatān³²=ittham yasya mithō-virōdhi-nripatīn dvā[h]sthō vininyē janah || Aniyamta³³ parām vridhīm yaśah-saṁvēdana-śriyaḥ | manō-vinōdanair=yasya kaviṁ-
- 12 drair=iṁdriyair=iva || Ajāyata **Yasahkarṇṇaḥ** **Karṇṇāt=Svarṇṇa-mahibhritāḥ** | Trikūṭa iva kēastha-guṇa-ratnākarikritāḥ || Namayaty³⁴=ārtin=dhanushō yasminn=ārti-āmrita-prāyē | va(ba)bhrē sā punar=unnati-bhūyishthā vairi-bhūpatibhiḥ || Yaśōbhir³⁵=iṁdu-viśadaiḥ karmabhiḥ=ch=ātidushkaraiḥ | diśah prasādhayām=āsa sa
- 13 Trivikrama-vikramaḥ || Yathā-yatham sa chaturā=chatarbhir=abhivāmechchhi(chhi)-tān | arthān=upāyaiḥ prathitair=nyāya-vit=pratyapadyata || Udayadyat³⁶=ōdita-mahārha-rūpayā sahitaḥ śriyā sakala-suddha-maḍḍalāḥ | dhaval-āmva(mbu)-dhēr=iva tataḥ kalā-nidhiḥ sukhayan(ṇ)=jaganti **Gayakarṇṇa-bhūpatih** || Karavāla³⁷-tamāla-pallavaḥ ka-
- 14 ra-saṁchāry=api yasya bhūpatōḥ | parimrija rajō=sra-vṛishṭibhiḥ parichashkāra rapē jaya-śriyam || Vainatēya³⁸-sama-vikrama-kramaḥ kēvalam sa na chakāra prishhataḥ | Achyutam su-charitō na ch=ācha[ra]t=karmma kimchid=api pakshapātataḥ || Dvāparō³⁹=pi na tasy=āsīt=karmma-kāḍḍē kutah kaliḥ || kṛitam=ēva sad=ādrākshuh kāryam vidvēshiṇō=pi yat ||
- 15 Prāgvāt⁴⁰=vanipāla-bhāla-tilakaḥ śri-Hamsapālō=bhavat=tasmād=bhūbhṛid=asūta⁴¹ satya-samitiḥ śri-Vairisimh-ābhidhah | yaj-janma dvishatām bhayāya suhridām=ānanda-sampatta[yē] śrēyaḥ-śri-sadanāya śaurya-mahasē viśv-ōtsavāy=ābhavat || **Vijayasimha**⁴² iti kshitipās=tataḥ samajanishṭa vinashṭa-kaliḥ ki-
- 16 la | kshitibhṛid-indra-śiraḥ-kṛita-saṁcharaḥ prahata-matta-mahā-ripu-kumjaraḥ || **Dhār**⁴³-ādhiś-ōdayāditya-sutā **Syāmaladēvy**=abhūt | vallabhā tasya bhūpasya Saty=ēv=Āsura-vidviṣa[h] || Tasyām=**Alhaṇadēv**=iti kanyā-ratnam=asūta saḥ | Mēnāyām=Avanibharttā Gaurim=iva guḇ-ō[j*]jvalām || Tasyāḥ sa pāṇinā pāṇim **Gaya**-
- 17 **karṇṇa-mahipatiḥ** | jagrāha jagatām sthityai Sivāyā iva Saṁkarah || Ajanayad⁴⁴=**Alhaṇadēvyām** **Gayakarṇṇa-mahipatis**=tanujan | Saṁjnāyām Divasa-patir=Ddasrāv=iva sarvva-duḥ[kha]-haran || **Narasimhadēvam**⁴⁵=ēkaṁ chakrē janakas=tayōr=nnāmnā | **Jayasimhadēvam**=aparam lōkō yau Rāma-Lakshmaṇau mēnē || Su-kṛitaiḥ⁴⁶ svarggam=a-

²⁵ Metre, Rathōddhatā.

²⁶ The word *kuraṅga-mada*, 'musk' (= *kuraṅga-nābhī*) is not found in the dictionaries.

²⁷ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh). ²⁸ Metre, Giti. ²⁹ I am unable to give the exact meaning of *vikantha*.

³⁰ Metre, Sārdūlavikṛidita.—Compare, *ib.* p. 504, verse 12.

³¹ This is quite distinct here; and it is not *Kaṅga*.

³² Or, perhaps, *śvēdān gātān*. ³³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

³⁴ Metre, Upagiti.—*Ārti* means both 'the end of a bow' and 'misery.'

³⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

³⁶ Metre, Maḥjubbhāshpi.

³⁷ Metre, Vaitallya.

³⁸ Metre, Rathōddhatā.

³⁹ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

⁴⁰ Metre, Sārdūlavikṛidita.

⁴¹ Contrary to the usage of the later language, *asūta* is here used in a passive sense.

⁴² Metre, Drutavilambita.

⁴³ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and of the next two verses.

⁴⁴ Metre, Upagiti.

⁴⁵ Metre, Udgit.

⁴⁶ Metre, Upagiti.

- 18 n-arggalam=adbitasthushi Sakra-vaj=janaké | **Narasimhadēva**-nripatīḥ paryashkārshin= mahim=ētām || Prāsāśa⁴⁷ mahim mah-ajāsām=apy=abhibhūshpur=**N**arasimhadēva-bhūpaḥ | para-lōka-bhay-ā[n]bhijātāyām=bhuvanām saṁdadhad=Achyut-ōchcha-rūpaḥ || Yasmin⁴⁸=chalati dhūlnām paṭalais=tapané tathā | nihnutē=py=ari-bhūpānām saṁtāpaḥ paryavarddhata ||
- 19 Mahādān-ādy-aśūnyāni kurvan=parvāny=anēkaśaḥ | dharmmasya=āvivṛḍhad=yō-mhrin=Va(ba)lir=Vishnōr=iv=ōdyataḥ || Pūnānasya jagat=sarvām nitāntām timira-druhaḥ | yat-kṛtti-śāsināḥ śukrē śāśā[nkō]=pi śāśō=bhavat || Sa tathā sukha-śayyāsu rātrāv=atrasta-maṇḍalaḥ | śvapann=apy=anīśām vairi-hṛdayēshv=abhya-jāgarit || Sriyām babbhāra vidhiva-
- 20 d=Dānav-ārāti-tōshitaḥ | Mahēndra-vad=dvija-śrēshṭha-varggas=tat-saṁgam=āgataḥ || Svarlōka⁴⁹-nāth-ātithitām prayātē tasmin=nripē śrī-**Narasimhadēv** | chirāya pushpātu satām hitāni śrīmān=mahibhṛij=**Jayasimhadēva**ḥ || Yasy⁵⁰-ōra-ratna-rachit-āmbhita-chāru-śōbhā-vismēra-bhūri-kaśakasya sad=ōnnatasya | bhūmbhṛitām=adhipatēḥ sura-vāhin-⁵¹
- 21 va kṛttir=jaganti na kiyanti punāty=anantā || Yēna⁵² prāchī-vijaya-rabhasān=nitya-matt-ēbha-kumbh-ārūḍhān=prauḍha-prathita-yāsasaḥ śaurya-bhājō=vanindrān | kurvāṇēna tridaśa-bhavanām [gā]minō nir-vviśamkām chakrē chittām chakita-chakitam nākinām nāyakasya || Yad⁵³-vaktra-vārija-vikāśa-vaśēna dina-varggē=pi valgati niraṁta-
- 22 ram=ēva lakshmīḥ | yad-bhrū-vibhaṁga-bhaya-jāś=cha nar-ādhipānām vyādhir=nna nasyati van-āushadhi-sēvay=āpi || Kiyantō⁵⁴ n=abhūvan=bhuvi bhuvana-saṁbhāvita-guṇāḥ paṇḍyantē yēshām kṛti[bhi]r=adhun=āpi sthiti-pathāḥ | aya[m] tv=anyas-tēshām=api guṇa-gaṇ-ōdāharaṇātān=dadhānaḥ śuddha-śrīr=jyayatu **Jayasimha**ḥ kshiti-patīḥ || Yasya⁵⁵
- 23 pratāpa-tapanāḥ pāthiv-ēndhana ēva yat | tach=chitraṁ yach=cha kumuda-dvēshī kṛtti-sudhākaraḥ || Mitrāṇām⁵⁶=upakāra-kāriṇi sadā san-mārgga-saṁchāriṇi prajñ-ōtkarsha-vidhāriṇi praguṇi[nām] tyāg-aika-vistāriṇi | śātrūṇām=avirāma-śaurya-vijaya-prōḍyan-mad-ō[chchā]riṇi prītiṁ yatra parām bibhartti bhuvanam(m)=viśvambharā-dhāriṇi ||
- 24 Yaś⁵⁷=chalan=dhūli-patalaiḥ payāmsi payasām nidbēḥ | na kēvalam tirōdhattē tējāmsy=api vibhāvasōḥ || Pramāṇān=iva chatvāri sēn-āṅgāny=adhitishṭhātā | yēna nyāya-praviṇēna parēshām [kha]ṇḍyatē sthitiḥ || Na muṁchati kad=āpy=asya jaya-śrīḥ kara-pushkaram | bibhartti raṇa-vādyēshu tāṇḍav-ādamva-(mba)raṁ param || Srutvā⁵⁸ śrī-**Jayasimhadē**-
- 25 va-nripatēḥ karmm=ātivismāpakam Pārthasy-ēva parair=amuchyata nripaiḥ pūrvvām yuyutsā-rasaḥ | śrīḥ paśchāt=sa-rasā tatas=cha nagari putrāḥ kalatran=tatas=trāsāḥ kēvalam=adri-gahvara-ga[tai]r=nn=āṅgikṛitas=tyajyatē ||

E.—Gōpālpur Stone-Inscription of Vijayasimhadēva.

This inscription was discovered in 1862 by Dr. F. E. Hall at the village of Gōpālpur, about two miles to the south of Bhēra-Ghāt, where it is said to have been brought from Karanbēl; and it has been previously noticed in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 113, and in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX. p. 99, No. xv. In an attempt to remove it, the stone on which the inscription is was broken right through from top to bottom.

The inscription contains 21 lines. The writing covers a space of 4' 5" broad by 1' 9½" high. The larger portion of it, on the proper left part of the stone, is in a fair state of preservation;

⁴⁷ Metre, Anupachhandasika.

⁴⁸ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and of the next four verses.

⁴⁹ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

⁵¹ Metre, Mandākrāntā.

⁵⁰ Metre, Śikharipi.

⁵² Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

⁵³ Metre Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and of the next two verses.

⁵⁴ Metre, Upajāti.

⁵⁵ Metre, Vasantatilakā.

⁵⁶ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛijita.

⁵⁷ Metre, Śārdūlavikṛijita.

and on the smaller right part the upper five or six and the concluding three or four lines, and generally about eight or ten *aksharas* at the commencement of each line, are sufficiently well preserved to be made out from a careful impression. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the *ōm namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya* at the commencement of line 1, and the words *śrī-Sōmarāja-kṛtāṁ rājāvali-varṇanānam=itī* in line 16, the inscription is in verse.

The inscription contains no date. Its object is to record (in lines 16-21, in which the names of the private individuals Malhapa, Jōgalā, Harigaṇa and Mahādēvi occur), the erection, by a member of the Kaśyapa family, of a temple of Viṣṇu; and by way of introduction it gives an account of the Kalachuri kings, from Karṇadēva, as it appears, to the ruling prince Vijayasimhadēva. In this introductory part I notice the following names:—line 6, Sahasrārjuna; line 7, Kalachuri-kula; line 9, Karṇadēva; line 11, śrī-Yasaḥkarṇadēva; line 13, śrī-Gayakarṇadēva; at the beginning of line 15, śrī-Narasimhadēva; in the second half of the same line, — *rarāja rāja-vraja-Dharmmarājas=tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-Jayasimhadēvaḥ*; at the beginning of line 16, śrīmad-Gōsaladēvi; and in the same line, in the verse following immediately upon the verse which speaks of Gōsaladēvi, — *jayati tad-aṅga-sujanmā śūraḥ śrī-Vijayasimhadēva-nripaḥ*. From this I have no doubt whatever that Gōsaladēvi is represented here as the wife of Jayasimhadēva and mother of Vijayasimhadēva, and that she was not (as has been erroneously inferred from the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription¹) the wife of Vijayasimhadēva.

Since for Vijayasimhadēva we have the dates² A.D. 1180 and 1195, the inscription must be referred to about the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

MISCELLANEA.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM,
VOL. III.

Owing to the friendly suggestions of Professor Kielhorn, I am able to notify the following improvements in my treatment of some of the records published by me in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, "the Gupta Inscriptions."

Indōr Grant of Skandagupta.

No. 16, Plate ix. B., p. 68 ff. — In line 1, notwithstanding the analogous instance of *dyata-stā* quoted in note 3, the word *eka-tāna-stā* is an impossible word. For the proper interpretation of the text, we must correct *stuvah* into *stumah*; and take *dhyān-aikatānā* as a nominative plural, the final *visarga* of which has been omitted before the following initial *st*, (in accordance with the Vārttika on Pāṇini, viii. 3, 36). The translation will thus be — "May that Sun, the rich source of rays that pierce (the darkness which is) the envelope of the earth, protect you,—whom we Brāhmaṇas, of enlightened minds, praise according to due rite, having (our) thoughts entirely concentrated in meditation (on him)," &c.

Mandasōr Pillar Inscription of
Yasōdharman.

No. 33, Plate xxi. B., p. 142 ff.; and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 253 ff. — The verse in line 3 may be

¹ *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 115.

better translated thus: — "He in whom, possessed of a wealth of virtue, (and so) falling but little short of Manu and Bharata and Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of 'universal sovereign,' — which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings, of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, (being in their case) like an offering of flowers (placed) in the dust, — shines even more (than it ordinarily does), like a resplendent jewel (set) in good gold."

And in the verse in line 6, the force and importance of the reference to Mihirakula may be much heightened by taking the construction differently and translating thus: — "He (Yasōdharman) to whose two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (his) head, by even that (famous) king Mihirakula, whose head had never (previously) been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthānu, (and) embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, (and) whose forehead was pained through being (now for the first time) bent low down by the strength of (his) arm in (the act of compelling) obeisance."

The verse, thus taken, contains a double and very emphatic statement that Mihirakula had never

² *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 218.

been subdued by any other king, but was conquered by Yaśodharman; and also an indication that Mihirakula exercised sovereignty in the region of the Himālaya mountains.

Note 4, on p. 148, is to be cancelled.

Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman and Vishnupardhana.

No. 35, Plate xxii., p. 150 ff.; and ante, Vol. XV. p. 222 ff. — In line 16, for *chi[śva?]*, read *vi[ghna]*: — “Abhayadatta, maintaining a high position, (and) preventing any fear on the part of (his) subjects.” The word *dhariṭṭryām*, in line 15, is to be construed with *adṛiṣṭam*; not with *dadṛhnaḥ*.

Rajim Grant of Tivaradēva.

No. 81, Plate xlv., p. 291 ff. — In my list of Errata at the end of the volume, I have already stated that in line 1 the reading of the original is *staṁ-bha[h*]*, not *sātra[h*]*. And it seems better not to turn *jagat-traya-tilaka* into a separate word by inserting a *visarga*, but to take it in composition with *kṣhitibhrīṭ-kula-bhavana*. The translation will thus be — “Victorious is the illustrious Tivaradēva, the auspicious pillar (for the support) of the palace that is a family of kings which is the ornament of the three worlds,” &c.

The first thirteen lines of this record presented several points of difficulty, some of which have now been made clear. Thus —

In line 4, *pātita*, ‘struck down,’ which is the reading of the original, must be treated as a mistake for *pātita*, ‘split open;’ and it qualifies *kumbha*, ‘the foreheads or frontal globes of the elephants,’ not the elephants themselves; in the *Vdsavadattī*, p. 42, *jarjarita*, ‘torn open,’ occurs in an analogous passage. Also, in line 5, for *sad-dsika*, read *saṭa-sikta*; — “pearls that are besprinkled with the copious streams of blood trickling down from the round foreheads of the elephants of (his) enemies which are split open by the crushing blows of (his) sharp sword.”

In line 8, for *kuikūmapatra-bhaṅgat*, read *kuikūma-patrabhaṅgat(h)*; and translate — “who wipes away the collyrium below the eyes of the wives of (his) enemies, and the decorative lines drawn with saffron on (their) tender cheeks.”

In line 10, for *gāda(dha)-svachchha-prasanna*, &c., read *gāda(dhah) svachchha[h*] prasanna*, &c.; and, construing the six adjectives commencing in this line with the six locatives commencing in line 9, translate, — “who, moreover, is worshipped by mankind in (respect of his) penance, performed in a former existence, because it was so severe that the effects of it have not yet been fully expended; who is never satisfied in

(the accumulation of) fame; who is reserved in the matter of keeping secrets; who is very keen in (his) faculty of reasoning; who is pure in sight; and who, in (beauty of) form, is decorated with a complacent countenance.” Here, the *prāktanam tapas* is indicated as *akliṣṭam*, ‘not yet expended;’ *kliṣṭam tapas* would be analogous to *kliṣṭam puṇyam*, which expression occurs in the *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala*, Act 6.

In line 11, *ku-trishṇa* cannot properly be taken as an adjective by itself. We must treat the *visarga* of *anujjhitaḥ* as a mistake, and read *anujjhita-kutriṣṇo=pi*: — “who, though he has not abandoned the desire for (conquering or acquiring) land, is yet exceedingly liberal (in granting lands to gods and Brāhmins).”

In line 12, the *visarga* of *aparushaḥ* must be treated as a mistake, and we should read *aparusha-svabhāva[h*]*. — “who, though he is adorned with majesty, is yet of a disposition that is not harsh.” The contrast here is that the king, though, like the god Śiva, he is adorned with *bhātī* (‘majesty,’ as applied to the king; ‘ashes,’ as applied to the god), is yet, differing from Śiva, of a gentle disposition.

In line 13, for *dharm-ārjaneṇa sampal-lābhāḥ svalpa-krodhēna prabhāḥ*, read *dharm-ārjanē na sampal-lābhāḥ svalpa[h*] krodhē na prabhāḥ*; and translate — “who is never quite satisfied in accumulating religion, (though such is) not (the case) in respect of the acquisition of wealth; who is insignificant as regards anger (i. e. who shews but little anger), (but) not as regards majesty.”

In line 14, for *sa(sa)k[ī]ḥ*, read *sak[ī]ḥ*: — “who is fond of excellent conversations, (but) is not addicted to dallying with wanton women.”

In this inscription, there are still two passages that require further consideration. One is in line 3, where Prof. Kielhorn is of opinion that, for *kanthad-unmukha*, it might be better to read *kanth[d*]d-unmukha*; the idea being that the goddess of the fortunes of the hostile kings clings to their necks, and that Tivaradēva drags her away by her hair from that position. But then the detached ablative would occupy a rather anomalous position with respect to *akaraṣaṇa*, by which it must be governed.

The other passage is in line 11, where I have read *svāmi-bhavan[ā*]=py=a-bahu-lapanō*. Since *anujjhitaḥ* is to be corrected into *anujjhita*, and taken in composition with *kutriṣṇo*, we require before *api*, not a locative, but an epithet of which the contrast is provided by the compound following *api*. Prof. Kielhorn is inclined to read *svāmi-(mā)-bhavan[ā*]* (or *svāmi(mā) bhavan[ā*]=apy=a-bahula-panō*): — “who, lord or possessor of much property though he is, yet is not much

addicted to gambling;" where the contrast would be furnished by the other meaning of *a-bahula-pāna*, 'not possessed of much coin.' Accepting the first correction, but maintaining *lapana*, 'the act of speaking, talking,' I feel more inclined to prefer — "who, lord though he is, yet does not indulge in (too) much (needless) talking."

Miscellaneous.

P. 138, note 2, on the word *bhāmichchhidra*. For *kṛishya-yōgyā bhāh* &c., read *kṛishya-yōgyā bhāh*, 'land not fit for cultivation.'

6th March, 1889.

J. F. FLEET.

A NEW SYSTEM OF THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

On the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, a valuable paper by Prof. Kielhorn, with Tables for calculation, is given at page 193ff. above. And I hope that hereafter we shall have a full historical account of it from Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit. Meanwhile, for my present purpose, I have to note that the following three varieties of this cycle are already known:—

(1) The true astronomical system, usually called the northern system, but, — since, in early times, it was current in Southern, quite as much as in Northern, India, — more appropriately named by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit¹ the mean-sign system. According to this, the commencement of each *samvatsara* is determined by the passage of Jupiter among the signs of the zodiac; and, on the exact analogy of expunged *tithis*, on certain occasions a *samvatsara* is expunged, or, more properly, for the purposes of the civil reckoning its name is omitted, though astronomically the period of the *samvatsara* remains extant.

For modern times, an instance of this, coupled with an illustration of (3) below, is furnished by the Gwalior almanac for Śaka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and northern Vikrama-Samvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current;² which, following in this respect the practice of Southern India, gives Vyaya, No. 20, as the name, according to the *chandra-māna* or lunar reckoning, of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886 (Chaitra śukla 1), to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (*amānta* Phālguna, or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, kṛishṇa 15); but adds that, according to the *bārhaspatya-māna* or reckoning of Jupiter, in documents the name of Vilambin, No. 32, is to be used from a certain time on Āsṛina kṛishṇa 7, Friday, in the preceding year, corresponding to the 30th October, A.D. 1885, up

to a certain time on Āsṛina kṛishṇa 14, Tuesday, of the current year, corresponding to the 26th October, A.D. 1886, and, after that time, the name of Vikārin, No. 33.

(2) A development of this system in Northern India, which would best be named the northern luni-solar system. According to this, each *samvatsara* extends over the same period with a Śaka or a northern Vikrama year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra śukla 1; and every eighty-sixth *samvatsara*, or nearly so, is actually expunged or passed over altogether.

An instance of this, coupled with the next system, is furnished by the *Sāyana-Pañchāṅga* for Śaka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current,³ and northern Vikrama-Samvat (1943 expired and) 1944 current; which tells us that the same luni-solar period, from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, is known, on the south side of the Narmadā, by the name of Vyaya, No. 20, and, on the north side of that river, by the name of Vilambin, No. 32.

And the real rule for it must be, that, whatever *samvatsara* is actually current according to the mean-sign system at the commencement of a Śaka year, that *samvatsara* is to be taken as coincident with the whole Śaka year, and with the entire Vikrama year which, at some period still to be determined, came to be made identical in Northern India with the Śaka year.

The time at which this system was developed and brought into use, remains to be determined. When it can be fixed, we shall probably find that the system started with a year in which two at least of the following conditions occurred on one and the same day; viz. the ending of Chaitra śukla 1, as the beginning of the civil luni-solar year; the Mēsha-Samkrānti, as the beginning of the solar year; and the commencement of a *samvatsara* by the mean-sign system.

(3) The so-called southern system, which would best be named the southern luni-solar system, and which must be the South-Indian development of the original mean-sign system. According to this, each *samvatsara* extends over the same period with a Śaka year, commencing, for the civil reckoning, with Chaitra śukla 1; and the *samvatsaras* run on in regular unbroken succession, without any expunctions.

An instance of this, in addition to that noted under (2) above, is furnished by the *Siddhānta-Pañchāṅgam* for Śaka-Samvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current, and the *Telugu Calendar* for Śaka-Samvat 1809 current;⁴ which give Vyaya,

¹ See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 2.

² See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

³ See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 207, and note 10.

⁴ See ante, Vol. XVII. p. 207.

No. 20, as the name of the same luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887.

The exact time at which this system was developed and introduced remains to be determined. But apparently we have to look for it between⁵ A.D. 804 and 866. And the invention of the system was probably due to a similar coincidence of occurrences with that suggested under (2) above.

In addition to these, there would appear to be another system, which is really fitted to the Śaka years, but curiously enough is mentioned only in connection with the southern Vikrama years; and which might, therefore, for convenience in distinction, be named the southern Vikrama luni-solar system, provided it is borne in mind that the *saṃvatsaras* do not coincide with the southern Vikrama years. This system does not seem to have been previously noticed; and my attention has been drawn to it by a further examination of Ganpat Krishnaji's and K. L. Chhatre's almanacs.

Their almanacs for Śaka-Saṃvat (1808 expired and) 1809 current,⁶ and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat (1492-93 expired and) 1493-94 current, give Vyaya, No. 20, as the name of the luni-solar period from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887, as equivalent to the Śaka year; following, in this respect, system (3) above, the standard system of Southern India. But they treat the Vikrama year differently. Thus, southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1943 current commenced, in the preceding Śaka year, on the 7th November, A.D. 1885 (Kārttika śukla 1), and ended, in the current Śaka year, on the 27th October, A.D. 1886 (*amānta* Āśvina kṛishṇa 15); and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1944 current commenced, in the current Śaka year, on the 28th October, A.D. 1886, and ended, in the following Śaka year, on the 16th October, A.D. 1887. On the title-page of Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac, we have simply "in Śaka 1808 (*expired*), in the *saṃvatsara* named Vyaya." But, on the title-page of K. L. Chhatre's almanac, we have "in Śaka 1803 (*expired*), in the *saṃvatsara* named Vyaya; (in) the (Vikrama) year 1942 (*expired*) and 1943 (*expired*), in the *saṃvatsara* named Hēmalamba; A.D. 1886 and 1887." In the *saṃvatsara-phala* we have, in both almanacs, "in the year 1942 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka, (and) in the Hēmalamba *saṃvatsara*; so also in the Śaka (*year*) 1808 (*expired*) of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) in the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*; in this year, the king

(is) the Moon." And in the *saṃkrānti-phala* we learn that the Makara-Saṃkrānti, as the commencement of the *uttarayana* or period during which the sun is moving from south to north, should take place, according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac, at 38 *ghaṭṭa*, 44 *palas*, after sunrise on Pausa kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, and, according to K. L. Chhatre's almanac, at 47 *ghaṭṭa*, 20 *palas*, after sunrise on Pausa śukla 13, corresponding to the 8th January, A.D. 1887, "in the year 1943 expired from the time of the glorious king Vikramārka, (and) in the Hēmalamba *saṃvatsara*; and also in the Śaka (*year*) 1808 (*expired*) of the glorious king Śālivāhana, (and) in the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*." Here we find that in each instance the name of Vyaya, No. 20, is coupled with the Śaka year; but the name of Hēmalamba, No. 31, is coupled, in the *saṃvatsara-phala* with southern Vikrama-Saṃvat (1942 expired and) 1943 current, and in the *saṃkrānti-phala* with (1943 expired and) 1944 current. And the names of the *saṃvatsaras* are given in precisely the same way, and in unbroken succession, in the preceding almanacs, back to that for Śaka-Saṃvat (1799 expired and) 1800 current and southern Vikrama-Saṃvat (1933-34 expired and) 1934-35 current. The accompanying Table, arranged for current Śaka and Vikrama years, shews how the *saṃvatsaras* run, for these ten years, according to the two southern systems followed in these almanacs, and according to the northern luni-solar system. And it will be seen that, by this southern Vikrama luni-solar system, the *saṃvatsaras* come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system.

Now, that the *saṃvatsaras* connected in these almanacs with the southern Vikrama years, are not solar periods, commencing either with the Makara-Saṃkrānti as the commencement of the *uttarayana*, or with the Tulā-Saṃkrānti or autumnal equinox, as the commencement of the solar month Kārttika and the astronomical commencement of the southern Vikrama year as a solar year (if such a year was ever required), nor luni-solar periods commencing with Kārttika śukla 1 as the civil commencement of the southern Vikrama year, can easily be shewn. Taking Ganpat Krishnaji's details, — (in Śaka-Saṃvat 1809 and) southern Vikrama-Saṃvat 1944, both current, the Makara-Saṃkrānti occurred on Pausa kṛishṇa 3, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1887, for which day the *saṃvatsara* is specified as Hēmalamba, No. 31; the Tulā-Saṃkrānti occurred on Āśvina kṛishṇa 2, corresponding to the 15th October, A.D. 1886; and Kārttika śukla 1 ended on

⁵ See the results for Dates Nos. 9 and 10, *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142.

⁶ See *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 206.

Luni-solar Sakhvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle,
with current Saka and Vikrama years.

A. D.	NORTHERN INDIA.			SOUTHERN INDIA.			
	Northern Luni-solar System.			Southern Luni-solar System.		Southern Vikrama Luni-solar System.	
	Śaka.	Vikrama.	Sakhvatsara.	Śaka.	Sakhvatsara.	Vikrama.	Sakhvatsara.
1877-78	1800 ...	1935 ...	Virōdhin, 23 ...	1800 ...	Īśvara, 11.....	{ 1934 } { 1935 }	Sarvadhārin, 22
1878-79	1801 ...	1936 ...	Vikṛiti, 24	1801 ...	Bahudhānya, 12.	{ 1935 } { 1936 }	Virōdhin, 23
1879-80	1802 ...	1937 ...	Khara, 25.....	1802 ...	Pramāthin, 13...	{ 1936 } { 1937 }	Vikṛiti, 24
1880-81	1803 ...	1938 ...	Nandana, 26 ...	1803 ...	Vikrama, 14.....	{ 1937 } { 1938 }	Khara, 25.
1881-82	1804 ...	1939 ...	Vijaya, 27	1804 ...	Vṛisha, 15	{ 1938 } { 1939 }	Nandana, 26
1882-83	1805 ...	1940 ...	Jaya, 28	1805 ...	Chitrabhānu, 16.	{ 1939 } { 1940 }	Vijaya, 27
1883-84	1806 ...	1941 ...	Manmatha, 29...	1806 ...	Subhānu, 17.....	{ 1940 } { 1941 }	Jaya, 28
1884-85	1807 ...	1942 ...	Durmukha, 30..	1807 ...	Tāraṇa, 18	{ 1941 } { 1942 }	Manmatha, 29
1885-86	1808 ...	1943 ...	Hēmalamba, 31.	1808 ...	Pārthiva, 19.....	{ 1942 } { 1943 }	Durmukha, 30
1886-87	1809 ...	1944 ...	Vilambin, 32 ...	1809 ...	Vyaya, 20.....	{ 1943 } { 1944 }	Hēmalamba, 31

the 28th October, A.D. 1886. And in the preceding year, the Makara-Samkrānti occurred on Pausa śukla 7, corresponding to the 12th January, A.D. 1886, for which day the *samvatsara* is specified as Durmukha, No. 30; the Tulā-Samkrānti occurred on Āśvina śukla 7, corresponding to the 15th October, A.D. 1885; and Kārttika śukla 1 ended on the 7th November, A.D. 1885. If Durmukha, No. 30, extended either from the 15th October, A.D. 1885, to the 14th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 7th November, A.D. 1885, to the 27th October, A.D. 1886, or from the 12th January, A.D. 1886, to the 11th January, A.D. 1887, then it, and not Hēmalamba, No. 31, would have to be quoted as the *samvatsara* current on the day, viz. Chaitra śukla 1, corresponding to the 5th April, A.D. 1886, when "the king was the Moon."

Since Hēmalamba, No. 31, was current on Chaitra śukla 1 (5th April, A.D. 1886), and Durmukha, No. 30, was current on the preceding Pausa śukla 7 (12th January, A.D. 1886), and since between these two dates there is no occurrence that could suitably be selected for the commencement of a *samvatsara*, — for the reason that the Mēsha-Samkrānti or vernal equinox did not occur till Chaitra śukla 8 (12th April, A.D. 1886), — it is evident that Chaitra śukla 1 was the actual commencement of Hēmalamba. Accordingly, it is plain that the *samvatsaras* of this system, though quoted with the southern Vikrama years, are really fitted to the Saka years. And Hēmalamba, No. 31, was therefore coincident with Śaka-Samvat 1809 current, and extended from the 5th April, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887; and it included the last seven lunar months, from the 5th April to the 27th October A.D. 1886 (Chaitra śukla 1 to Āśvina kṛishṇa 15), of southern Vikrama-Samvat 1943 current, and the first five lunar months, from the 28th October, A.D. 1886, to the 24th March, A.D. 1887 (Kārttika śukla 1 to Phālguna kṛishṇa 15), of southern Vikrama-Samvat 1944 current; and so with the preceding *samvatsaras* given in the Table.

The period to which this system can be carried back, its origin, and the reason for which its *samvatsaras* come just one year later than by the northern luni-solar system, remain to be determined. It can hardly be connected with the divergence in the Vikrama reckoning, unless a current Vikrama year was deliberately turned, in Northern India, at some time or another, into an expired year.

But of course the fact of its real existence remains to be established. And I take this opportunity of bringing the matter forward, as

one that calls for inquiry, because the almanacs in question apparently do indicate the existence of such a system, at least now; and because I find that its existence in former times would explain some dates, for which correct results seemingly cannot otherwise be obtained.

J. F. FLEET.

ONOMATOPOEIA IN HINDUSTANI.

Onomatopoeitic expressions in Hindustāni are very common: here are a few which may be of interest.

1. *Billī ghur-ghurātī hai*: mā-mā kartī hai.
The cat purrs: mews.
2. *Bhētī mamidī hai*.
The sheep bleats.
3. *Gāī huīkārtī hai*.
The cow lows.
4. *Ghōṛā hīhīndī hai*.
The horse neighs.
5. *Gadhā rāṅṅī hai*.
The ass brays.
6. *Chuhā chūn-chū kartī hai*.
The rat squeaks.
7. *Sūār kākhtī hai*.
The hog grunts.
8. *Shēr babar gūnjī hai*.
The lion roars.
9. *Mēh ghurī hai*.
The bear growls.
10. *Kuttā bhauktī hai*.
The dog barks.
11. *Hāthī chīgharī hai*.
The elephant trumpets.
12. *Bail dākṛī hai*.
The bull bellows.
13. *Sāp phuīkārtī hai*.
The snake hisses.
14. *Mēndak turm-turm kartī hai*.
The frog croaks.
15. *Gīdar bhauktī hai*.
The jackal howls.
16. *Murghā baṅg dētī hai*.
The cock crows.
17. *Murghī karkarātī hai*.
The hen cackles.
18. *Ullū hū-hū kartī hai*.
The owl hoots.
19. *Chirīd chīn-chīn kartī hai*.
The sparrow chirps.
20. *Shahād-makhī bhīnbhīndī hai*.
The bee hums.
21. *Kavṛ kṛn-kṛn kartī hai*.
The crow caws.
22. *Koīl chīfakhtī hai*.
The coals crackle.

Ambāld.

J. G. DELMERICK.

THE COINS AND HISTORY OF TORAMANA.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

WHEN I wrote my paper on the Legends on the Silver Coins of the Early Guptas and others connected with them, *ante*, Vol. XIV. page 65 ff., I had not had an opportunity of inspecting the coins of Tōramāna. Later in the same year, I examined the only two certain specimens of his coinage, both of them silver, which, I believe, are known to exist, and which are in the British Museum; one of them being known as Colonel Bush's coin, and the other as Miss Baring's. And I have included some remarks on them in my Introduction to "the Gupta Inscriptions," *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 11 f. I take this opportunity of considering them more fully, and of making some further observations.

Of both of these coins very good collotypes have been published in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. Plate vii., facing p. 36, Nos. 27 (Colonel Bush's coin) and 28 (Miss Baring's); with an account of them, on p. 66, by Mr. Thomas. And they have also been photolithographed, but not so successfully, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. Plate v., Nos. 18, 19, with a notice by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham on p. 26 f. But, in the treatment of them by these two scholars, there are two points to which objection has to be taken. One is Mr. Thomas' interpretation of the date, as being "82, or rather 182; the figure for 100 is obliterated." The other is that both he and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham made the legend include and commence with the epithet *dēva-janīta*, which, being interpreted as meaning "begotten by the gods," might be held to be justified by, and to be closely connected with, the titles *Dēvaputra* and *Daivaputra*, "son of the gods, or of the deities;" the former of which, — unless it is only an imperfect rendering of the latter, — is applied to Huvishka in his inscriptions of the years 39 and 47, and to Vāsudēva in his inscription of the year 44 (?); and the latter of which, in connection with the names *Shāhi* and *Shāhānushāhi*, occurs in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

In passing, it may be noted that the same epithet *dēva-janīta*, rendered by "begotten of *Dēva* (or, of the *Dēvas*)," is also given by Mr. V. A. Smith in his proposed restoration of the legend on certain gold coins of Kumāragupta (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XXI. p. 100). I have not been able to trace his authority for this, or to examine the coins in question. But it may be taken as quite certain that there also the epithet does not really occur; and that the error is of precisely the same nature as in the case of Tōramāna's coins. And the same mistake has also been made in the case of certain silver coins of Kumāragupta, Skandagupta, Bhīmasēna, and Īśānavarman; on which Gen. Sir A. Cunningham read the same epithet, and rendered it by "His Majesty" (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 24, 25, 26, 27.)¹

Of the two examples of Tōramāna's coinage, Colonel Bush's coin is by far the best specimen, both in execution and in preservation. On the obverse, there is the king's head, facing to the proper right. And in front of the face there is the date 52, in numerical symbols which run right onto the edge of the coin. The symbol for 2 is below the symbol for 50. Above the latter there is ample room for part of the symbol for 100, or for any following century, if it had been included on the die; but there are not any indications of this having been the case; there are no grounds for supposing that the symbol for any century was stamped, but has become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and I am quite sure that the date never included such a symbol. On the reverse there is the more finished representation of the peacock, very well depicted with outstretched wings and fully-expanded tail, and almost identical with the peacock on the Early Gupta silver coins of Class B., as distinguished by me from the ruder representation on the coins of Class A., *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 65. And round this, in characters of the same type with those of Tōramāna's inscription on the boar at Éraṇ, (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 36, p. 158, and Plate xxiii. A.), there is the marginal legend—

¹ See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 66, note 6.—I have not seen Bhīmasēna's coin. But there is no doubt whatever about the mistake and its origin.

Vijit-āvanir=avanipati-śrī-Tōramāṇo dēvo jayati; — "victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Tōramāṇa, who has conquered the earth."

Here the legend again, as well as following the same wording, agrees with the legends on the Early Gupta coins of Class B. in respect of the point that the superscript vowels were properly engraved on the die; but they have mostly fallen beyond the edge of the coin, or otherwise have been rubbed and obliterated; and the *ś* of *śrī* is the only one that is at all fully recognisable. The legend commences a little to the proper left above the peacock's head. And it is the last two words, *dēvo jayati*, which were wrongly taken by Mr. Thomas and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, to be the commencement of it, and to be the epithet *dēva-janita*. That this was a mistake, even the colotype is really clear enough to shew.

Miss Baring's coin is exactly similar in all essential points, on both the obverse and reverse; but it was struck from another die; and it is not so good a specimen, either in execution or in preservation. Here, again, on the obverse there is the same date of 52; and again without any indication of any third symbol. And on the reverse there are parts of the same legend; but only the syllables *śrī-Tōramāṇo* are distinctly legible.

In my previous remarks on Tōramāṇa's coins, referred to above, I would not then give a final opinion as to the exact value of the first symbol of the date; "since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin." But I do not now entertain any doubt about the propriety of reading it as 50; as it was read by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham. The symbol for 2 stands in a perfectly normal position. In order to interpret the other symbol as 80, we must read it at right angles to the direction in which the 2 lies on the coin; and this is an irregularity for which no analogous instance, as far as I know, can be quoted, and which is probably not in any way justifiable. The symbol is given in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 45, cols. 6 to 9; but is shewn there only for later times, and not for the Gupta and Valabhi periods, during the latter of which, in the Valabhi grants, a radically different symbol was used. But its existence can be traced to a very early period; for it occurs in the Sahasrām rock edict of Dēvānāmpīya of the year 256 (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. p. 94; and *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 155), in which its value is explained in the passage in words. And its continued preservation and use are shewn by its employment in the Nēpāl inscription of Jayadēva II., of Harsha-Saṁvat 153 (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178), and in the Dighwā-Dubauli grant of Mahēndrapāla, of Harsha-Saṁvat 155 (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 112). It remains, therefore, accepting the value of this symbol as 50, and reading the whole date as (the year) 52, to see what the application of the date may be.

From the Gwālīor inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 37, p. 161), we have learned (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 245) that Tōramāṇa was the father of the great king Mihirakula, who accomplished the final extinction of the Early Gupta sovereignty, so far as we are concerned, with the line ending with Skandagupta, and with the supremacy of the Guptas over the whole of Northern India. As is shewn by, amongst other things, their names, both of which plainly indicate a non-Hindu origin, and by the use of the title Shāhi on Mihirakula's copper coins and in a recently discovered inscription of Tōramāṇa himself, — the two persons, father and son, belonged by birth either to the same foreign race to which belonged Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudēva, and the members of which, whether best and most properly known by the name of Indo-Scythians, Sakas, Hūnas, or Turushkas, had established themselves in the Pañjāb in the first century A.D.; or else to one or other of the foreign tribes which succeeded Kanishka's dynasty in the Pañjāb, and, as can be proved even from their coins, continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, and the members of which adopted in several respects the characteristics and attributes of Kanishka's dynasty.² As we learn from Hiuen Tsiang, Mihirakula's capital was Sakala in the Pañjāb, which is the modern

² I refer to the coins on some of which a paper by Mr. Thomas, entitled "Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi Legends," has been published in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6 ff.

Sāṅgalawāṭṭibbā, — the 'Sangla Hill, G. T. S., of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30, Lat. 31° 42' N., Long. 73° 26' E., — in the 'Jhang' District, and on the borders of 'Gujrānwālā,' about forty-four miles west by north of Lāhōr. And Tōramāṇa has recently been connected with the same part of the country, through Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer's discovery,³ at 'Kura' in the Salt Range, of an inscription of the Shāhi or Shāha Tōramāṇa, whom I hold to be undoubtedly the Tōramāṇa whose coins I am discussing. Mihirakula's date is now known sufficiently closely; for, as I have shewn on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252), his fifteenth year, recorded in his Gwālior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date for Yaśōdharman, who overthrew him in Western and Central India; and we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career.

This fixes Tōramāṇa's date, approximately. But it is also determined, and for just the same period, by independent considerations. The Ēraṇ pillar inscription, dated in the reign of Budhagupta (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 19, p. 88), records the erection of the column by the Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, and thus shews that at that time both of these persons were alive. On the other hand, the Ēraṇ boar inscription, referred to above, dated in the first year of the reign of Tōramāṇa, records that the temple, in the portico of which the boar stands, was built by the same Dhanyavishṇu, after, as is distinctly stated, the decease of his elder brother, the Mahārāja Mātṛivishṇu. These two records accordingly shew that Tōramāṇa came, in Eastern Mālwa, after Budhagupta, and within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers Mātṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. For Budhagupta we have the date of A.D. 484, from the pillar inscription; and from his coins (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 67 f.), the date of A.D. 494-95, and possibly a somewhat later date, corresponding to Gupta-Saṁvat 180 (A.D. 499-500), with or without a numeral in the units place. The next native king after Budhagupta, in the same part of the country, was, as far as our present information goes, Bhānugupta; for whom we have the date of A.D. 510, from the Ēraṇ pillar inscription of Gōparāja (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 20, p. 91). And further, we have the grants of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin and Saṁkshōbha (*id.* Nos. 21, 22, 23, 25, pp. 93, 100, 106, 112), dated in A.D. 475, 482, 511, and 528; which, though they do not give the names of the paramount sovereigns, distinctly record that the dominion of the Gupta kings was then still continuing. These various records and dates, taken together, shew that in the period there was an interruption of the Gupta sovereignty by foreign invaders, led by Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula. But they shew also that, in Mālwa at least, this interruption did not last for any great time; and that the first year of Tōramāṇa, mentioned in the Ēraṇ boar inscription, must fall either between A.D. 494 and 510, or between A.D. 510 and about 515, when he may be supposed to have died and to have been succeeded by Mihirakula. Under any circumstances, taking even the latest date of A.D. 533-34, when Mihirakula in his turn had been overthrown by Yaśōdharman, the whole period of the tenancy of Mālwa by these foreign invaders did not amount to more than forty years. And, accordingly, the year 52 on Tōramāṇa's coins cannot have a local application, and cannot be reckoned from his conquest of Mālwa.

Others of the records throw still more light on the history of the period. The Mandasōr inscription of Mālava-Saṁvat 529 expired (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 18, p. 79) shews that Kumāragupta's rule included Western Mālwa in A.D. 436; but that, between then and A.D. 473, that part of the country passed under the power of other kings, and the Early Gupta sway there ceased, at least temporarily. Other specific references to a serious interruption of the Early Gupta sovereignty at that time, and to the enemies by whom it was effected, are to be found in the Bhitārī pillar inscription (*id.* No. 13, p. 52) of Kumāragupta's

³ Notified in the *Academy*, 12th January, 1889, p. 29. I have seen an impression of this inscription, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, who has it in hand for publication elsewhere. It is dated; but unfortunately the passage is much damaged, and, as an estampage may make the passage somewhat clearer hereafter, it is useless to speculate on the possible readings of the date here; and I will only point out that, if it is dated in an era, that era must of necessity be the Śaka era, though probably not mentioned by that name. For present purposes, it is sufficient to state that, on paleographical grounds, the inscription may undoubtedly be referred to the time of Tōramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

son and successor Skandagupta, who "conquered the Pushyamitras," and "joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas," and, "after his father's death, established again the ruined fortunes of his family." It seems likely that the Pushyamitras are to be placed in Central India, somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmadā;⁴ and possibly it was by them that Kumāragupta's power in Mālwa was overthrown. But the Hūṇas belonged to the extreme north-west of India; and, however far they may have been successful in isolated attacks on the northern frontier of the Gupta kingdom, they had not then broken through the Gupta territory and invaded the more southern parts of it. In the first place, the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Skandagupta (*id.* No. 14, p. 56), and his Kahāṁ pillar inscription (*id.* No. 15, p. 65), shew that, during the period A.D. 455 to 466, he held the supremacy right across the lower part of Northern India, from Kāthiāwāḍ to the confines of Nēpāl. And in the second place, the Valabhi records shew pretty closely the period when the passage of the Hūṇas to the south did take place. From them we learn (*e.g.*, *id.* No. 38, p. 167) that the *Sēndapati* Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi family, "was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down their enemies;" *i.e.* that he fought successfully, in Kāthiāwāḍ or on its frontier, against the Maitrakas, *i.e.* the Mihiras, *i.e.* the particular family or clan, among the Hūṇas, to which Tōramāṇa and Mihirakula belonged. For Bhaṭārka's third son, the *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna I., we have the date of A.D. 526 (Gupta-Valabhi-Samvat 207, the month Kārttika; *ante*, Vol. V. p. 206), — the earliest recorded date of the family. Between them there intervened the two elder brothers of Dhruvasēna I., the *Sēndapati* Dharasēna I., and the *Mahārāja* Drōṇasimha. And Bhaṭārka is thus to be placed, roughly, in the period A.D. 490 to 500; just synchronously with the latest date for Budhagupta in Mālwa. As we have seen, just after Budhagupta we find Tōramāṇa established as king of Eastern Mālwa. And the reference to the Maitrakas in connection with Bhaṭārka, who evidently prevented an invasion of Kāthiāwāḍ by them, shews precisely the period when his troops were marching to the south. Skandagupta, the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta kings, had commenced to reign in or about A.D. 450; and doubtless it was his death that enabled the Hūṇas, who had already proved troublesome enemies enough, to assume an aggressive attitude again, under Tōramāṇa; and on this occasion with such success as to penetrate even to Central India, and to hold good their position there, till Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśōdharman in the west and by Bālāditya in the direction of Magadha.

We have seen that the date 52, on Tōramāṇa's coins, can have no local application, reckoning from his conquest of Mālwa. Nor can it be reckoned from the Gupta epoch; for its equivalent would then be A.D. 371-72, almost a century and a quarter too early. Even if, for the sake of argument, we admit that the system of "omitted hundreds" was used anywhere in India before the invention and application of the Lōkakāla reckoning in considerably later times, and so, while reading the date as 52, we interpret it as 152, and refer it to the Gupta epoch with the result of A.D. 471-72, it would still be twenty-five years too soon; to say nothing of the improbability of Tōramāṇa consenting to use the Gupta era. Thus, no explanation of the date can be found by any of these applications of it. Further, the omission of the name of Tōramāṇa's father in the Ēraṇ boar inscription, contrasted with the fact that his own name, as that of the father of Mihirakula, is given in the Gwālior inscription dated in Mihirakula's reign, indicates plainly, if interpreted on the analogy of other epigraphical records drafted by Hindus, that Tōramāṇa was the first of his tribe or clan to establish himself in Mālwa. And in this connection, a comparison of the details of the two Ēraṇ records with which we are concerned, is instructive. The pillar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Viṣṇu as the four-armed god. Then follows the date, — "in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (*is*) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha; on the day of Suraguru; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5; and while

⁴ See the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 215, note.

Surasimichandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (the country that lies) between the (rivers) Kāṇḍī and Narmadā, (and) is enjoying in the world the glory of (being) a *Mahārāja*." And so far, with the exception of the words *saṁ 100 60 5*, the record is in verse, with an irregularity in the first *pāda* of each of the first two stanzas. Then, in prose, commencing with the words "on this (lunar) day, (specified) as above by the year and month and day," there comes the description of the brothers Mātṛivishṇu and Dhanya-vishṇu, with their ancestry for three generations; and the statement that they conjointly set up the column, as a flag-staff of the god Janārdana. And the record ends with the benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas!" The boar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu in the form of the Boar. Then follows the date, — "in the first year; while the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Tōramāṇa, of great fame (and) of great lustre, is governing the earth; on the tenth day of (the month) Phālguna; on this (lunar day), (specified) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (and) invested as above with its own characteristics." And, in a very similar fashion to the irregularity in the metre in the opening verses of the pillar inscription, the first half of the passage containing the date, lying between two verses in the Āryā metre, commences in the same metre, and was evidently intended to be completed as a verse; but it winds up in prose, probably because the composer found it difficult to adapt the paramount title, *mahārājādhirāja*, to the metre. The rest of the record is in prose; and except for the differences due to the necessity of here describing Mātṛivishṇu as deceased, and to the fact that the object of this record was a stone temple of the god Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) in the form of the Boar, it is word for word identical with the corresponding portion of the pillar inscription. And it ends with the same benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brāhmaṇas!" The analogous shortcomings in the metrical portions, suggest that the two records were composed by one and the same person, — a man not quite perfect in the art of versification. But at least it is plain that all the formal part of each was taken from the same standard draft. And from either point of view, the contrast between the manner in which the year of the Gupta era, and no regnal year, is used in the pillar inscription, and the manner in which the boar inscription is dated, not in any year of an era, but only in the first regnal year (*rājya-varsha*), shews emphatically that this latter record was composed and engraved during the very first year of Tōramāṇa's possession of that part of the country.

But, coming down, as Tōramāṇa did, from the extreme north-west corner of India, it is impossible that he could establish himself, as the first of a new, hostile, and foreign dynasty, in the most southern part of the Gupta territory, in absolutely the first year of his reign. Such a journey and such a conquest can only have been the work of much time, facilitated by power accumulated during several years of sovereignty elsewhere. And such sovereignty elsewhere, in his own part of the country, is proved partly by the use, on his coins, of the year 52, which, as we have now seen, cannot possibly denote the duration of his reign in Mālwa, and must be reckoned from some initial year considerably anterior to the date of his appearing in that part of the country; and partly, and even still more plainly, by the 'Kura' inscription referred to above. In that record, indeed, he has the title of *Mahārāja*; which, interpreted in accordance with the purely Hindu custom of the period, would indicate only feudatory rank. But before it there stands another title, now partly effaced, which was either *Rājādhirāja* or *Rājādhiraja*. And the two together are precisely the two titles which the Indo-Scythians, differing from the Hindu custom, and in spite of the fact that many of their records must have been drafted by Hindus, used to indicate paramount sovereignty.⁵

It is plain, therefore, that Tōramāṇa did exercise sovereign sway in the Pañjāb; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mālwa. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a regnal year, it

⁵ I hope to write ere long a full note on Hindu and Indo-Scythian Titles of Paramount Sovereignty. Meanwhile, see some remarks, in connection with the title *Mahārāja*, in *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 15, note 4.

certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it. And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Tōramāpa's accession, at which his own branch of the Hāpas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Saka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he sought to establish a new era, dating from that event. This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Pañjāb, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.E.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 181.—MULTAI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NANDARAJA.—SAKA-SAMVAT 631.

This inscription was first brought to notice and published, with a lithograph, by Mr. James Prinsep, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 869 ff., and Plate xlv., from the original plates, which were sent in to him by Mr. Mannaton Ommanney, C.S., who had them from Kamal Bhārti, a Gōsain, resident at Multai,¹ the chief town of the Multai Tahsil or Sub-Division of the Bētūl² District, Central Provinces. Owing to certain inaccuracies in the passage containing the date, Mr. Prinsep was not able to determine the exact period of this record; but had to leave this point uncertain, "wavering between 630 and 830" of the Saka era. This question has remained unsettled up to the present time. And, in fact, owing to the omission of a syllable in the published lithograph, it could not well be finally decided without a re-examination of the original. I am, therefore, glad to be able now to re-edit this inscription from the original plates, which were recently re-discovered, and have been sent to me, by Colonel J. A. Temple, Deputy Commissioner, who obtained them from Suphal Bhārti. From Colonel Temple's memorandum it appears that this line of Gōsains, the members of which are celibate, and the succession in which passes from teacher to disciple, inhabit a *maṭha* or religious college on the banks of a small tank at Multai, in which there are the springs that are considered to be the source of the Tāpi or Tapti. The tradition is that the first settlement here was made in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., by one Tāpi Bhārti, who threw up an earthen dam, enclosing the springs in question, and built the present *maṭha*. By the records of the *maṭha*, Suphal Bhārti, who is the immediate successor of Kamal Bhārti and the present representative of the line of Gōsains, is the tenth in succession after Tāpi Bhārti; and he holds, rent-free, the village of Khaḍa-Āmlā. The *maṭha* claims to have possessed, under the Gōṇḍ dynasty and the Marāṭhās, also the villages of Bārchhī, Bhawāri, Dātōrā, Dhārni, Jamwāḍā, Jamwāḍi, Pisāṭā, Rājgaum, and Tāwli, which were resumed by the Government in or about 1815, when Kamal Bhārti and a number of other Gōsains refused to accept the introduction of the British rule, and attacked the British forces. And the present grant is supposed to be the title-deed of Khaḍa-Āmlā and the other nine villages; and it came to notice through being produced before Mr. Ommanney in the course of an inquiry into rent-free tenures. It does not, however, contain any name answering to any of the above. And Mr. Ommanney, who read the names, except that of Arjunagrāma, with sufficient correctness for the purpose, reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multai District, nor could he discover any at all like them at Hōshaṅgābād or Jabalpur. It is, therefore, not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long

¹ The 'Mooltai, Mooltye, Multāye, Multai, and Multāi,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 21° 45' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.

² The 'Baitool, Baitul, and Bētūl,' of maps, &c.

a time. All that can be said on this point is, that the characters shew that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces.

The plates, of which the first is engraved on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring about $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". The edges of them were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with small depressions running round inside the rims thus formed. The writing on the first and third plates is in a state of almost perfect preservation. That on the second plate, on both sides, has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the only word that is at all doubtful, is *kētuḥ*, in line 10; all the rest can be read on the original plate without any uncertainty. — The ring on which the plates were strung, and the holes for which are in the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the other two, is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{3}{8}$ ". It had been cut when the grant came into my hands; and it probably was thus cut for the purposes of the lithograph issued with Mr. Prinsep's paper. The seal on it is not a separate arrangement, attached to the ring by soldering, or by socketing the ends of the ring in it; but is part of the ring itself, the copper wire having been here beaten out into a surface, following the curve of the ring, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and roughly oval in shape, measuring about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ". In the upper part of the seal there is engraved in outline a figure which undoubtedly seems to be meant for Garuḍa,³ depicted with a man's legs, extended as if running, with expanded wings, and with the head and beak of a bird, facing to the proper right; and below this there is the legend *śrī-Yuddhāsurah*, which quotes what is given in line 14-15 of the record itself as a second name or *biruda* of Nandarāja. — The weight of the three plates is 2 lbs. 9½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 3½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz. — The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of the transitional type from which the northern Nāgarī was shortly afterwards developed. The following palæographical points call for notice. (1) In the *jā* of *jātas*, line 8, and in the *jā* of *ajñāna*, line 24, the *ā* is an upward stroke attached to the middle of the *j*; and it is written in the same way, as a component of *ō*, in *tējō*, line 4; but in *rājō*, line 3, the same component of *ō* is formed by a downward stroke attached to the top of the *j*. (2) In the *bhi* of *rajābhī*, line 27, the form of the vowel differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the inscription; compare, for instance, *kētubhī*, line 3. Owing to a fault in the copper, it is formed in rather a slanting and cramped manner; but it is evidently intended for the older circular superscript *i*. The consonant itself is not very well formed here; but it is evidently the *bh* that is used throughout the rest of the record. (3) In the *pā* of *pūrvēṇa*, line 20, and *pūrvan*, line 22, the *ā* differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the record, and which is very clearly illustrated in *bhūmī*, line 27. (4) In the *kē* of *kētuḥ*, line 10, and in the *dē* of *anumōdēta*, line 25, the *ē*, unless it is omitted altogether, is formed quite exceptionally, by being attached, according to the older method, to the top of the consonant, instead of being superscript, as, for instance, in *ānvayē*, line 2. (5) In the *yā* of *pipparikāyā*, line 20, the *y* has a totally different form from that which is used throughout the rest of the record. It is not altogether well shaped; but it is evidently intended for the well-known older *y*. For an analogous difference in Central India, in respect of the same letter, see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III., No. 23, p. 106; where, however, the exceptional form is the later one, which in the present record is the standard form. And (6) the *ś* used in *śaka*, line 29, is perceptibly of a squarer and more antique shape than that used otherwise throughout, for a clear instance of which see *yāsai*, line 1. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The engraving is good and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through at all, even on the reverse side of the first plate. The engraver's work was done steadily and smoothly; and it is only in the interiors of a few of the letters that any marks of the working of the tool can be detected. — The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words, *Om* and *Svasti*, and for some words in lines 5-6 which will be the subject of comment further on, the first twelve lines of the record are in verse. And two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 26 to 29. — In

³ The epithet *paramabhāgavata*, which is applied to Nandarāja-Yuddhāsurā in line 14 of the record itself, indicates that he was a Vaiṣṇava.

respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anuvāra*, in *vañyair*, line 22; (2) the use of *v* for *ḍ* in *vrahmanya*, line 14; though the proper sign for *ḍ* itself is used in *bahu*, line 9, and in *bahubhir*, line 26, and probably also in *samanubōdhayati*, line 16, where, however, the letter is much damaged; (3) the doubling of *m* before *y*, in *rammyē*, line 2; and (4) the doubling of *t* before *r*, in *mātāpitrōr*, line 17, and in *sagōttrāya*, line 18; though not in *mitra* in the same line, and in other words.

The inscription is one of a *Bāshtrakūṭa* chieftain named *Nandarāja*, and otherwise called *Yuddhasura*, whose subordinate feudatory rank is indicated by the absence of any of the paramount or even ordinary regal titles in the description of him and his ancestors, and by the fact that his official, under whose direction the charter was written, was only a *Sāṃdhivigrahika*, — not a *Mahāsāṃdhivigrahika*. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, to a *Brāhmaṇ*, of the village of *Jalāṅkuhe*, bounded on the east, south, west, and north, by the villages of *Kiṇihivaṭṭāra*, *Pipparikā*, *Jalukā*, and *Arjunagrāma*, respectively. These places have not yet been identified; and the record itself does not give any indication as to the neighbourhood in which they should be found. For such cases as the present we much require, for other parts of India, similar lists to that of the very useful Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle, which was issued in 1879 under the superintendence of Mr. H. E. M. James, B.C.S., and which gives the name of every town and village the postal arrangements of which are under the Government of Bombay.

As regards the date of this record, from line 21-22 we learn that the grant was made on the full-moon day of the month *Kārttika*. And in line 29 f. we have, for the writing of the charter, *Saka-Saṃvat 631*, expressed in words, and not specified either as current or as expired. The period of the grant is thus A.D. 708-709, or 709-710, according as the given year is applied as current or as expired. But there are no details that can be tested by calculation. Mr. Prinsep's difficulty in respect of the date arose from his failing to recognise, in line 30, that *shaṭchhu* is a mistake for *shaṭsu*, which stands for *shaṭsu* in combination by *saṃdhi* with a word, *ēka*, commencing with a vowel; and that what we have after *shaṭchhu*=*ē* is evidently the upper part of a *ka*, which plainly at first was omitted altogether, and then was not properly inserted, because the ring-hole left hardly room enough to form the whole letter conveniently. In his text, which was primarily based on Mr. Ommanney's decipherment, with amendments by his own *Pāṇḍit*, he gave the reading *Saka-kāla-saṃvatsarē śatēshu shaṭkēna(?) trini-ṣṭtarēshu*. And he repeated this in his introductory remarks; adding the words "the obvious meaning of this is six hundred and thirty besides." But, as giving rather his own interpretation, he proceeded to write "after the word *śatēshu*, 'hundreds,' in the plural number, two unknown characters follow, which may be very probably numerals. The second has much resemblance to the modern 8, but the first is unknown and of a complex form: its central part reminds us of the equally enigmatical numeral in one of the *Bhālsā* inscriptions. It may, perhaps, designate in a cipher the word *aṅkē*, 'in numerals,' thus purporting 'in the year of Saka, hundreds, numerically 8, and thirty over.' A fertile imagination might again convert the cipher into the word *ashṭakē*, 'eight,' afterwards expressed in figures; but I must leave this curious point for future elucidation, wavering between 630 and 830 for the date of the document." As I have indicated above, the difficulty in the way of settling this date before now, has been due to the fact that for some reason or other the *shu* of *śatēshu* was omitted in the lithograph, which appears to be chiefly based on a hand-drawing by Mr. Ommanney. There is in reality no puzzle at all in the correct reading of the date, which was, in fact, quite evident on my examination of a drawing of the second side of the third plate, which was sent to me as a sample from which to decide whether the original plates were worth transmitting. The passage containing the date includes no numerals, and it simply means "in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first year, of the Saka era."

A really curious point in this inscription is the irregular way in which a short prose passage is introduced in line 5-6. The words *tasy-ātmanān ātmajāḥ*, at the end of line 6, are the last seven syllables of a line in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre; whereas, the immediately

preceding passage, which is the direct context of them, commencing with *tasya sūnur* in line 5, is in prose. To the words *tasya-ātmavān ātmajāḥ* Mr. Prinsep attached the note — “the metre requires here an addition of 12 syllables to the 9” (properly, seven) “found in the text, to complete the Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse; these Kamalākānta would supply thus, — *dhīr-ānanda-sudhākarasya jagatām*, ‘the moon of the happiness of the wise.’” But what we have here is the end of the second line of a stanza, which terminates with the word *sarvataḥ* in line 8; and we require not twelve, but thirty-one syllables, to complete the stanza. This, of course, is on the assumption that the words *tasya-ātmavān ātmajāḥ* are really intended to be metrical; and that they are really part of the sentence that runs on in metre in line 7. As regards the latter point, of course it is possible that an entire plate, with two sides of writing, and containing any number of names between that of Gōvindarāja who is mentioned in line 6 and that of Svāmikarāja who is mentioned in line 7, may have been lost. As, however, Mr. Prinsep spoke of “three copper-plates connected by a ring and seal in the usual manner,” I think we may infer that, when the grant reached his hands, or at any rate when it was discovered by Mr. Ommanney, the ring was still uncut, and that no part of the record is missing. And as regards the first point, unless the words in question were distinctly intended to be metrical, there is no reason for the introduction of the epithet *ātmavān*, ‘self-possessed,’ which means nothing of any particular importance, and is useful only for the purposes of the metre; also, from *visīrṇāḥ*, line 1, to *yō-rthināḥ*, line 12, the whole text, with the exception of the short passage now being discussed, is in verse, and in one and the same metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. I take it, therefore, that the words *tasya-ātmavān ātmajāḥ* were certainly intended to be metrical; that nothing is lost here; and that the continuation of the same sentence follows in line 7. The beginning of the stanza can be made in a very simple manner, by altering *tasya sūnur āsīt*, in line 5, into *tasmāt sūnur ābhūt*. But it is more difficult to adapt the following eighteen syllables to the metre; especially as they have to be expanded into twenty-five. And the real intended reading here, and the manner in which the present text was arrived at, must remain a puzzle, until we obtain some other record, following the same original draft, and written out correctly. Only this much seems clear; that, in view of the use of *arjjita* instead of the more customary *upārjjita*, the words *sāhas-ārjjita-yaśāḥ* appear to be part of the original draft.

Accepting the direct continuation of lines 6 and 7, this inscription gives us the following names in the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage; Durgarāja; his son, Gōvindarāja; his son, Svāmikarāja; and his son, Nandarāja, otherwise called Yuddhāsura. In what relation these persons stand to the well-known Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkḥēḍ in the Dekkan and of Gujarāt, there are at present no means of determining. There are also other early Rāshtrakūṭas, in respect of whom the same remark has to be made. One of them is the Krishṇarāja, whose coins⁴ have been obtained from Dēolānā in the Bāglāṇ Tālukā, Nāsik District, and who is to be referred to about the commencement of the fifth century A. D. And others are Mānāṅka; his son, Dēvarāja; his son, Bhavishya; and his son, Abhimanyu; whose names occur in the grant published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 89 ff., and allotted by him, on palaeographical grounds to about the fifth century A. D., though I would place it much nearer to the period of the present record. According to that grant, Abhimanyu's residence was Mānapura; which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī was inclined to identify with the well-known Rāshtrakūṭa city of Mānyakhēṭa, i. e. Mālkḥēḍ. But in my opinion the interchange of *mānya* and *māna*, and still more the substitution of *pura*, ‘a town,’ for *khēṭa*, ‘a small town,’ “for the purpose of indicating or magnifying the importance of the place,” are not justifiable. I consider that we must certainly look for Mānapura in some place that still bears that name; and that it may very possibly be found in the modern Mānpur⁵ in Mālwa, the chief town of the

⁴ See ante, Vol. XIV. p. 68.

⁵ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 36. Lat. 22° 26' N.; Long. 75° 41' E. — I should state, however, that in the neighbourhood of this Mānpur I cannot find in the map any place-names answering to the Pethapaṅgaraka and Updikavāṭikā which are mentioned in the grant, and which should be useful in fixing its locality. The grant came to

Mānpur Parganā under the Bhōpāwar Agency in Central India, about twelve miles south-west of Mhow. The preceding names all belong to a time anterior, or nearly so, to that of the first of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ. In a considerably later period, we have the name of the Rāshtrakūṭa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Golhanadēva, a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Gayakarna, mentioned in an inscription on the pedestal of a Jain image at 'Bahuriband' in the Jabalpur District, Central Provinces,⁶ which belongs to about the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D. And, from the syllables *śrī-rāshtra*, which are extant in line 5, it seems likely that there was an intermediate notice of the Rāshtrakūṭa family in the same part of the country, to be referred to the eighth or ninth century A. D., in one of the inscriptions of Sivagupta, the son of Harshagupta, at Sirpur in the Rāypur District, Central Provinces.⁷

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

1	Om° Svasti [11°]	Vistīrṇṇē ¹⁰	sthiti-pālan-āpta-yaśasi	śrī-Rā-
2	shtrakūṭ-anvayē	rammyē	kshīranidhāv=iv=ēndur=abhavāt=śrī ¹¹ -Durgga-	
3	rājō nripaḥ	lōk-āhlādana-hētubhiḥ	pravitatāis=tōjō-vi-	
4	śēsh-ōdayai[h°]	yēn=ā(ō)chchahiḥ-padaviṃ	vigāhya vidhivat=paksha-dvayaṃ	
5	bhāsitaṃ [11°]	Tasya ¹²	sūnur=āsīd=anēka-samara-sāhas-ārjji-	
6	ta-yaśāḥ	śrī-Gōvindarājāḥ	tasy=ātman=ātmanāḥ	

Second Plate; First Side.

7	śrīmām(n)	Sv[ā°]mīkarāja	ity=anupamō	yasy=ōrjjiṭaṃ	pauruṣaṃ	saṃ-
8	grāmād=anivarttinō	vijayinaḥ	saṃgiyatō	sarvvataḥ [11°]	Jāta-	
9	s=tasya	sutaḥ satā[m]	bahu-mataḥ	śrī-Namnda ¹³ rājāḥ	kṛti	kā-
10	tta(ṇṭa)ḥ	kār[u]ḡikaḥ	kalaṅka-rahitaḥ	kētuh ¹⁴	karālō	dvishām
11	dhaur[ē°]yō	raṇa-sāhas-āhita-dhiyām=agrēsarō			māninām	
12	vaidagdh-ōddhata-chētasām=adhipatiḥ		kalpa-drumō	yō=rthinā[m]	[11°]	

Second Plate; Second Side.

13	Yaś=cha	sa[m°]ārāya-viśēsha-lōbhād=iva	sakalair=ābhigāmikair=ita-			
14	raiś=cha	guṇair=upētaḥ	parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya[h°]	.parama-bhāgavataḥ	śrī-Yu-	
15	ddhāsura-paranāmā	sa	sarvvān=ēva	rāja-sāmanta-vishayapa-		
16	ti-grāmabbhōgik-ādī[n°]		samanubōdhayati [1°]	Viditam=asta		
17	bhavatā[m]	yath=āsmābhiḥ	mātāpittrōr=ātmanas=cha	puṇy-ābhi-		
18	vṛi[d°]dhayē	Kautsa-sagōttrāya	Mitra-chaturvēda-pautrāya	Rakta ¹⁵ prabha-cha-		

Third Plate; First Side.

19	cha ¹⁶ turvvēda-putrāya	Śrīprabha-chaturvvēdāya	Kipihivattārāt=paśchimē-			
20	na Pipparikāya	ut[t°]arēṇa	Jalukāya[h°]	pūrvvēṇa	Arjunagrāmā-	

light through being in Dr. Bhau Daji's collection; but no information seems to be forthcoming as to the place where he obtained it. — I notice that, within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, there are two places named Mānpur in the Gaikwār's Dominions; one in the Bānsdā or Vīnsdā State; one in Khāndēsh; three in the Rādhanpur State; and two in the Mahl-Kāṇḡhā. But I have not had the opportunity of searching the maps for the neighbourhood of these places.

⁶ *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 40.

⁷ *id.* Vol. XVII. Plate xix. C., line 5.

⁸ From the original plates.

⁹ Represented by a symbol.

¹⁰ Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and in the following two verses.

¹¹ Read abhavach-chārti.

¹² As regards the occurrence of these words in prose, see the introductory remarks.

¹³ Read nanda.

¹⁴ Prinsep read here *kūlaḥ*, "a dreadful avenger on his enemies." But that is certainly not the reading of the original. The first syllable is either *kā* or *ka*. And in the second syllable there seems to be undoubtedly a *t*; and below it there is a mark which may well be the sign for the subscript *u*, rather damaged. Of the visarga, the lower part is damaged.

¹⁵ I think *rakta* is what was intended here. The two syllables might possibly be read *rāja*. But they certainly are not *raṇa*, for *raṇa*, as taken by Prinsep.

¹⁶ This second *cha* is unnecessary. The preceding *cha*, however, at the end of line 19, stands in the margin, as if it was inserted on a revision of the document.

14

16

18

iii a

20

22

24

iii b

26

28

30

- 21 d=[d*]akshipeṇa ēbhiraḥghāṭanaiḥ¹⁷ Jalaṅkuhe¹⁸-nāma-grāma[h*] Kārttika-
 22 paurṇamāsyāṁ udaka-pūrvvaṁ pratipāditaḥ [i*] Yatō=amad-vaṇśyair-anyai-
 23 r=vv=āgāmi-nripatibhir=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ pratipālayita-
 24 vyaś=cha [i*] yō v=ājñāna=timira-pāṭal-āvṛita-matīḥ āchchhindyād=āchchhidya-
 25 mānam v=ānumā(mō)dīta sa¹⁹ pañchabhir=mahāpātakais=sam'yuktas=syād=iti [ii*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 26 Uktam cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [i*] Bahubhir²⁰=vvasudhā bhuktā
 27 rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
 28 tadā phalaṁ || Shashṭim varsha-sahasr[ā*]ni svarggē tishṭhati bhūmi-da[h*]
 29 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā chcha(cha) tāny=ēva narakō vasēt || Saka-kāla-
 30 samvatsara-satēshu shaṭchhv²¹=ēka-tri[m*]s-ōttarēshu likhitam=idam
 31 śāsana[m*] sāndhivigrahika-Nāula-likhitam ||

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious **Rashtrakūṭa** lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability, there was a king, the illustrious **Durgarāja**, by whom, having attained a high position, the two parties (of his friends and his foes) were properly illumined with the widely expanded rising of the excess of (his) glory, which caused the happiness of (his) people ; just as in the broad (and) charming ocean of milk there was produced the moon, by which, when it has reached the track of the zenith, the two fortnights are irradiated with the wide-reaching rising of the excess of (its) lustre, which causes the happiness of mankind.

(Line 5.). — His son was the illustrious **Gōvindarāja**, who acquired fame by (his) daring in many battles ; (and) his self-possessed son (was) that unrivalled one, known as the illustrious **Svāmikarāja**, who never turned back from war (and) who was (always) victorious, and whose great manliness is celebrated everywhere in song.

(L. 8.). — Of him there was born a son, the illustrious **Nandarāja**, highly esteemed by good people, accomplished, handsome, compassionate, free from faults (and thus resembling the moon, free from spots), (but) a very comet boding evil to (his) enemies, fit to be yoked (in the front rank) of those whose thoughts are devoted to daring in war, foremost among the haughty, the leader of those whose minds excel in intelligence, (and) a very *kalpa*-tree to supplicants.

(L. 13.). — And he, — to whom, as if from a strong desire for the choicest of all resting-places, resort has been made by all the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind,²² and others also ; who is most kind to Brāhmanas ; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishṇu) ; (and) who has the other name of the illustrious **Yuddhāsura**, — informs all the *Rājas*, *Sāmantas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Grāmabhōgikas*, and others : —

(L. 16.). — " Be it known to you that by Us, for the increase of the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, to *Sriprabhachaturvēda* of the *Kautsa gōtra*, the son's son of *Mitrachaturvēda* (and) the son of *Raktaprabhachaturvēda*, on the full-moon day of (the month) **Kārttika**, with libations of water there is given the village named **Jalaṅkuhe**, [thus specified*] by (its) boundaries ; (viz.) to the west of (the village of) **Kinihivaṭṭara**, to the north of (the village of) **Pipparikā**, to the east of (the village of) **Jalukā**, (and) to the south of the village of **Arjunagrāma**.

(L. 22.). — " Wherefore, (this) Our gift should be assented to, and should be preserved, by future kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And whosoever, having a mind covered over by

¹⁷ upalakṣitaḥ, viśuddhaḥ, or some similar word, has to be supplied here.

¹⁸ The third syllable here is rather doubtful ; but on the whole I think that ḥ was intended.

¹⁹ We have here rather an anomalous character, between the single and the double s.

²⁰ Metre, *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh) ; and in the following verse.

²¹ Read *ṣaṭ* ; and for the following syllable see the introductory remarks.

²² *Abhigāmikā gaṇāḥ* ; see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 169, note 2.

the dense darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins."

(L. 26.). — And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas :— The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty-thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 29.). — This charter, written by the *Sāṃdhivigrahika* Nāula, has been written in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first (year), of the Saka era.

CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings which were received from General Sir A. Cunningham and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

A. — Dudahi Stone Inscriptions of Dēvalabdhī, a grandson of Yaśovarman.

These six short inscriptions are in a temple of the village of 'Dudahi' or 'Doodhai,' in the Lalitpur District of the North-West Provinces, Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N. W., Long. 78° 27' E., Lat. 24° 25' N.; and an account of them, accompanied by photozincographs of five of them, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. pp. 94-95, and Plate xxxii., 1-2, and 4-6.

The inscription a. contains eleven lines, which cover a space of 3½" broad by 10" high; b., ten lines, which cover 3" broad by 8½" high; c., five lines, which cover 6½" broad by 4½" high; d., three lines, which cover 6½" broad by 3" high; e. consists of a single line, 6½" long; and f. also consists of a single line, 4" long. The average size of the letters of a. and b. is ½" to ⅔"; of c., d., and e., ⅔" to 1"; and of f., one inch. The characters of all are Nāgari, of about the 11th century A.D.; their language is Sanskrit, and all are in prose. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* of the name *Dēvalabdhī* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*.

The inscription f. contains only the name — 'the illustrious Dēvalabdhī;' and a. to e. record that this personage erected the temple (*kīrtana*), at which the inscriptions are. In d., Dēvalabdhī is described as belonging to the Chandrēlla family, and as the son of the illustrious Krishṇapa and the lady Āsarvā;¹ and a. to c. besides state that he was the grandson of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśovarman. This Yaśovarman undoubtedly is the Chandēlla (or Chandrātrēya) king Yaśovarman, of whom we have a long inscription, of the Vikrama year 1011, at Khajurāhō,² and who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Dhaṅgadēva, in Dhaṅga's copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1055, published by me, *ante*, Vol. XVI., p. 202; and our inscriptions, though not dated, may therefore be referred with certainty to about the first half of the 11th century A.D.

The main interest of these inscriptions will probably be considered to lie in this, that they furnish an older form of the name of the royal family which we are here concerned with, — Chandrēlla, instead of the later Chandēlla. This spelling, *Chandrēlla*, is quite distinct and certain in the rubbings of b.; and the rubbings of a., c., and d., too, clearly show that the consonant of the second *akshara* of this name is not simply *d* or *nd*, but has another consonant attached to it, which might possibly be read as *v*, if we did not know from b. that it must be *r*.

¹ This somewhat unusual name we meet again, denoting another lady, in line 19 of the Man inscription of the Chandēlla Madanavarmadēva; *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. I. pp. 204, 209.

² *ib.*, Vol. I. p. 122.—Another Yaśovarman is mentioned, in the Baṭeśvar inscription of Paramardidēva of the Vikrama year 1252, as the son of Madanavarman and father of Paramardin; but his name is omitted in other accounts of the Chandēlla kings. See *ib.*, Vol. I. p. 211.

The word *Chandrēlla* I take to be a derivative, by means of the Prākṛit suffix *illa*, from *chandra*, 'the moon,' formed like *Bhāilla* from *bhās*, and I suspect that the name *Chandrātrēya* for the members of the same family is really a later word, which owes its origin to a desire of having a somewhat more Sanskrit-like name.

TEXT.³

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. — 1 Mahārājādhi-
 2 rāja-śrī-Yasō-
 3 varmma-naptrā śrī-
 4 Kṛishṇapa-sutēna
 5 mātṛī-śrī-Āsa-
 6 rrvā⁴-udarōdbhavēna
 7 Chamd[r]ēll-ānvayēna
 8 śrī-Dēva[la]vdhi(bdhi)-
 9 nā kirttanam=i-
 10 daṁ sarvva[m] kārī-
 11 taṁ </p> | <p>b. — 1 Chamdrēll-ānvaya-
 2 mahārājādhi-
 3 rāja-śrī-Yasō-
 4 varmma-napt[ri]⁵-śrī-
 5 Kṛishṇapa-suta-
 6 śrī-Āsarvvā-a-
 7 darōdbhava-śrī-Dē-
 8 valavdhi(bdhi)yaṁ ki-
 9 rttanam=idam sarvva-
 10 m=a[p]i </p> |
|---|--|
- c. — 1 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Yasō-
 2 varmma-naptuh⁶ śrī-Kṛishṇapa-suta-
 3 mātṛī-śrī-Āsarvvā-udarōdbhava-
 4 Chand[r]ēll-ānvaya-śrī-Dēvalavdhi(bdhi)yaṁ
 5 sarvva-kirttanam=idam ||
- d. — 1 Śrī-Kṛishṇapa-suta-mātṛī-śrī-Ā-
 2 sarvvā-udarōdbhava-Chand[r]ēll-ānvā[ya*]-śrī-
 3 Di(dē)valavdhī(bdhē)ḥ satkaṁ⁷ kirttanam=idam ||
- e. — Śrī-Dēvalavdhi(bdhē)ḥ kirttanam=idam [||*]
- f. — Śrī-Dēvalavdhi(bdhiḥ) [||*]

B. — Dēogaḍh Rock Inscription of Kirtivarman.

The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the Fort of the town of Dēogaḍh, situated at the western end of the table-land of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Bātwa; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N.W., Long. 73° 18' E., Lat. 24° 32' N. A rough transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii., 3; and it has been re-edited, from Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph, by Dr. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI. p. 311.

The inscription contains 8 lines. The writing covers a space of 2' 2" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters is about 1½". The characters are Nāgarī, and many of the letters are peculiar in having a saucer-shaped head formed by a curve under the straight top-line. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *Om Om namaḥ Śivāya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is seven, the first six of which are numbered with the ordinary numeral figures. As regards orthography, *ḥ* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vrahmaṇḍam*, line 8, (but not in *babhūva*, lines 1 and 6, and *-ābdhitah*, line 4); the dental sibilant is used for

³ From the rubbings.

⁴ Originally *-naptrā*.

⁵ As in other inscriptions of the period, the word *satka*, 'belonging to,' expresses the meaning of the genitive case or of a possessive suffix, and is here used redundantly.

⁶ Read *śrī-Āsarvvā-śdar*⁷, here and below.

⁷ Read *-naptṛī*.

the palatal in *vanṣa*, line 1, *subhṛaṣ*, line 3, and *satrōr*, line 7; and the dental *d* for the lingual *ḍ* in *-ōḍu*, line 4.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (lines 5-8) that Vatsarāja, a son of Mahidhara and chief minister of the king Kirtivarman, built a flight of steps called "the *Ghaṭ* of the illustrious Vatsarāja," near which the inscription must be supposed to have been engraved. Vatsarāja himself was a native of Ramanīpur, and it is recorded of him that he wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and made "this Fort of Kirtigiri;" and his master Kirtivarman is described (lines 1-5) as the descendant of the prince Vijayapāla, who was a son of Vidyādhara, of the Chandēlla family.

The inscription is dated, at the end of line 8, in figures only, on Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, of the year 1154. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 2 would be:—

for the northern year 1154 current, — Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096;

for the northern year 1154 expired, or the southern year 1154 current, — Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097;

for the southern year 1154 expired, — Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098.

The actual date, therefore, is Sunday,¹ 7 March, A.D. 1098, and the calculation shows that the year 1154, mentioned in our record, was the southern Vikrama year 1154, expired, i.e. the northern year 1156, current.

As regards the localities mentioned, I consider Kirtigiri-durga to be Dēogaḍh itself; Ramanīpur I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm³ ōm namaḥ Sivāya || Chamdēlla⁴-vaṁsa(sa)-kumud-ōḍu-viśāla-kīrttiḥ khyātō
babbūva nṛpa-saṁgha-nat-āmhri-padmaḥ |
- 2 Vidyādhārō narapatih Kamali-nivāsō jatas-tatō Vijayapāla-nṛpō nṛp-ōndrah || 1 ||
Tasmād⁵-va(dha)rmma-parah śrīmā-
- 3 n=Kirttivarman-nṛpō=bhavat | yasya kīrtti-sudhā-su(su)bhrām trā⁶lōkyam
saudhatām-agāt || 2 || Agadam nūtanam Vishṇum=āvirbhūtam=avāpya
- 4 yam | nṛp-ābdhitah samākṛishṭā Śrīr-asthairyam=amārjjayat || 3 || Rāj⁷-ōdu(ḍu)-
madhya-gata-chandra-nibhasya yasya nūnam Yudhisṭhira-Sadāśiva-Rāmacha-
- 5 ndrāḥ | ētē prasanna-[guṇa⁸]-ratnamidhau nivishṭā ya⁹t-tad-guṇa-prakara-ratnamayē
śrīrē || 4 || Tadiy¹⁰-āmātya-mantr-īndrō Ramanīpūr-vvinirga-
- 6 taḥ | Vatsarāj-ōti vikhyātah śrīmān=Mahidhar-ātmajaḥ || 5 || Khyātō¹¹ babbūva
kila mantri-pad-aika-mātrē Vāchaspatih=ta-
- 7 d=īha mantra-supauruṣābhyām | yō=yam samastam=api maṇḍalam=āsu sa(sa)trōr=
āchchhīdya Kirttigiri-durggam=idam vyadhata || 6 ||
- 8 Śrī¹²-Vatsarāja-ghat¹³-ō=yam nūnam tēn=ātra kārītaḥ | vṛa(bra)hmāṇḍam=ujjvalām
kīrttim=ārōhayitum=ātmanah || [7 ||*] Samvat 1154 Chaitra-[su]¹⁴di 2
Ravau¹⁴ [||*]

¹ On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise. It may be noted that the initial days of the expired northern Vikrama years 1153, 1154 and 1155 are given wrongly in the *Book of Indian Eras*.

² From the rubbings.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

⁵ Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse.

⁶ This *akṣara* originally was *trā*; but it has been altered to *trā*.

⁷ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

⁸ The consonant of the first of these two *akṣaras* is *g*; but the way in which the vowel *u* has been attached to it, gives to the whole a partial appearance of *mu*. The second vertical stroke of the second *akṣara* at the bottom meets the third vertical line, and thus gives to the *u* an unusual shape; but the *akṣara* is not *kha*.

⁹ This *akṣara* is distinctly *ya*, not *sta*.

¹⁰ Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹¹ Metro, Vasantatilakā.

¹² Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹³ The consonant of this *akṣara* is indistinct, but the vowel *u* is quite clear; and thus we can only read *su*, not *ba*, as was read by Dr. Hultzsch. The formation of the *akṣara* is very cramped, perhaps indicating that it was omitted at first and was inserted on revision; and this is why it appears as *visarga* in Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph.

¹⁴ This word, *rauvu*, is quite clear in the rubbings.

TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Siva !

(Verse 1). — There was a renowned prince, Vidyādhara, an abode of Fortune, whose wide-spread fame was to the Chandōlla race what the moon is to night-lotuses, (and) whose lotus-feet were bowed down to by crowds of princes. From him was born the prince Vijayapāla, the chief of princes.

(V. 2). — From him sprang, devoted to the law, the illustrious prince Kirtivarman, brightened by the white-wash of whose fame the three worlds have become a white-washed mansion.

(V. 3). — When Fortune, withdrawn from (other) princes, just as (she was recovered by Vishṇu) from the sea, came to him who appeared like a new Vishṇu, without his club,¹⁵ she left off (her) fickleness.

(V. 4). — Resembling as he does, among kings, the moon moving in the midst of the stars, surely Yudhishtira, Sadāśiva,¹⁶ and Rāmachandra, (all) these have entered his body, (which is) abundantly decorated, as with precious stones, with multitudes of manifold excellencies (and is indeed) a pellucid sea of excellencies.

(V. 5). — The chief counsellor among his ministers (is) the illustrious son of Mahādhara, the renowned Vatsarāja, who has gone forth from Ramanipur.

(V. 6). — He indeed became famous, a (very) Vāchaspati¹⁷ in his unique office of counsellor, he who, having quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (maṇḍala) here by his counsel and excellent valour, made this Fort of Kirtigiri.

(V. 7). — He indeed caused this flight of steps to be built here, (called the Ghaṭ) of the illustrious Vatsarāja, in order to make his bright fame ascend up into the universe.

The year 1154, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, on Sunday.

THE COUNTRY OF MALAKOTTA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; BANGALORE.

One of the countries, which the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang visited on his memorable tour through India, was Draviḍa with its capital Kañchīpura (Conjeeveram). He reached Draviḍa from the north, and proceeded from it north-west¹ to Koṅkaṇapura, Mahārāshṭra, and Bharukachchha (Bharōch). Hiuen-Tsiang mentions another country, called Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a, which was situated to the south of Draviḍa. According to the *Si-yu-ki*, he visited this country in person,² and returned from it to Draviḍa; while Hwui-li's narrative seems to imply, that the pilgrim's report on Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a was based merely on hearsay.³

In a former volume of this Journal,⁴ the late Dr. Burnell identified Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a with the delta of the Kāvēri. He based this opinion on "the great Tamil inscription of Kulōttuṅga-(Vīra)-Chōla (A.D. 1064 to 1113) which surrounds the shrine of the chief temple at Tanjore," and on the mention in it of a village called Malakūṭa-chūḍimaṇi-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam, which was situated in Āvūr-kūṭṭam, i.e. in the subdivision of Āvūr near Kumbhakōṇam. A perusal of the inscriptions of the great temple at Tanjore convinced me that Dr. Burnell's statements

¹⁵ The word *agad* also means "free from disease, healthy."

¹⁶ *Sadāśiva* is an epithet of the god Siva, and also a proper name of men; but it is not apparent whom the author of the verse here refers to.

¹⁷ "The lord of speech," — a name of Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods. — The word *mantri-pad-aika-mūrti* does not admit of a proper grammatical explanation; I understand it to mean *mantri-padaḥ ekasmin* (i.e. *advitīy*) *eva*.

¹ Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 145. The *Si-yu-ki* (Vol. II. p. 253) has 'north,' which is impossible.

² Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 230, note 123.

³ *Life*, p. 140.

⁴ *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 391.

require some modifications, which I subjoin here with due respect to that able scholar, who, if he still lived, would gladly approve of a correction of some details of secondary importance. First, the central shrine of the Tanjore temple does not bear only one inscription of about A.D. 1100,⁵ but a considerable number of inscriptions of various kings and dates, one of which is dated as late as Saka 1377 (expired). Secondly, none of the Tanjore inscriptions mentions either Kulōttuṅga-Chōla or Vira-Chōla, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. (A.D. 1063-64 to 1112-13), also called Rājendra-Chōḍa after his maternal grandfather Rājendra-Chōḍadēva, was the son of the Eastern Chalukya king Rājārāja I. (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64) and inherited the Chōla kingdom from his father-in-law, the Chōla king Rājendradēva. The two Chōla kings, to whose reigns most of the inscriptions of the Tanjore temple belong, are Rājārājadēva, the founder of the temple,⁶ and his son Rājendra-Chōḍadēva, the father-in-law of the Eastern Chalukya king Rājārāja I. (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64), who had received his name from that of his maternal grandfather. The subjoined table, which is based on a number of Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions, shows the relations of the three above-mentioned Chōla kings to the Eastern Chalukyas, and contains the names of their Western Chālukya contemporaries:—⁷

Western Chālukyas.	Chōlas.	Eastern Chalukyas.
	(Sūryavansha).	(Sōmavansha).
1. Satyāśraya II. fought with Rājārājadēva, who was the father-in-law of Vimalāditya. (Saka 919 to about 930.)	(about Saka 926.)	(Saka 937 (?) to 944.)
2. Jayasimha III. fought with Rājendra-Chōḍadēva, who was the father-in-law of Rājārāja I. (about Saka 940 to about 964.)		(Saka 944 to 985.)
3. Āhavamalla II. fought with Rājendradēva, who was the father-in-law of Rājendra-Chōḍa or Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I. (about Saka 964 to about 990.)		(Saka 985 to 1034.)

Thirdly, Dr. Burnell states in his paper, that the Tanjore inscriptions mention a village called Malakūṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam. The reference is to an inscription of the 29th year of the Chōla king Kō-Rājākēsarivarman, alias Rājārājadēva, and to an inscription of the 10th year of Kō-Parakēsarivarman, alias Rājendra-Chōḍadēva. Each of these two inscriptions reads in clear Tamil and Grantha letters of 2 to 3 inches height:—*Nittavinōḍa-vaḷa-nāṭṭu Āvūr-(k)kūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Irumbudal-āgiya Manukula-chūḍāmaṇi-(ch)chaturvēdi-maṅgalattu sabhaiyār*; "the members of the *sabhā* of Irumbudal, alias Manukula-chūḍāmaṇi-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam," a *brahmadēya* in *Āvūr-kūṟṟam*, (a subdivision) of Nittavinōḍa-vaḷa-nāṭṭu." This disposes finally of the possibility of identifying Hiuen-Tsiang's Mo-lo-kin-ch'a with Kumbhakōṇam, and the name of Malakūṭa has to be struck out on the map, which is prefixed to Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.

The first half of the name Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a is no doubt the well-known Dravidian word *mala*, 'a hill' (*mala* in Malayāḷam and *malai* in Tamil), and the second may be connected with *kūṟṟam*, which means 'a division,' or more probably with *kōṭṭam*, which means 'a district' in Tamil inscriptions. Thus Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a or Malakōṭṭa would be a synonym of Mala-nāṭṭu or Malai-nāṭṭu, 'the Hill-Country.' The former is used in Malayāḷam and the second in Tamil as a designation of the country of Malabar.⁸ But, as Hiuen-Tsiang places Malakōṭṭa to the south of Draviḍa and attributes to it a circuit of 5,000 *li*, General Cunningham¹⁰ is doubtlessly right,

⁵ Compare Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 40 and *passim*.

⁶ According to an inscription of his 29th year, the temple was called after him Rājārājēvara. Two updated inscriptions record that the *prākāra* (*tiruchchurumūḷigai*) of the temple was built at his orders by the commander of his forces (*śāhpati*).

⁷ For full details see three of my *Progress Reports* (Madras G. O., 27th July 1888, No. 745; 6th September 1888, No. 87; 7th November 1888, No. 1050) and my forthcoming first volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, p. 32 and Nos. 39, 40, 67, 82, 127.

⁸ This name means 'the Brāhmanical village (called after) Manukula-chūḍāmaṇi (i.e. the crest-jewel of the race of Maun; viz., the Chōla king).'

⁹ On this see *hybrids* see Yule and Burnell's invaluable *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 411.

¹⁰ *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. p. 549.

if he supposes that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole southern part of the Madras Presidency beyond the Kāvēri. According to Mr. Beal, the Chinese editor remarks in a note that Malakōṭṭa was also called *Chi-mo-lo*. These syllables are satisfactorily identified by Dr. Caldwell¹¹ with *Tamiḷa*, the name of the Tamiḷ people, whose country is called *Damirice* (i.e. Tamiḷ-*uk*) on the Pentinger Tables.

Four centuries after Hiuen-Tsiang, the term *Malaya* was in use for the same tract. For Albérūnī¹² enumerates the possessions of Jaur (i.e. the Chōḷa) along the coast in the following order:—Daur (Draviḍa), Kāñḷi (Kāñchi), *Malaya*, and Kūnk (Koñkaṇ). A second enumeration¹³ of the countries along the coast begins from the opposite side:—Lārān,¹⁴ with the city of Jīmūr, Vallabha, for which Rashīdu'd-dīn supplies the correct reading *Malaya*,¹⁵ Kāñḷi, and Darvad (Draviḍa). Albérūnī's first list places *Malaya* between Draviḍa and Kāñchi on one side and the Koñkaṇ on the other, just as Hiuen-Tsiang places *Malakōṭṭa* between Draviḍa with its capital Kāñchīpura on one side and Koñkaṇapura on the other. The second list begins from Lāta or Gujarāt and omits the Koñkaṇ, though in the preceding sentence it mentions Thāpā (on the island of Salsette), which, according to p. 203, was the capital of the Koñkaṇ.

According to Hiuen-Tsiang, *Malakōṭṭa* was bounded on the south by the *Malaya* mountains, which bordered the sea, and in which sandal-trees were found. To the east of the *Malaya* mountains was Mount Pōtalaka, on the top of which was a lake from which there flowed a great river, and which was the residence of the Bōddhisattva Avalōkitēsvara. Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, there was a town, from which people embarked for Ceylon.

In Sanskrit and Malayālam, the term *Malaya* is applied to the Western Ghāts, and the sandal is called *Malaya-ja*, i.e. 'the produce of Malaya.' In Tamiḷ, *Malayam* or *Malaiyam*, besides being used in the same sense, is the name of another mountain, which is also called Chandanāchala or Chandanādri (i.e. 'the mountain of the sandal'), Podigai or Podiyam, which is supposed to be the residence of the sage Agastya, and after which the Paṇḍya king is called Podiya-verpan (i.e. 'the lord of the mountain Podiyam'). Dr. Caldwell¹⁶ states that the source of the Tāmraparṇi river is in the mountain Podigai, and identifies the latter with Ptolemy's Βηττιγώ, in which the Σαλῆν took its rise. In a footnote of his paper on Pōtalaka,¹⁷ Mr. Beal suggests, with some diffidence, that Hiuen-Tsiang's Pōtalaka might be the same as Podigai and as Ptolemy's Βηττιγώ. It seems to me that the agreement between the two words Podigai and Pōtalaka is close enough to justify this identification, which struck me independently before I had seen Mr. Beal's paper. The river mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang would then be intended for the Tāmraparṇi. According to Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*,¹⁸ Pōtala was the name of a mythical mountain (pp. 141, 142 f., 223) in the south (p. 139), the seat of Avalōkitēsvara. On the way to it, the ocean (p. 157), a great river, and a lake, had to be crossed (p. 142). This myth of the northern Buddhists must have been known to Hiuen-Tsiang, and the change of Podiyam or Podigai into Pōtala or Pōtalaka may be due to a popular etymology, which Hiuen-Tsiang made either unconsciously or from a desire to connect the information collected on his visit to Southern India with that contained in his holy books. From similar motives, either Hiuen-Tsiang or his Buddhist informants seem to have transformed Agastya, who is supposed to reside on Podigai, into the Bōddhisattva Avalōkitēsvara.

In the case of the *Malaya* mountains, it must be assumed that Hiuen-Tsiang was misinformed, if he placed them to the south instead of the west of *Malakōṭṭa*. As for an

¹¹ *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 14 of the Introduction.

¹² Albérūnī's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. I. p. 200.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 209.

¹⁴ Lārān is the same as Lār-dēsh, i.e. Lāta-dēśa or Gujarāt, on p. 203. Jīmūr or Saimūr is probably the modern Choul; see Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.

¹⁵ Elliot and Dawson's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 66.

¹⁶ *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 160 f. of the Introduction.

¹⁷ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XV. p. 338.

¹⁸ Translated from Tibetan into German by Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.

identification of the port-town to the north-east of Mount Pōtalaka, Mr. Beal's quotations from I-tsing¹⁹ show that shortly after Hiuen-Tsiang's time the port for Ceylon was Nāgavadana. Accordingly, the town, which Hiuen-Tsiang mentions, seems to be intended for Nāgapattanam or Negapatam in the Tanjore District.

The unnamed capital of Malakōṭṭa is placed by Hiuen-Tsiang 3,000 li to the south of Kāñchīpura, and by Hwui-li 3,000 li or so from the frontier between Draviḍa and Malakōṭṭa. As General Cunningham points out,²⁰ even the first mentioned distance would take us out to sea beyond Cape Comorin and must have been exaggerated by the pilgrim's informants. Mr. Beal, who identifies Chi-mo-lo (see above) with the Tamil Kumari (Sanskrit: Kumārī), thinks of Cape Comorin itself. But there is no tradition of a capital having been situated there. Perhaps Hiuen-Tsiang refers to Korṅai in the Tinnevely District, the Κόρυς of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, which was, according to Dr. Caldwell, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas.²¹

THE BALLAD OF THE GUJARĪ.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give the text and translation of this celebrated Gujarātī ballad as it is sung at Aḥmad-ābād. In other parts, especially in Sūrat, a somewhat different version obtains. This version contains a curious admixture of Hindustānī and Gujarātī words. The ballad is of the class called *gurbā*, and is sung by women who form themselves into a ring round a lighted lamp, and sing the verses as they go round and round, beating time with their hands.

TRANSLATION.

The Ballad of the Gujarī.¹

- The Bādśāh is on his way to invade Kābul and all the ministers of Dīlhi are with him.
 The Bādśāh takes up his abode in a garden : on what pretext shall I go to have a look (at them) ?
 I shall take a red earthen pot in my hand and go (dressed) as a dairy-maid. The Bādśāh, &c.
 (Her) skirt of brocade, and a gold border to (her) *sāḍī*;
 5 *Kallāh*,² and *kāñbī*,² and *ayvat*, *bichhuṇvā*,² and *jhāñjar*² jingling (on her person) ;
 Armlets round her arms, and rings on all her ten fingers ;
*Kalāphul*² adorning her ears, and a costly *jhāl*² glistening ;
*Pāṭiyāñ*² adorning her throat, and a single-string necklace round her neck ;
 Her cloth (*sāḍī*) being of green *gajī*,³ and the necklace of pearls ;
 10 A ring adorning her nose, and a brilliant red mark glistening on her brow :
 She made (some) curds in a small earthen pot, and took the best of milk (with her) :
 (Thus arrayed) the Gujarī set forth to sell curds, and arrived at the Bādśāh's *darbār*,
 (And cried) — " Who'll buy my curds ! who'll buy my sweet milk !"
 Says her mother-in-law,⁴ — " Listen daughter-in-law, do not go into the camp,
 15 Or the Bādśāh of the city of Dīlhi will keep thee in his palace."
 The daughter-in-law heeds not the mother-in-law and goes forth to sell (her) curds :
 Goes forth the Gujarī⁵ to sell curds and takes her seat in the Lāl Bajār.
 The Bādśāh being informed (of this) comes to have a look at the Gujarī.

¹⁹ *Life*, p. xxxi. ; *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 233, note 131.

²⁰ *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. p. 549.

²¹ For references on Korṅai see Mr. Sowell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 312.

¹ The word *gujarī* means 'a Gujarātī woman.'

² Names of different gold and silver ornaments for women.

³ *gajī* is a sort of silk fabric manufactured in Gujarāt, so called from its being just one *gaj* (= *ghas* = $\frac{1}{2}$ of a yard) in width.

⁴ This ought to have come before the two preceding lines.

⁵ The same as Gujarī.

- "Why do you go about lanes and alleys, fair one, you ought to live behind the *pardā*."
- 20 "The lanes and alleys are good enough for me, to thy *pardā* I shall set fire."
 "Thou art a base-born Hindwāṇī, thus to give (impertinent) retorts to thy sovereign!"
 Says the Bādśāh, "Listen Gujari, listen to what I have to say.
 "What is the use of wearing ornaments of base metals, fair one? You ought to wear a
śēr of gold."
 "My ornaments of base metals are good enough for me, to thy gold I shall set fire."
 "Thou art," &c.
- 25 "What is this black coarse cloth that you wear, fair one? You ought to wear Dakhaṇī
 silks."
 "My black coarse cloth is good enough for me, to thy (Dakhaṇī) silks I shall set fire."
 "Thou art," &c.
 "I have a wonderfully fine elephant, fair one; come and have a look at my elephant."
 "What is there to look at in thy elephant? I have some grey cow-buffaloes at home,
 "That give a *maṣ*⁷ and a quarter of milk each time, and they are (therefore) far better than
 thy elephant."
 "Thou art," &c.
- 30 "My moustache is wonderfully formed, fair one; be allured by my moustache."
 "What is there to look at in thy moustache? It is only like the tuft of hair at the end of
 my goats' tails!"
 "Thou art," &c.
 "Which is your parents-in-law's house? And to what man are you wife?"
 "The Fort of Gōkul is my parents-in-law's house, and to the man Chandā I am wife."
 "Thou art," &c.
 "To what country dost thou belong, shepherdess? And what is thy name?"
- 35 "I am (the) shepherdess of Fort Māṇḍav, and Mēnā the Gujari is my name."
 "Now fix the price of your small earthen pot; and, fair one, what may be its price?"
 "If I name the price of my small earthen pot, thy senses would desert thee!"
 "Thou art," &c.
 "What is this meaningless jargon that thou talkest, fair one? Talk sense.
 "With what arrogance thou speakest, fair one! I could give thee two or four *slaps*⁸!"
- 40 "Do not think I am alone (unprotected): nine *lākhs* of my Gujars will come down (to
 defend me)!"
 "I will give thee such a slap that thy turban will roll off thy head, and thy face will
 grow red!"
 "I will cause thy ponies to be sold for a *ṭakā* each, and thy camels at ten to a *damrī*.⁹
 "I will cause thy shields to be sold at a *ṭakā* apiece, and thy swords at two *kūṛīs* (cowries)
 each!"
- The Bādśāh was enraged at this and had her cast into irons.
- 45 "I entreat thee brother Brāhmaṇ:¹⁰ I will give thee the necklace (that is) next my heart,
 "If thou wilt go and give this letter into the hands of my husband's brother, Hiriya."¹¹
 When Hiriya read the letter (he said to his brother) — "Brother, our Gujari has been cast
 into prison."
 (And then he said to the soldiers,) — "Gird on tightly your shields and swords, brothers,
 and gird on tightly all your weapons:
 "Let only those who are brave of heart accompany us, for cowards are not wanted (where
 we shall go).

⁷ Costly silks manufactured in the Dakhaṇ.⁸ An Indian weight equal to about 80 lbs.⁹ Here there is a pun on the two meanings of the word *ṭakā*, *ṭakā*, *ṭakā* meaning 'with arrogance' and *ṭakā* again meaning 'a slap.'¹⁰ One-twenty fourth part of an *āṇā*.¹¹ The scene changes here, and the Gujari addresses a young Brāhmaṇ.¹² Note that it is improper for a Hindu wife to address her husband even by letter.

- 50 "Put on saffron-coloured robes¹² brothers, and all grow red as *gulāl*."
 And Hiriya ran from thence and went to his charger :—
 "Tie¹³ the girths of your saddles tight and ride with loose reins;
 "For I mean to return home after conquering Dilhī and thus preserve my prestige."
 And (so saying) Hiriya mounted his horse and nine *lākhs* of Gujars mounted (theirs).
 55 As Hiriya entered (the city of Dilhī) the Vāṇiyās¹⁴ fled before him;
 And as Chandā's horse galloped in, the dairy-men¹⁵ fled before him.
 The cannon boomed forth loudly and all around became pitch-dark,
 (Which) awoke the sleeping Bādśāh, and ninety-two *lākhs* of Mughals poured into the field.
 The large copper drum was sounded and all other drums took up its roar.
 60 On the fourteenth day of the month of Phāgaṇ the affair was in full swing.
 After a long silence the Gujarī spoke and spoke but one word :—
 "Let Hiriya wear my bangles,¹⁶ and let me have his arms,
 "And I shall fight with the Bādśāh in such a brave manner as to immortalize my name."
 "Pitch tents in a row on two sides¹⁷ and leave an open space in the middle,
 65 "And let the Gujarī stand in that vacant space, brothers, and he who wins her may
 take her."
 Upon this Hiriya and Chandā said (to the Bādśāh) — "Rājā,¹⁸ listen to what we say :
 "It becomes you to give the first blow, for we are only your subjects."
 And the Bādśāh dealt the first blow in the Gujar army.
 And Hiriya and Chandā, becoming enraged, fell (upon the Mughal army) like tigers
 among goats.
 70 And swords clashed against one another and a shower of blood rained down.
 (At last being vanquished the Bādśāh says) — "We give your Gujarī (back) into your
 charge, (for) to us the Gujarī is as a sister."

TEXT.

गुजरीनो गरबो.

- के काबुलपर बादशाह चढ़े, ने सारी किन्हीका हीवानरे
 के बादशाहारे उत्तरे बागमे, में क्या मत देखन जाउरे
 के हाथने लेउ लाल मटुकी, केशवण होके जाउरे
 —के बादशाहा,
 के कुलफगरनो पाधरो, ने सालुडे¹⁹ कसबी कोररे
 5 के कलारे कांभी ने अणवट बीहुंवा, झांझरनो
 झमकाररे
 के हाथे बाजुबंद बेरखा ने, एनी दसो आंगळीए वेदरे
 के काने कलाफुल शोभतां, ने वळी झबके मीठी झालरे
 के कोटे ते पादीआं शोभतां, एने कंठे एकावळ हाररे
 के लीली ते गजीतुं कापडुरे, एने गळे मोतीनो हाररे
 10 के नाके ते वाळी शोभती, एने टीलडी²⁰ तपे लेलादरे
 के छोटी मटकीने वहीं जनायो, दुध लीओ खुब साररे
 के चली गुजरीआं²¹ वहीं बेचनकुं, आई बादशाहाके
 दरबाररे
 के अवर लो कोई महीयर²² ल्यो, कोइ लोने मीठडां²³
 दुधरे
 के सासुरे केवे सुणो बवरीआं²⁴, लइकरने मत जावरे

¹² Saffron-coloured robes are worn as a sign that the army is determined either to conquer or to die to a man.

¹³ Addressing the soldiers.

¹⁴ A caste known for their cowardice, as well as for their aversion to destroy life either human or animal.

¹⁵ Being of the same caste as Vāṇiyās. This is sarcasm.

¹⁶ In order to insinuate that Hiriya was a coward.

¹⁷ It is not plain who makes this proposal.

¹⁸ The Hindu brothers address the (sic) Mughal as "Rājā" after their own fashion.

¹⁹ सालुडे used poetically for साडीके or साले 'to the sādī'; साडी or साले being the proper word for the long piece of cloth that Indian women wrap round their bodies, and draw as a veil over their heads.

²⁰ टीलडी used poetically for टीली, the red mark that all women (except widows) make on their brows.

²¹ गुजरीआं used poetically for गुजरी.

²² अवर लो कोई महीयर लो, &c. अवर and महीयर are reduplicated words, though somewhat separated. महीयर is a poetical form of मही, an equivalent of दही, 'curds.'

²³ मीठडां poetical form of मीठा 'sweet.'

²⁴ बवरीयां used poetically for बव, Hindustānī for 'daughter-in-law.'

- 15 के दिल्ली शेरका बादशाहा, जुजे रखे मोहलन^{१५} मांहे
के सासनां बायां ना वरे वह, महीं बेचवाने जायरे
के चली गुजरीभां महीं बेचनकुं, बेटी लाल बजाररे
के बादशाहाकु तो खबर हइने, गुजरी देखन आयरे
के अलीयारे गलीयां^{१६} क्या कीरना गोरी, पेठो पडवा
मांहे
- 20 के अलीयारे गलीयां बोहोत भली, तेरे पडवेकु लगा
वडं आगरे
के हिंदवाणी तुं हरामजावी बादशाहकु देवे जबाबरे
के बादशाह कहवे सुन गुजरी, तुम सुणो हमारी बातरे
के काथ कथीरमां क्या पेहरना, गोरी पेहेरो सोना
सेररे
के काथ कथीर^{१७} मेरा बोहोत भला, तेरे सोने लगा
वडं आगरे—के हिंद
- 25 के काली कामलमे क्या ओढ़ना, गोरी पेहेरो देखणी
पीररे
के काली कामळ मेरे बोहन भली, तेरे चारकु लगा
वडं आगरे—के हिंद
के मकना हाथी अजब बना, गोरी हाथी देखन आवरे
के तेरे हाथीमें क्या देखनां, मेरे घेरे भरी भेंसरे
के दंके सवामण बुध करे तारा हाथीपी भलेरी^{१८} मारी
भेंसरे—के हिंद
के मेरी मुछो अजब बना, गोरी मुछोपर मोही आवरे
- 30 के तेरी मुछोमे क्या देखना, मेरे बकरे जेसा पूछे—
के हिंद
के कबुं तमारं सासरं, ने कीया पुरुष घेरे नाररे.
के गड गोकुल मारं सासरं, ने चंदा पुरुष घेरे नाररे
—के हिंद.
के कोण देशकी गोवालणी, ने सुं छे तारं नामरे.
- 35 के गड मांडवकी गोवालणी, ने मेना गुजरी मारं
नामरे—के हिंद.
के छोटी मटकीका मूल करो ने, गोरी उसका क्या
होय मूलरे.
के छोटी मटकीका मूल करं ने, तेरी शुद्ध बुद्ध^{१९}
जावे मूलरे—के हिंद
के गलबल गलबल क्या बोलती, गोरी बोलो समजकी
बातरे.
के अकड छकड^{२०} गोरी क्या बोलती, कई छकड
लगाडं हो चाररे.
- 40 के नूं नव जानीष एकलीरे, मारा गुजर चंदे नव
लाखरे.

- के मारं तमाचा ने उड जाय पयडी, मुखडा हो
जाय लालरे.
के टके टके तेरा टटु बेचांडं ने दमडीका वश उंदरे.
के टके टके तेरी डाल बेचांडं ने से कोडी तलवाररे.
के बादशाहाकु तो पुस्ता लगा, ने डाली बेडी मांयरे.
45 के ब्राह्मण धीरा धिनवुं, तने आलु हंयांनो हाररे
के कागल जईने आलजे, मारा हीरीआ दीयरने हायररे
के हीरीए कागळ वांचीओ भाइ गुजरी पडी बेडी
मांयरे.
के तापी बांधो भाई डाल तलवारो ने तापी बांधो
हथियाररे.
के गुरा होय सो संग चले ने, नहि कायरका कामरे.
50 के केसरीआ भाइ वागा पेहेरो, ने हो जाव लाल
गुलालरे,
के त्यांपी हीरीयो सोडीयो ने, गयो घोडानी पासरे,
के तापीनि बांधो तंगडो ने, डौली मेलो लगामरे.
के दिल्ली जीतीने घर आउंते, रगत मारं नामरे.
के हीरीयो घोडे एकज चढयो ने गुजर चढया नव
लाखरे.
55 के हीरीयो पेठो शहरमां ने, वाणीया नाडा जायरे.
के चंदे घोडो खेडीयो ने, कंरोड^{२१} नाडा जायरे.
के तोपोकी धुमरोळ हइ ने हुवा अधारा पोररे.
के सुतो बादशाह जागीयो ने, मुगल चढया बाणु
लाखरे.
के तांबांनी नोबत गणगणे, जेना दमके वाग्यां डोलरे.
60 के कामण सुद चौदसने दहाडे मामलो मच्यो जोररे.
के गुजरी रहने बोलीआं ने बोली एकज बोलरे
के हीरीयो पेहेरे बांगडी ने हथीआर मुजने आलरे
के बादशाह साथ एसी लहुं मेरा जुगमां हो जाय
नामरे.
के अगाडी पछाडी देरा तापो, बीचमे रखो मेदानरे.
65 के बचमां राखो गुजरी भाइ, जे जीते ते लेइ जायरे.
के हीरीयो ने चंवीओ बोलीआ, राजा^{२२} सांभळो
अमारी बातरे.
के पेहेलो ते पाव वळी तमे करो ने, अने तमारी रैयतरे.
के पेहेलो ते पाव बादशाहे कीधो, गुजर लइकर
मांयरे.
के हीरीयो चंवीओ पुस्तै थया, जेम बकरांमां पडीया
वापररे.
70 के तलवारोनी ताळी पडे ने, लोहीनो वरस्यो मेघरे.
के तमारी गुजरी तमने सुंपी गुजरी हमारी बेनरे.

^{१५} मोहलन used poetically for मोहोल Hindustāni for 'palace.'

^{१६} अलीयां रे गलीयां reduplicated words: गलीयां meaning 'lanes.'

^{१७} काथ कथीर reduplicated words: कथीर meaning 'base metal.'

^{१८} भलेरी used poetically for भली, 'good': there being no comparative form in Gujarātī, भली 'good' is used for 'better,' with the suffix थै, 'than,' added to the preceding word हाथी.

^{१९} शुद्ध बुद्ध also reduplicated words, both words separately meaning 'sense, reason.'

^{२०} अकड छकड also reduplicated words, अकड meaning 'with arrogance.'

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XVII.

Revue de L'Histoire des Religions.

The *Revue de L'Histoire des Religions*, published in Paris, by Leroux, is a periodical which is not so well known in India as it deserves to be. Its purpose is indicated by its name, for it is purely historical, and excludes all polemic and dogmatic matter. The following are some of the articles which have appeared during the last three years, and which will be of interest to Indian students.

(a)—Vol. XIV. No. 1, July and August, 1886.

M. E. de Pressensé contributes an interesting article on the Chaldeo-Assyrian Religion, divided into three parts, viz. I., Its sources; II., The phases of the religious evolution; III., The Assyrian religion. The religion is traced from an animism full of despair and terror overmastering men who are everywhere surrounded by the evil powers of the river, the wind, the storm, and the miasma. It was then a religion of charms and exorcisms, of appeals to kindly deities for protection, and of talismans. The superior elements contained in it eventually developed in a regular mythological evolution. Thus we find gradually coming into prominence, Anna, the god of the sky, Ea, of earth, and Mulge, of the lower abyss; each of whom was a male deity, with his spouse, a kind of feminine hypostasis of his attributes. These gods had so far no distinct personality, and it was they who war with the evil spirits, authors of ill. Prayer occupied the first place in this cult, but sacrifice is also mentioned, though destitute of elevation or morality. Such was the religion of the Accadians, which received a further development through the influence of the Semitic Kushites. We now find the fundamental idea of a divine unity in a pantheistic sense. The hidden God, who contains all things within himself, manifests himself in a diversity of phenomena. Secondary gods, ranged below him, only personify his attributes. The god is Ilu, Babylon is his city,—the city of Ilu;—and from him emanates the first triad—

Anu, or primordial chaos,

Bel, the Demiurge,

Nuah, the saviour, the intelligent guide.

Each of these three has his corresponding feminine divinity, viz. Anat, Belit, and Tihamti, respectively. A second triad is composed of the sun, the moon, and the atmosphere, who are followed by the five planets.

Really this new mythology is the same concep-

tion as that of the ancient Chaldeans, with a sidereal element in addition. We have the same mysterious supreme god, whether called Ilu or Anna. The first triad corresponds to the old three regions of the universe. Only the feminine element occupies a more important position in the new pantheon, Anat, Belit, and Istar (the planet Venus) representing it in its fecundity and in its sexual pleasure. It is this which explains the compulsory prostitution of every woman in the temple at Babylon.

Assyria, in possessing itself of Babylon, and founding its immense empire, changed nothing but one name in the Chaldean pantheon. It raised its god Assur to the dignity of the Supreme God, but without essentially modifying the character of the latter. It, however, gave him a striking personification upon earth, in the person of its conquering king, and from this point history becomes an important factor in the development of religion.

The king described his victories as brought about by Assur.—“The god Assur, my lord, told me to march forth, &c.” The splendid palaces raised to the glory of the king were temples of that magnificent royalty of which the god Assur was the august type. This striking representation of the victorious war of the national deities against evil powers became a real religion, and we thus emerge from the placid sidereal pantheon of the Chaldeans, although, after all, the new element is simply superimposed over the primitive basis of the ancient religion.

But, beside the development of the official religion, a sense of personal sin grew up gradually amongst the Chaldeans. The voice of conscience began to be heard, purifying the cowardly terrors of superstition. It is impossible that this development of conscience should not have co-existed with an idea, more or less confused, of retribution in a future life. We thus find a privileged place awarded to valiant soldiers in the abode of the dead. But it is to Assyria that is owed a new development in the conception of the future life. We now find a distinct progress in the idea of retribution attached to a future life. We find two frightful monsters, representing retributive torments, in the lower regions, and above, on the earth, the dead placed between two protecting gods. There is therefore recourse to the gods against the terrible power of hell.

(b)—Vol. XIV. No. 3, Nov. and Dec. 1886.

(1) M. Edouard Montet describes the Persian Drama, and its intimate connexion with

religion. It is a modern growth, contemporary with the decline of Persian political influence, and with the religious revival marked by the rise of Babism.

The tragic dramas are founded, like miracle-plays, on religious subjects, the theme being the death of the descendants of 'Ali. The authors are generally unknown, and the actors take great liberties with the text. They are of inordinate length, one play lasting a whole Muharram, which is the season at which they are usually performed. A play begins with the history of Joseph, his sojourn in the well being considered a type of Hussain's capture. Thence we are taken day by day through the religious history of the Shi'as, the last act transporting us to the resurrection, in which Jacob, Joseph, Abraham, David, Solomon, Noah, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fâtima, Hassan, Hussain, &c., come to life. While the patriarchs and kings of Israel only think of their own salvation, Muhammad and his descendants intercede for sinners, who, saved by the blood shed at the Karbala, enter into paradise. The final moral is, therefore, that the belief of the Shi'as is the only true religion.

(2) M. L. Feer discusses *Vritra* and *Namuchi* as described in the *Mahābhārata*. Indra's combat with *Vritra* is described twice in that poem, once in the *Vana-Parva* (śloka 8691), and once in the *Udyōga-Parva* (śloka 239). M. Feer maintains that, as these two accounts are mutually irreconcilable, the latter must refer to *Namuchi*, and not to *Vritra*. References to the Vedic traditions show that *Vritra* and *Namuchi* are confused at a very early period. They both represent the storm-clouds, which only yield to the god of the thunderbolt after a terrific combat.

(c)—Vol. XV. No. 1, January and February, 1887.

Mr. Paul Regnaud discusses the meaning of the Vedic adjective *amūṛa*, which Roth translates as "infallible" (connecting it with the root *mar*, 'break'), and Grassmann and Ludwig, as 'not benumbed,' 'wise' (connecting it with a root *mūr*, nearly related to *mārchh*, and signifying, 'be stupid'). M. Regnaud prefers the latter interpretation, comparing the Sanskrit *mūrta*, 'dried,' 'hardened,' *mūrti*, 'a hard thing,' whence 'a material form'; the Greek *μυρρὸς* 'a fool,' and the Latin *mōles* and *mūrus*. The common idea of the whole family is 'the condition of dryness.'

In the three passages in the *Rig-Veda*, in which *mūra* and *amūra* are opposed, *mūra* designates men (the benumbed), and *amūra*, the gods (the awakened). Comparing this with the cognate terms *marta-amṛita*, it seems as if the original meaning of the root *mar*, 'to die,' was 'to be dry, hard, unmovable.'

(d)—Vol. XVI. No. 1, July and August, 1887.

(1) M. Paul Regnaud discusses the Vedic word *ṛita*, which is usually translated 'that which is applied.' The objection to this is that it is not the root *ar* (*ri*), but its causal, which means 'to apply.' When the primitive form is used in this sense, it has the prefix *ā*, *prati*, or *sam*.

Ar means properly 'to go,' 'to set oneself in movement,' hence 'to reach,' 'to bring oneself near to,' which explains the meaning of the causative, 'to cause to approach,' 'to join,' 'to adapt.'

Ṛita, therefore corresponds, primitively, to the idea 'set in motion'; but we see from the Sanskrit *ṛija*, Latin *rec-tus*, German *recht*, &c., (root *arj*, *raj*, 'to go,' 'to advance,' 'to approach') that the meaning of 'right,' at first physically, and afterwards morally, naturally proceeds from that of 'set in motion,' 'sent forth,' 'directed.' It seems, therefore, to M. Regnaud, that there is little doubt that *ṛita* eventually came to mean 'that which is good,' 'that which is just,' 'that which should be done,' through the idea of 'right,' 'in right line.' Its contrary is *an-ṛi-ta*, a word of which the meaning 'not right,' 'false,' has remained in the earlier stage. The use of the word *ṛitē*, 'without,' is also easily explained by the original meaning of 'set in motion': *ṛitē tvat* means 'being set in motion to depart from thee,' or simply 'separated from thee,' 'removed from thee,' 'without thee.'

(2) The same number contains a translation into French by M. J. A. Decourdemanche of the Turkish *Akhlaq-i-Hamidi* of Muhammad Sa'id Effendi. The work is a treatise on Muhammadan morals. The translation is continued in the following number, and concluded in the first No. of Vol. XVII.

(e)—Vol. XVI. No. 2, September and October, 1887.

(1) Dr. Ign. Goldziher gives an interesting paper on the Monotheism of the Musalmāns.

(2) M. Paul Regnaud follows with a note on *jeux de mots* in the *Vedas*. These are puns, but are natural and not intentional. The authors, instead of deliberately playing upon a twofold meaning, are misled by it. Thus *Agni* is properly Fire, and more specially the Fire of Sacrifice, but he is first of all the brilliant one (root *ak*, *aksh*), and as such is a *dēva*, 'a god' (root *dio*, to be brilliant). In this way he gets all the characteristics of the *dēvas*.

So also Indra was primitively the brilliant, or the burning one (root *ind*, *indh*) and therefore a *dēva*. But, as brilliant and burning, he has become the ardent, the energetic one,—whence his struggles and his victories.

(f)—Vol. XVII. No. 1, January and February, 1888.

(1) This number contains an interesting review, impossible to summarise satisfactorily, being a summary itself, by M. Eugène Monseur, of Dr. Meyer's work on the *Myth of Achilles*. The foundation of the *Iliad* appears to Dr. Meyer to have been a little poem, the *Achilleis*, composed, about 850 B.C., by a singer of genius, who was possibly called *Homer*. This poem consisted of three parts; the first, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; the second, the defeat of the Achæans, and the exploits of Agamemnon; and the third, the victory of Achilles over Xantho and Hector. This legend is then worked out with its parallels in other Aryan nationalities, including India and Germany. As already explained, it is impossible to summarise this portion of the article, which is that most interesting to Indian students. As a rule, Peleus is compared with Purandras, Thetis with Urvasi, and Achilles with Aya and Arjuna.

(2) In the same number M. Paul Regnaud combats Professor Max Müller's theory of the *Sources of Mythology*, and maintains:—

(i) In the beginning, language was applied to objects, rather than to the thinking and speaking subject.

(ii) The conscient idea or image of the objects is anterior to the names which they have received, and can remain independent even after the creation of the names.

(iii) Mythology, which is developed by the help of words, took its birth independently, and rests on an alternate basis which is logical and psychological rather than verbal.

(g)—Vol. XVII. No. 2, March-April, 1888.

This number contains a long review, by M. J. Halévy, of Prof. Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

THE BODLEIAN COLLECTION OF COINS.

The richness of the cabinet of coins under the care of the Curators of the Bodleian Library is not, I think, generally known. In his recently issued valuable report Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, states that "the Bodleian collection of coins and medals numbers upwards of 50,000 pieces, and is the second largest in the empire."

A printed catalogue of its contents was issued in 1750, but since that time many additions had been made, and the coin-room had been so much neglected that it was of very little service to

students. Mr. Nicholson passes lightly over the evidence of his predecessors' neglect, though he ventures to remark that "it may pretty safely be said that at the beginning of 1884, the collection was not known to contain half as many pieces as were actually in it."

In 1884 the Librarian undertook the reorganization of the department. His first work was to examine the multitude of cabinets, and to turn out of the coin-room the hundreds of trays found to be empty. The contents of the remaining trays and the loose coins were then sorted and roughly counted by the Library staff with the assistance of Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, the late Mr. Vaux, F.R.S., and Mr. C. P. Shipton.

The result obtained from the rough counting was that the collection was found to contain in all 50,417 coins, of which 22,677 pieces have been arranged, more or less accurately, and 19,771 have been catalogued in 48 catalogues.

The Oriental class of coins is defined as "including those of all countries east of the Euphrates, those of autonomous Judea, and all Muhammadan coins." This class comprises 5,249 specimens, of which 2,038 are returned as arranged, and 1,171 as catalogued in one catalogue.

The statistics above quoted are for Nov. 8, 1884. Since that date the Clarendon Press has published an illustrated catalogue of the Muhammadan coins, compiled by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, "the first Bodleian coin-catalogue issued for 138 years."

"In 1884-85 Mr. Oman arranged and labelled the Roman Republican coins in terms of Cohen's *Monnaies de la République Romaine*. The subsequent appearance of Babelon's still more complete work made it desirable that the latter should be substituted as the standard of reference, and an adaptation has been carried out by the Librarian as far as the coins without family-name are concerned.

"In 1886 Mr. Oman began to arrange and label the 'Greek' series in terms of the corresponding volumes of the British Museum coin-catalogues, and at the end of 1887 had finished the sections comprised in the volumes lettered 'Italy,' 'Sicily,' 'Thrace, etc.,' 'Macedon, etc.,' 'Thessaly to Etolia,' 'Central Greece,' 'Crete and Aegean Islands,' and 'Seleucid kings of Syria.' he had also provisionally arranged the sections for Attica and the Peloponnese, the volumes corresponding to which had not then been issued."

In 1888 I examined the Gupta series of Indian coins in the collection, and supplied the Librarian with a manuscript catalogue of the gold and

¹ The Bodleian Library in 1882-87. A Report from the Librarian. Published by permission of the Curators. Oxford: December, 1888.

copper pieces, and some brief notes on the silver pieces, in accordance with which the series was promptly re-arranged. My notes have since been published in full in my paper entitled "The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India," which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for January, 1889.

The Bodleian collection of Gupta coins is specially distinguished by the unique specimen of Kumāragupta's coinage. I found two small copper coins of Chandragupta among the unclassified specimens, and, since the publication of the paper referred to, five or six more examples of the copper money of the same king have been rescued from the crowd of unassigned coins.

The time at my disposal did not permit me to examine in detail the other classes of early Indian coins, but a hasty glance at some trays showed me that the collection includes many examples of the coinage of the Mitra kings, and other ancient pre-Muhammadan dynasties of India.

A catalogue of the Bodleian Buddhist and Hindu coins cannot well be attempted until the British Museum leads the way by cataloguing its possessions of the kind, and unfortunately the difficulties in the way of such an undertaking are very formidable. But in time these difficulties will doubtless be surmounted by the energy of Mr. R. S. Poole and his able colleagues, which has already triumphed over so many obstacles, and it will then be easy to complete the catalogue of the Bodleian numismatic treasures.

15th March 1889.

V. A. SMITH.

THE TITHI OF A SAMKRANTI.

In the *saṁkrānti-phala* of Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac for Saka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired) (A.D. 1877-78), there is the following passage: — Svasti; śrīman-nṛpa-Vikramārka-samay-ātita-saṁvat 1934 Sarvadhāri-nāma-saṁvatsarē; tathā śrīman-nṛpa-Sālivāhana-Sakē 1799 Īvara-nāma-saṁvatsarē; dakṣiṇāyane hēmanṭa-ṛitau Pausa-māsē sukla-pakṣē tithau 8 ghaṭikāḥ 5 palāni 10 param 9 *saṁkramaṇa-tithau* Maṁda-vāsarē nākṣatra¹ Aśvini ghaṭikāḥ 41 palāni 37 *saṁkramaṇa-arkṣhē* yōga Siddhi ghaṭikāḥ 25 palāni 15 *saṁkramaṇa-yōgē* tātkālikē Bālava-karaṇē ēvam-ādi-paṭha-chāṅga-śuddhāv atra-dinē sri-mārtamḍa-maṁḍal-odayād gata-ghaṭikāḥ 19 palāni 0 samayē Makara-rāsau ravēḥ *saṁkramaṇaṁ* syāt. Tadaḥ dakṣiṇāyana-hēmanṭa-ṛitu-Dhana-

saṁkrāntayō nirvṛttāḥ; udagayana-śiśira-ṛitu-Makarasamkrāntayaḥ pravṛttāḥ. Tadaḥ dēvānām din-ōdayaḥ; daityānām rātry-udgamāḥ. Aśya punya-kāla *saṁkramaṇa-samayāt* sūry-āsta-paryantam. From this, with the page for the month of Pausa in the body of the almanac, we learn that the *nirayana* Makara-Samkrānti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 19 *ghaṭis* after sunrise on Mandavāsara or Saturday, 12th January, A.D. 1878. On that day there ended the *tithi* Pausa śukla 8; and this is the *tithi* of the day for all ordinary purposes. But this *tithi* had actually ended at 5 *gh.* 10 *p.* after sunrise; or 13 *gh.* 50 *p.* = 5 hrs. 32 min., before the time of the *saṁkrānti*. And the passage quoted above goes on to say, "after this time there is the *tithi* 9;" to stamp this as the *saṁkramaṇa-tithi* or *tithi* of the *saṁkrānti*; and to connect this *tithi* with the Saturday, though, as it ended at 7 *gh.* 43 *p.* after sunrise on the Sunday, the latter day is the one with which it is ordinarily to be connected. Exactly similar passages occur in Ganpat Krishnaji's almanacs for Saka-Saṁvat 1800, 1801, and 1805 (expired); in each of which years, in the same way, the Makara-Samkrānti occurred, or was cast to occur, at a moment later than the ending-point of the expired *tithi* ordinarily belonging to the day. In the other years examined by me, Saka-Saṁvat 1802, 1803, 1804, 1807, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were different; in each case the moment for the *saṁkrānti* is earlier than the ending-time of the expired *tithi* properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next *tithi*.

I find the practice to be the same in the *Paṭwardhani Pañchāṅg*.² In each of the years Saka-Saṁvat 1799, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807 (expired), the Makara-Samkrānti occurred, or was cast to occur, before the ending-time of the expired *tithi* properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next *tithi*. But in the years Saka-Saṁvat 1800, 1801, 1804, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were analogous to those of Saka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired), according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac; and in the same way there is named, first the *tithi* ending on the day, and then the next *tithi*, commencing at that moment, and current at the time of the *saṁkrānti*. And, as it emphasises in a special manner the point that I have in view, I will quote in full the passage in the *saṁkrānti-phala* of the *Paṭwardhani Pañchāṅg* for Saka-Saṁvat 1808

¹ Navin atharv *Paṭwardhani Pañchāṅg*, "the New or *Paṭwardhani Pañchāṅg*." As I have stated on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 81), this almanac appears to be rather a theoretical one, intended to improve and rectify the calendar; and Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac is the one most in actual use in the Bombay Presidency.

² I give the passages, throughout, just as they stand in the original almanacs.

³ This is the most convenient name for quoting the almanac started by Prof. K. L. Chhatre. Since his death, it has been continued by his collaborators, apparently on the same lines, and with the same title of

(expired) (A.D. 1886-87). It runs thus:—
Svasti; śrīman-nṛpa-Vikramārka-samay-ātita-
samvat 1943 Hēmalambā-nāma-samvatsarē; tathā
śrīman-nṛpa-Sālivāhana-Sakē 1808 Vyaya-nāma-
samvatsarē; dakṣiṇāyano hēmanṭa-ṛitau
Pauṣa-māsē sukla-pakṣē tithau 13 gha 3 pa
40 param 14 samkramaṇa-tithau Maṇḍa-
vāsarē nakṣatra Mṛiga gha 10 pa 7 param
Andrā samkramaṇa-arkṣhē yōga Aindra 52 pa 19
samkramaṇa-yōgē tātkālikē Vanija-karapē evam-
ādi-pañcāṅga-śuddhāv atra-dinē sūry-
odayād gata-gha 47 pa 20 samayē Makara-
rāsau ravēḥ samkramaṇa syāt. Tadhā
dakṣiṇāyana-hēmanṭa-ṛitau Dhana-samkrāntayō
nivṛttāḥ; udagayana-śiśirapitu-Makara-samkrānti-
tithāḥ pravṛttāḥ. Tadhā dēvānam din-odayah;
daityanām rātry-udgamah. Aya punya-kālāḥ
Pauṣa-śu-15-Ravau gha 7 pa 20 paryantam
uttamah, tad-agrē gaunah. From this, with the
page for the month of Pauṣa in the body of the
almanac, we learn that the *nirayana* Makara-
Samkrānti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 47 gh,
26 p. after sunrise on Mandavāsara or Saturday,
3th January, A.D. 1887. On that day, there
ended (1) the ordinary *tithi* of the day, Pauṣa
śukla 13, at an earlier moment, viz. at 3 gh. 49 p.
after sunrise; and (2) the *tithi* śukla 14 at 55 gh.
30 p., after the time for the Makara-Samkrānti.
According to the usual rule, this latter *tithi* was
an expunged *tithi*, for all ordinary purposes;
and it is so shewn in the almanac. This *tithi*,
however, though thus expunged, is the one which,
being actually current at the moment of the
samkrānti, is quoted as the *tithi* of the *samkrānti*.
In this case, the *nakṣatra* is specified in exactly
the same way; so also both the *nakṣatra* and
the *yōga*, in both almanacs, in some others of the
ten years examined. For this, I can see no
particular reason; as it seems self-evident that
the actually current *nakṣatra* and *yōga* should
always be quoted. But instances of mentioning
in this way, first the expired and then the current
nakṣatra and *yōga*, are to be found in the *Nēvār*
dates Nos. 13 and 16, given by Prof. Kielhorn,
ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 249, 250.

In respect of the *samkramaṇa-tithi*, the same
practice is disclosed in the *Sāyana-Pañcāṅga* for
Saka-Samvat 1808 (expired) (A.D. 1886-87),
where, in the *śāyana samkrānti-phala*, we have—
Svasti; samvat 1943 Vilambi-nāma-samvatsarē;
tathā cha śrī-Sā-Sa 1808 Vyaya-nāma-samvatsarē;
hēmanṭa-ṛitau Pauṣhē māsē kṛishṇa-pakṣē

ēkādāsi gha 29 pa 31 vartamāna-dvādasyāṁ
Bhauṁa-vāsarē Anurādhā-dina-nakṣatrē
Vṛiddhi-yōgē tātkālikē Kanva-karapē sūry-
odayāt gha 50 pa 58 tadā Makara-Samkrānti
ravēḥ samkramaṇam bhavati. Tadhā udagayana-
pravṛttih. Samkrānti-punya-kālāḥ dvādasyāṁ
Budha-vāsarē sūry-odayāt asta-paryantam. Here
the details are for Tuesday, 21st December,
A.D. 1886. The ordinary *tithi* of the day was
Pauṣa kṛishṇa 11, which ended at 29 gh. 31 p.;
but the hour for the *śāyana* Makara-Samkrānti
being later, viz. 50 gh. 56 p., the *tithi* that is
quoted as the actual *tithi* of the *samkrānti*, is
kṛishṇa 12, expressly specified as "current," and
connected here with the Tuesday, though in the
passage for the *punya-kāla* it is connected with
the Wednesday, to which it ordinarily belongs as
an expired *tithi*, ending at 26 gh. 26 p. So also
in the same almanac for Saka-Samvat 1809
(expired) (A.D. 1887-88), in the *Grahādghaṇa*
samkrānti-phala we have—Svasti; śrīman-
nṛpa-Vikramārka-samvat 1944 Vikāri-nāma-
samvatsarē; tathā cha śrīman-nṛpa-Sālivāhana-
Sakē 1809 Sarvajin-nāma-samvatsarē; hēmanṭa-
ṛitau Pauṣa-kṛi-14 gha 20 pa 31 vartamāna-
amāvāsyaṁ Guru-vāsarē sūry-odayāt
gha 55 pa 33 tadā Pārv-Āshāḍhā-di[na*]-
nakṣatrē Harṣana-yōgē Nāga-karapē Makara-
rāsau ravēḥ samkramaṇam bhavati. Tasya
punya-kālāḥ Bhṛigu-vāsarē sūry-odayāt sūry-
asta-paryantam. Here the details are for
Thursday, 12th January, A.D. 1888. The ordinary
tithi of the day was Pauṣa kṛishṇa 14, ending at
29 gh. 31 p.; the *nirayana* Makara-Samkrānti
occurred at 55 gh. 33 p.; and the *tithi* then
current was the *amāvāsya* or new-moon, Pauṣa
kṛishṇa 15 or 30, which ended at 18 gh. 7 p. on
the Friday.

From these passages we see that, in specifying
the *tithi* of a *samkrānti*, the custom is to
quote the *tithi* that is actually current at the
moment of the *samkrānti*. And the rule thus
disclosed will doubtless help to solve some dates
which otherwise may not apparently yield
correct results. It will be necessary, however,
in dealing with dates mentioning *samkrāntis*, to
note the actual wording of them, and to determine
whether the given *tithi* is intended to be the *tithi*
of the occurrence of the *samkrānti*, or the *tithi* of
the *punya-kāla* or meritorious time for celebrating
any rites and ceremonies connected with the
samkrānti. For the *punya-kāla*, which is too

* The *nirayana* Makara-Samkrānti occurred at 39 gh.
23 p. on Wednesday, 12th January, A.D. 1887, Pauṣa
kṛishṇa 3, ending at 41 gh. 11 p.; and this is the only
tithi mentioned in the *Grahādghaṇa samkrānti-phala*.

* In the body of the almanac, the *palas* are given as

30; there being thus a misprint at one or other of the
two places.—The *śāyana* Makara-Samkrānti occurred at
5 gh. 19 p. on Thursday, 22nd December, A.D. 1887,
Pauṣa śukla 8, ending at 48 gh. 15 p.; and this is the
only *tithi* mentioned in the *śāyana samkrānti-phala*.

involved a question to be considered in the present note, probably the ordinary expired *tithi*, and not the current *tithi*, would always be quoted.

J. F. FLEET.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

The existence of a Vikrama year commencing with the month *Aśhāḍha* became first known to me, several months ago, through a note of Mr. Fleet's, on page 79 of the Introduction of his *Gupta Inscriptions*. Since then, Mr. Fleet has drawn more prominently attention to this curious year, page 93 above, and it is in response to the request expressed in his concluding paragraph, that I publish the following dates, which distinctly refer themselves to the *Aśhāḍhadi samvat*. According to the information collected by Mr. Fleet, the *Aśhāḍhadi* year is a Vikrama year which commences three months later than the northern (*Chaitrādi*), or, which is the same thing, four months earlier than the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year; and, assuming this to be true, any dates of the *Aśhāḍhadi* year falling in any of the nine months from *Aśhāḍha* to *Phālguna* must, for the purpose of calculation, be treated as northern dates, while such dates as fall in the three months *Chaitra*, *Vaiśākha*, and *Jyāishtha*, must, for the purpose of calculation, be regarded as southern dates. My dates, which fall in the months *Māgha*, *Śrāvāṇa*, *Vaiśākha*, and *Phālguna*, prove that on this point Mr. Fleet's information is correct; and the last date, belonging to a dark fortnight, shows that (in this instance) the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of the *Aśhāḍhadi* year is the *amānta* (southern) arrangement. The dates are as follows:—

1.—In *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 2, *List of Antiquarian Remains*, pp. 264-265, there is (what appears to be) a rough transcript of an inscription at Adālij, 12 miles north of Ahmadābād, which records the building of a well by the Rājā Rājā, the wife of the Vāghēla chief Varasinha of the Dandāhi-dēsa, and of which the date is given in the following passages:—

L. 1.—Samvat 1555 varshē Māgha-māsē panchami-dinē pādasāha-śrī-Mahimūda-rājā-jyē²;

L. 2.—Svasti śrī-nripa-Vikramārka-samayātītē kālē (!) sāmpratani samvat-panchadaśē tu pancha-militē varshē chāpamāti (cha panchāśati ?) Kaubēriṇ dīśam-śrītē dina-patau māsē cha Māgh-ābhidiḥ pakshē śuklatamē tithau phana-bhritō vārē Budhasy-Ōttarā-nakshatrē Bha(ba)va-samjñakē cha karapē yōgē va (cha) Siddhōparē (!) ; and —

L. 21.—Svasti śrīman-nripa-Vikrama-samayātītē (!) *Aśhāḍhadi-samvat* 1555 varshē Śak[6*] 1420 pravartamānē uttarāyana (pa) gatē śrī-sūry[6*] śīsarutau (śīsarartau) Māgha-māsē panchamyām tithau Budhāvāsarē Uttarābhadrpad[6*]-nakshatrē Siddhi-nāmni yōgē Bava-karapē Mīnarāsau sthitē chaṇdrē pādasāha-śrī-Mahimūda-vijayarājya(jyē) 1.

There can be no doubt that the inscription has been either carelessly executed, or, which appears more probable, negligently copied. However this may be, it is certain that it is dated in the reign of the Sultān Mahmūd, in the *Aśhāḍhadi* Vikrama year 1555, corresponding, so far as the day is concerned, to the Śaka year 1420, on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of the month *Māgha*, on a Wednesday, under the *nakshatra* *Uttarā-Bhadrpadā*, and when the *yōga* was either *Siddha* or *Siddhi*, and the *karana* *Bava*. Calculating now for the ordinary (northern or southern) year, we obtain, as the possible equivalents of *Māgha śukla 5*, —

for Vikrama 1555 current, — Saturday, 27th January, A.D. 1498, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise; and when, at sunrise, the *nakshatra* was *Rōvati*, the *yōga* *Sādhya*, and the *karana* *Bava*;

for Vikrama 1555 expired, — Wednesday, 16th January, A.D. 1499, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was *Uttarā-Bhadrpadā* up to about 11 h. 10 m., the *yōga* *Siddha* up to about 18 h. 24 m., and the *karana* *Bava* up to about 6 h., after mean sunrise.

The second of these two days is evidently the one mentioned in the inscription; and this date accordingly proves that the month *Māgha* of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama year is also the *Māgha* of the same *Aśhāḍhadi* year; or, more accurately, that, so far as the bright half of the month *Māgha* is concerned, there is no difference between the northern or southern, and *Aśhāḍhadi* years. As might have been expected, the year 1555 of the date is the expired year; and so is the Śaka year 1420, mentioned together with it, notwithstanding the term *pravartamānē*, by which it is qualified.

2.—According to Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library*, page 348, a manuscript of the *Prabhasakṣetratīrthayātrānukrama* bears the following date:—

samvat 15 *Aśhāḍhadi* 34 varshē (varshē) Śrāvāṇa-śudi 5 Bhū(bhau)mē ad[y*]-cha śrī-Kadanapurē ethānē pādasāha-śrī(śrī)-Mahimūda-vijayarājyē

i.e. "on Tuesday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa in the *Aśhāḍhādi* (Vikrama) year 1534, here, at the place Kadanapura, in the reign of victory of the Sultān, the illustrious Mahmūd."

Calculating, again, for Śrāvāṇa śukla 5 of the ordinary northern and southern Vikrama years, we obtain the following results:—

for the northern year 1534, current, — Friday, 26th July, A.D. 1476;

for the northern year 1534, expired, or the southern year 1534, current, — Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended about 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise;

for the southern year 1534 expired, in which Śrāvāṇa was intercalary,

for the first Śrāvāṇa, — Saturday, 4th July, A.D. 1478;

for the second Śrāvāṇa, — Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1478.

Of these, Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477, is clearly the day intended by the date; and since Indian dates, as a rule, are recorded in *expired* years, we are justified in assuming that the year 1534 of the date was the expired *Aśhāḍhādi* year, and that the bright half of Śrāvāṇa of this *Aśhāḍhādi* year was also the bright half of the same month of the same northern year.

3. — According to Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. I., page 69, a manuscript of the *Tāṇḍyabrāhmaṇa*, which was evidently written in Gujarāt, is dated:—

svasti saṁvat *Āśhāḍhādi* 83 varshē Vaiśākha(kha)-sita-dviti[ya]*lyām Bhūmitanayē

i.e., apparently, "on Tuesday, the second lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the *Aśhāḍhādi* (Vikrama) year 83."

Here the figures for the century have, either purposely or negligently, been omitted; but, learning from Professor Weber that the MS. is an old one, and "may well have been written about saṁvat 1583," I feel no hesitation in saying that the year of the date is 1583, and that the copyist, similarly to what we have seen in the preceding date, intended to write or should have written "saṁvat 15 *Āśhāḍhādi* 83 varshē." And calculating for Vaiśākha śukla 2 of the ordinary northern and southern years, I find the following equivalents:—

for the northern year 1583, current, — Monday, 24th April, A.D. 1525;

for the northern year 1583, expired, or the southern year 1583, current, — Friday, 13th April, A.D. 1526;

for the southern year 1583, expired, — Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, when the second

tithi of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, and the date proves that the bright half of Vaiśākha of the *Aśhāḍhādi* year is also the bright half of the same month of the same southern year.

4. — On page VII. of the Notes, Corrections and Additions to his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84, Professor Bhandarkar has given the date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Ścbbhāṇa-stutayah*, evidently also written in Gujarāt, thus:—

saṁvat 16 *Āśhāḍhādi* 99 varshē Phālguna-vadi 11 tithau Sōma-dinē.

Here the words *Aśhāḍhādi*, of course, are meaningless; and there can be no doubt that the writer, who was not copying from another MS., but wished to give the date on which he finished his own copy, meant to write or, and this appears more probable, actually has written —

saṁvat 16 *Āśhāḍhādi* 99 varshē, —

i.e. "in the *Aśhāḍhādi* (Vikrama) year 1699, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, on a Monday." And calculating, again, for Phālguna kṛishṇa 11 of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama years, and for both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* schemes of the lunar fortnights, I obtain the following results:—

for Vikrama 1699 current,

pūrṇimānta — Tuesday, 15th February, A.D. 1642;

amānta — Wednesday, 16th March, A.D. 1642;

for Vikrama 1699 expired,

pūrṇimānta — Sunday, 5th February, A.D. 1643;

amānta — Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, when the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, and the date proves that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of this *Aśhāḍhādi* year was the *amānta* arrangement of the ordinary southern Vikrama year.

As regards the above dates in general, it may be noted that out of several hundreds of Vikrama dates in inscriptions and MSS. which I have examined, they are the only dates hitherto discovered which mention the *Aśhāḍhādi* year; that they are all from Gujarāt, and that three of them belong to about the same time (Vikrama 1534, 1555, and 1583). Moreover, attention deserves to be drawn to the peculiar manner in which the year of the date is expressed in the second, third and fourth dates, and in line 9 of the first date, by separating the figures for the century

from the figures for the year within the century, and altogether omitting the word for 'hundred.' And in this respect I may be permitted to quote here, from page 166 of Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the India Office*, as an even more instructive example, a date of about the same time and from the same part of India, which runs as follows:—

asvati saṁvat pañchadasa 15 asitau 80
pravarttamānē uttarāyanē(nē) śrī-sūryē
grishma-ṛitau mahāmāngalya-pradē Jyē-
(jyā)shṭha-māsē asita-pakabē dvādasa-
ghaṭikā-paryanta-paurṇamāsī tadānantara-
pratipadāyām tithau Bhrigu-vārē ady=śha
Sinhōdraḍa-sṭhānē

i.e., omitting useless details, "in the (Vikrama) year fifteen-eighty, in the month Jyāishṭha, in the dark half, on a Friday, when the full-moon tithi lasted twelve ghaṭikās (after sunrise) and was then followed by the first tithi (of the dark half) here at Sinhōdraḍa" . . . ; corresponding (when referred to the southern Vikrama year 1580, current) to Friday, 29th May, A.D. 1523, when the full-moon tithi by Professor Jacobi's Tables ended 4 h. 28 m., and by Dr. Schram's Tables 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, as near 12 ghaṭikās as can be expected.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

BOOK NOTICES.

A GRAMMAR OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE, by F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., C.I.E., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Göttingen. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay Government Central Book Depot; Bombay, 1883. Royal 8vo.; pp. xv. 296.

The study of Sanskrit Grammar may be profitably regarded, as having like that, for example, of Euclid, an interest and educational importance quite apart from its practical bearing. The Pāṇiniyan system, though no critical student would venture to hold it "up as an ideal, is in itself so marvellous a monument of human ingenuity and withal so characteristic of India, that no real and scientific student of the speech of the country can entirely dispense with a knowledge of it. Its influence indeed extended, as was so ably shown by the late Dr. Burnell, throughout the Peninsula and beyond the confines of Aryan speech. The modern Indian student, for whom the present work is principally intended, may be regarded as occupying a place midway between the superficial learner in Europe for merely philological purposes, and the old-fashioned Indian śishya who seems to have spent years in committing to memory rules, of which he probably understood at first even less than our own Eton students of their old Latin grammar.

The general plan adopted by Prof. Kielhorn has been, to adapt the rules of the chief Native grammarians to the requirements of teaching after Western methods. This has involved the inclusion of a considerable number of forms not actually occurring in Sanskrit literature. For all this, the grammar is not to be regarded as a mere introduction to the theoretic study of grammar above referred to; but rather, as Prof. Kielhorn puts it, in introducing his chapter on Syntax, which forms a new and acceptable feature

of the present volume: "The forms . . . taught . . . are not learnt for their own sake, but for the use "to be made of them in the sentence." Thus recognizing, as all must do who have been privileged to hold converse with the best culture of India even of to-day, the great importance of Sanskrit as a medium of practical intercourse, Prof. Kielhorn in this work provides his readers with a book of instruction and reference to supply forms that can be justified from the main authorities still deferred to.

In the Chapter on Letters, spaced Roman type has been used for the more difficult forms, to great advantage. Indeed for European students it might have been well to have added it further on in the work for the more difficult paradigms, as has been done so successfully by Mr. Macdonell in his new edition of Prof. Max Müller's Grammar.

In the Declension-section, *anaṭ*, beloved of grammarians, appears in full proportions, in spite of its great rarity in the classical language, and even the theoretical feminine is retained, perhaps in deference to the Indian reader's feeling of reverence for the sacredness of its meaning; but it is satisfactory, and more characteristic of the general method of the work, to note that fictions like *priyachatsar*, discussed by the commentators in the same passage of Pāṇini (vii., 1, 98, 99), are excluded.¹ In the rules for verbs, it might be of assistance to add at abular summary of the *sandhi*-rules, and in particular to note a case like *vateyati*, where the rule for the general tenses differs from that for the special tenses.

In the rules for the insertion of *i*, the use of the native terms *añ* and *anī* is most convenient; but European readers must, I fear, be content to envy the native memory that could learn the 100

¹ And yet I well remember being set to learn this form by even a European teacher, who rendered it, by-the-by,

into a monstrosity of English worthy of the original: *dears-four-(having)*.

'*anit*' roots given in the five formidable couplets on p. 110. I may perhaps be allowed to record my own experience in learning and teaching, that the best way to master this crux is to divide the final consonants into two groups, according as they tend to cause the insertion or rejection of the *i*. The exceptions amongst verbs in ordinary use will be found to be very few, when this has been done, as it easily may be done, from the tables in Monier-Williams and Whitney.

In other cases, where the Pāṇiniyan nomenclature is concise, and not difficult even for beginners to acquire, e.g. the names of tenses, it might be added parenthetically. This would facilitate intercourse with Pandits and their books, as well as prepare the way for the study of the older authorities.

The list of Irregular Verbs (§ 403) is printed with admirable clearness; but in some cases the verbs selected are of rare occurrence, at least in the forms tabulated. For example, the first root *aj* seems only to occur in the "Classical" Language in the Parasmai Special Tenses; the same applies to *√mi*; while *√ānu* is, like *anāduh*, to the ordinary student, little more than a grammatical curiosity. The statistical school, as represented by Prof. Whitney, would, it is to be feared, make great havoc of the elaborate rules for forming causal aorists from vowel-initial roots, interestingly parallel though they are to Greek forms like *ἔγγαγον*; for we now learn that only three of these forms have been found in literature (Whitney, 'Verb-forms,' pp. 224, 225). Still it must by no means be concluded that the study of Indian grammar, as set forth from traditional sources, when unconfirmed by the statistics, confessedly and indeed necessarily imperfect, of modern research has no more than the theoretic value to which we referred at the outset. Much important literature in Sanskrit itself still remains to be explored: while the scientific study of the Prakṛits² and Āryan vernaculars is daily progressing and throwing side-lights on the ancient grammatical learning.

A special feature of the edition is the addition of a Chapter on Syntax, which has great value as one of the first expositions of this portion of grammar by a European scholar already distinguished as an exponent of the Native authorities.

I must conclude this very inadequate notice by an observation on two syntactical points, which have always interested me, and on which it would be extremely useful to hear the further opinion

both of Dr. Kielhorn himself and of the traditional interpreters of the old *vyākaraṇa*, such as might be easily gained by many an Indian reader of this Journal with little trouble to himself and possibly great profit to us in Europe.

(1) In § 584 (a) Dr. Kielhorn states that "in the classical literature the three past tenses are used without distinction."

This no doubt holds good as a general statement as far as concerns the Imperfect and Aorist. But as for the Perfect Dr. Speijer's³ illustrations of the Pāṇiniyan sūtra (iii., 2, 115) *parāḥśe liṭ*, from *Danḍin* and *Sāmadēva*, merit consideration, as tending to show that good prose writers do observe Pāṇini's rule; and to the same conclusion we are led by the rarity of the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd persons of the tense.

(2) In explaining the rule for the case assumed by the agent of the primitive when it becomes a causal, Dr. Kielhorn adheres to the old rule of Pāṇini (I. iv. 52, *gatibuddhī*).

But surely there is much force in the objections urged by Bābū Ānandarāma Vaḍuṇḍ⁴ and by Dr. Speijer (*op. cit.* § 49), who point out that really the instrumental is always used when actual agency or instrumentality is emphasized: e.g., *Manu*, viii., 371, तां चनिः खादयेद्राजा, which is against Pāṇini but still, I venture to think, a perfectly good construction, because the point is, not that the king makes the (possibly willing) dogs devour the criminal, but that the criminal meets her death by such degrading means. With this contrast another citation of Dr. Speijer, *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara*, Tar. ix. 410, 10: चरुं राज्ञीं प्राशयन्; where the point is, not getting the porridge eaten by someone, but making the queen eat it. So too it would seem that, in spite of authority, the process of making a person pay (*दापय*), doubtless always familiar to Orientals, could not be expressed by so gentle a means as the instrumental construction but takes two accusatives.

CECIL BENDALL.

FA-HIEN'S RECORD OF BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS; translated by JAMES LEGGE, M.A., LL.D. OXFORD; the Clarendon Press. 1886. Small 4to; pp. iv., viii., 123, and 44 of Chinese text; with a Map and nine Illustrations.

Mr. Legge has done good work in bringing out this new translation of Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms. And we regret not having been able to notice his book at an earlier date; the more so because, in addition to including

² This applies to the *Dhātupāṭha* likewise. *√hind*, 'wander,' treated by European authorities as a doubtful *āraḥ śipīpīroṣ*, is found in Pāli as early as the Mahāvagga (Vol. I. p. 23) and is still in use in Hindi and Marāṭhi.

³ *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 330.

⁴ Higher Sanskrit Grammar (Calcutta, 1879), §§ 159, 160.

a new and noteworthy feature, in the production of the Chinese text, from a copy obtained through Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio, it is enriched with such ample notes, embodying all the advances up to date attained by recent researches in this line of study, that it must almost entirely supersede previous translations and expositions of the same work.

The visits to India, paid in the early centuries of the Christian era by eager Chinese pilgrims, are most interesting historical events. They stand out to great advantage from the mass of myths and legends which do duty as Hindu history. The spirit which drove these restless monks, the Luthers of an earlier Reformation, to seek truth at the cradle of their faith, preserved the records they left behind them from all taint of fable or exaggeration; and the result is in many respects a trustworthy tale. Nor are those elements wanting which might move us to deeper feeling than a mere passing interest. When we consider what a journey from China to India by way of Central Asia means even in these days, we may well be moved to admiration by the devotion, the zeal, and the fortitude which must have inspired a humble traveller to venture on such a journey fourteen centuries ago. It is true that Fā-Hien took his time over it. After his start from China in A.D. 399 or 400, fifteen years passed away before he rested again in Nankin, having pierced Central Asia, crossed India from Peshāwar to the mouth of the Ganges, visited Ceylon, and returned home by way of Java. In view of the large tracts of country crossed and the ample leisure Fā-Hien allowed himself, it must be admitted that his diary is meagre; the whole story reproduced in Chinese characters only taking up forty-four pages of Mr. Legge's book. It deals entirely with the religious state of the countries he visited. In this respect, therefore, it is a work of less value than that of Hsien Tsiang, which tells a great deal of the political conditions of India. Hsien Tsiang clearly made good use of his time, but it cannot be said that Fā-Hien, as a diarist, was equally industrious; and it is a most peculiar point that, though his visit to India was made at the time when the power of the Early Guptas of Northern India,—by whom Buddhism appears to have been favoured quite as much as the national religions of India,—was still almost at its zenith, yet no references to that dynasty are to be found in his book. He saw or noted nothing but the special objects of his journey, which were the state of the Buddhist faith, the most approved views of Buddha's doctrine, and the degree of piety with which its services were performed. He writes, however, as a simple, pious, single-eyed

man; his writing is interesting in proportion to his zeal, and there is a fervour and simplicity about his diary which is very winning.

Mr. Legge, distrusting the power of Fā-Hien's words alone to interest any but scholars, has inserted an attraction for the general reader, by illustrating the narrative with a series of interesting Plates. It would have added to their value, if Mr. Legge had told us something of the age and history of the original drawings. So far as we can judge, they are studies by a modern Chinese artist from older drawings. A few touches here and there are clearly modern, and some points, especially in the treatment of landscape, might well be the work of an artist who knew something of the way Europeans deal with the subject. These illustrations, however, are of great merit. They are taken from what Mr. Legge enthusiastically calls a superb Chinese edition of the *Life of Buddha*. There are nine in this book, and all are so good as to make us wish there were more. As illustrations by a Buddhist artist of incidents in the life of the great Buddhist Teacher, and as furnishing some striking examples of the likeness of the chief incidents of the Buddhist and Christian creeds, they are of special interest. The frontispiece, for example,—“The Dēvas celebrating the attainment of the Buddha-ship,”—might almost be the work of some Mongol Fra Angelico. The Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus, surrounded by ranks of adoring hierarchies. Allowing for the difference of the Christian and Buddhist symbols, there is much in this picture to recall Fra Angelico. The handling of the Chinese hagiology, in fact, pointedly recalls the work of the Christian monks. The other illustrations, though not so striking, are remarkable and will repay study.

A further help to reading the story is to be found in Mr. Legge's profuse and scholarly notes, which occupy on an average one-half of each printed page. But, in respect of both the notes and the text, we cannot help remarking that an undesirable course has been followed in omitting to give always a translation of the exact Chinese representation of all the Hindu and other non-Chinese words and names that occur in the book. In respect, for instance, of the geographical names, no doubt the identification of most of the better-known places is now sufficiently well established. Yet on many points there is still room for doubt and controversy. And, as much for help in following the writings of other Chinese pilgrims, as for further investigation of doubtful points in connection with the present book of travels, the exact Chinese equivalents ought to have been given throughout, along with the established or supposed Hindu and other names.

The sketch map of Fā-Hien's travels is very good as it stands, and shows the whole course of the journey in a way which is indispensable to following the text. It would have added to the value of the book, however, had this map been supplemented by others, on a larger scale, of portions of the countries he visited. Such detail is, of course, impossible when one has to show half Asia and Polynesia on a quarto page.

MANAVA-DHARMA-SĀSTRA, THE CODE OF MANU: THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXT, critically edited according to the standard Sanskrit Commentaries, with Critical Notes, by J. JOLLY, PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Würzburg; late Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta. **TRUBNER'S ORIENTAL SERIES**; London; Trübner & Co. 1887. Post 8vo; pp. xix., 346.

Professor Jolly's edition of the text of the **Manava-Dharma-Sāstra** or **Manu-Smṛiti**, popularly known as the **Code of Manu**, is a very useful addition to the list of reliable texts of important Sanskrit works. Of this book "the two European editions, Sir G. C. Houghton's published in 1825, and Loiseleur Deslongchamps' published in 1830, though very creditable productions in their own time, belong to a bygone period of Sanskrit studies, and have long been out of print, while the numerous Indian editions are on the whole nothing but reprints from the two earliest Calcutta editions, published in 1813 and 1830." These remarks, in his Preface, by the editor of the present Text, will be fully understood and appreciated by anyone familiar with the usual quality of the Hindu "editions," so-called, of Sanskrit works, prepared otherwise than under European superintendence, or by those who have studied under European teachers and have acquired the Western method of critical editing; and will serve to indicate the special importance of the present version of this ancient book. In addition to the previous printed editions, and to manuscripts of the text only, the preparation of the present Text has been facilitated by the recovery of early Commentaries, by *Mēdhātithi*, belonging probably to the ninth century, — of which nine copies have been consulted, — and by *Gōvindarāja*, composed apparently in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and somewhat later ones by *Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa*, *Rāghavānanda*, and *Nandana*, including also an anonymous commentary from *Kāśmīr* "contained in an ancient carefully written and corrected birch-bark MS. in the *Sārada* character," which is now in the *Deccan College Library*; selections from all of which are being published by Professor Jolly in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, and will of course form a useful and indispensable aid in any detailed study of the original precepts. And a curious result is,

that it is now found that *Kullōka's* commentary, which until recent times was always thought to be the most authoritative exegesis of the Code, and was always associated with it, does not possess the claims to special consideration with which it was invested by the early editors and translators of *Manu*, but, belonging apparently to the fifteenth century, is most substantially indebted to the preceding commentaries, and in particular to that by *Gōvindarāja*. Copious notes on the various readings of the Text are given in pages 287 to 335; and these are followed by a special feature, viz. a synopsis of the more important discrepancies between the present edition and the text as rendered in the four principal translations, by *Houghton*, *Deslongchamps*, *Burnell*, and *Bühler*. The last two translations, of which *Burnell's* was completed and brought out by *Hopkins*, are of recent date. To them the present edition of the Text, beautifully printed by *W. Drugulin*, *Oriental and Old Style Printer*, *Leipzig*, will be a most valuable accompaniment.

THE COINS OF THE DURRANIS, by M. LONGWORTH DAMES. Reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VIII. Third Series, pp. 325-363. London, 1888.

This is a learned and very useful pamphlet on the coins of the successors of **Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni**, who stamped his mark literally on all the coinage of the *Pāñjāb*, excepting that of *Lāhōr* and *Amritsar* and of *Kāśmīr*.

This paper, however, only deals with the coinage of his successors on the throne he established from 1773 to 1842. The history of the *Durrānis* is, as Mr. Dames very rightly remarks, "an almost unparalleled series of treasons, rebellions, plots and murders," and as their coins very fairly represent the various fluctuations of power which so rapidly succeeded each other, Mr. Dames has done good service in recording them.

Aḥmad Shāh was succeeded by **Taimūr Shāh**, his son, who reigned 20 years, and between his death in 1793, and the extinction of the dynasty in 1842, there were 11 reigns over the whole or a part of the kingdom. In this interval, too, one ruler, *Shujā'u'l-Mulk Shāh*, reigned three times, and another, *Mahmūd Shāh* twice. Of the sons of *Taimūr Shāh* that came to the throne, there were *Zamān Shāh*, *Shujā'u'l-Mulk Shāh*, *Mahmūd Shāh*, *Sultān 'Alī Shāh*, and *Ayyūb Shāh*. Of his grandsons there were *Kāmran*, *Qaisar Shāh* and *Fatḥ Jang*.

The varying fortunes of these princes can all be noted in the 156 carefully described coins to be found in Mr. Dames' pamphlet as issued from 15 mint-towns in the *Pāñjāb*, *Kāśmīr*, *Afghānistān*, and *Turkistān*.

A DATED GRÆCO-BUDDHIST SCULPTURE.

BY V. A. SMITH, B.C.S.

THE date of the interesting School of Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Kabul Valley has formed the subject of discussion, and is still unsettled. The paucity of inscriptions has rendered the solution of the problem especially difficult. The few which have been found are all in the Arian character.

The only published inscriptions which are directly associated with Græco-Buddhist Sculptures have been found at Jamālgarhi and Kharkai. Those at the former place consist of some masons' marks, the Hindu names of a weekday and a month on a pilaster, and seven characters, read as *Saphaē danamukha*, on the back of the nimbus of one of the statues supposed to be those of kings. The record from Kharkai consists merely of the three characters *a*, *ra*, and *dē*, on the sides of a relic-chamber. Sir A. Cunningham wishes to read these as equivalent to the name of Ārya-Dēva, a Buddhist leader at the beginning of the Christian era; but this interpretation is too conjectural to command confidence. Masons' marks in Arian characters were also noticed at Kharkai.¹

I reserve for another occasion a full discussion of the chronology of Græco-Buddhist art. My present purpose is confined to the publication of the only dated inscription which has yet been discovered, associated with an Indo-Hellenic work of art. I am indebted to the liberality of the discoverer, Mr. L. White King, B.C.S., for permission to publish this unique record.

In or about the year 1883, at Hashtnagar, the site of the capital of Peukelaitis, in the modern district of Peshāwar, Mr. King came across a statue of the standing Buddha, which was ignorantly worshipped by the Hindus as an orthodox deity. He could not carry away the statue, but was allowed to remove its inscribed pedestal. This pedestal, like most of the Gandhāra sculptures, is composed of blue slate, and is 14½" long by 8" high. Its front is adorned by an alto-relievo, enclosed between two Indo-Corinthian pilasters, representing Buddha, seated, and attended by disciples, who seem to be presenting offerings to him. An Arian inscription, consisting of a single line of characters, deeply and cleanly cut, and in greater part excellently preserved, occupies a smooth band below the relief. This band was evidently prepared for the inscription, which must have been executed at the same time as the sculpture. The accompanying facsimile is from a rubbing taken by Sir A. Cunningham. The record is incomplete at the end, and it is probable that the lost portion contained the name of the person who dedicated the image. The extant portion was read, for Mr. King, by Sir A. Cunningham, as follows:—

Saṃ 274 emborasmasa masasa mi pañchami 5.



Scale ·50

The record, as it stands, consists of a date, and nothing more. The month is stated to be intercalary, but is not further named. The numerals are distinct, and their interpretation appears to be certain; the 274 is expressed by two units, a symbol for 100, three symbols, each value 20, one symbol for 10, and one for 4; and the 5 is expressed by 1 and 4.

The main question suggested by the inscription is the identity of the era referred to. It may be the Saka era of A.D. 78, which was probably used by Kanishka; if so, the date of the record is A.D. 351 or 352. Or the era may be that used by Gondophares in his Takht-i-Bahi inscription from the same region where this pedestal was found. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated in the year 103, and numismatic evidence shows that Gondophares ruled in

¹ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. V. pp. 54, 63, Pl. xii. xvi.

the first half of the first century A.D.² The era used by him, consequently, cannot have differed very much from that beginning in 58 B.C., which afterwards became known by the name of Vikrama. I do not, of course, mean to assert that the Vikrama era was actually used by Gondophares; I merely note the fact that he used an epoch which closely approximated to that known as the era of Vikrama. The era employed by Gondophares may have been that of the "great king Moga," in the 78th year of which the Taxila inscription of the Satrap Liako-Kusulako is dated.³

I hope that some one more learned in eras than I am, may solve the problems propounded by these inscriptions from the Ynsufzai country. The style of the Hashtnagar relief is not very good, the figures not being undercut, as they are in the best examples of Græco-Buddhist art; and I feel more inclined to date the work in A.D. 351-52, than in or about A.D. 210-220; but I cannot say that the earlier date is impossible.

TAMIL HISTORICAL TEXTS.

By V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI, B.A., B.L.

There are several ancient poems still extant in the Tamil language, which are of great historical value, but are as yet unknown to European scholars. I do not speak of those poetical works, which are only professedly historical, such as the *Madhurâ-Sihala-Purâṇa* and the *Kāñchi-Purâṇa*, which are translations of Purâṇas composed in Sanskrit by pious Brâhmanas for the glory of the temples or local deities in which they were interested; they are full of absurd stories spun out of the imagination of the authors, interspersed with a few legendary traditions, and are utterly unreliable as historical guides. But I refer to those poems which were composed in praise of contemporary kings or chieftains, and which belong to the class of metrical compositions known in Tamil by the name of *Kōvai*, *Uḷā*, *Paraṇi*, and *Kalambakam*. They are all written in a conventional style peculiar to each class. The *Kōvai* is an amatory poem, in every stanza of which the praises of his patron are cunningly brought in by the author. The *Uḷā* gives a description of the personal appearance of a king or hero, when he comes out of his palace surrounded by his nobles and officers of state, and of the enamoured behaviour of women, young and old, who are fascinated by his beauty. The *Paraṇi* describes a battle or campaign, in which the victor is the author's patron. The *Kalambakam* is a poem very similar to the *Kōvai*, with only this difference, that in the former each stanza is of a different metre, and is addressed to the patron as uttered by his mistress, while in the latter the stanzas are all of one metre, and the patron is not one of the lovers. A poem of any of these kinds would be usually read by the author in a public assembly presided over by his patron, who on the conclusion of the recital would reward the poet with gifts of money or land, and with costly presents such as horses, chariots, elephants, and the like.

These poems owe their preservation to the esteem in which they have been held, not as records of historical events, nor as relics of the poets who composed them, but as rare specimens of the class of metrical compositions to which they belong. Making due allowance for the exaggerations that would naturally find their way into enlogistic verses addressed by poets to their patrons, there is no reason to question the truth of the main events narrated in them; and to the antiquarian and archæologist who have now to elucidate the ancient history of India from inscriptions on temples and copper-plates, such works should be of great interest. The facts that may be gathered from this class of Tamil literature, would enable such enquirers not only to correct or confirm the information they have already collected from inscriptions, but also to trace the history of those periods for which no information can be gathered from the inscriptions.

² Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. II. p. 60; V. pp. 59, 60; Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. xliv.

³ Cunningham, *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. II. p. 132; V. 67; Gardner, p. xlix.

With this view, I have commenced the translation of a few of the poems, which I consider would be most interesting to those who wish to study the ancient history of Southern India. I give below the translation of a small poem, belonging to the class of *Paraiya*, called—

Kaḷavaḷi or the Battle-field.

It is popularly known as the *Kaḷavaḷi-Nāṛpatu*, or "forty stanzas on the battle-field." But all the extant manuscripts which I have examined, contain forty-one stanzas. A printed edition published some years ago by Subbarāya Chettiṃyār, late Tamil Paṇḍit in the Government Normal School, Madras, also contains forty-one stanzas. The metre of the poem is known in Tamil prosody as *Veṇṇā*. Each line consists of four feet, except the last one in each stanza, which contains only three feet. There is no restriction as to the number of lines in a stanza; but usually it is never less than four. The rhyme is always at the beginning of each line, and not at the end as in English poetry. A few lines of prose, prefixed to the poem, state that, when the *Chōḷa* *Chenkaṇṇān* and the *Chēramān* *Kaṇaikkā-Irumporai*, engaged in battle, and the latter was defeated and taken prisoner, the poet *Poḷkayar* recited this poem before the *Chōḷa* king and obtained the release of the *Chēra* from captivity. This fact of the *Chōḷa* releasing the *Chēra* king on hearing the *Kaḷavaḷi*, is mentioned in many later poems which I shall translate hereafter.

It appears from the poem that the battle which it commemorates was fought at a place called *Kaḷumalam* (stanza 36) which was situated somewhere in the *Koṅgu* or *Chēra* country. There was then a famous town of the same name in the heart of the *Chōḷa* country, which is now known as *Shiyāli* (a Station on the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District); but this cannot be the place mentioned in the poem. The battle was evidently a very sanguinary engagement, and was fought on a forenoon (St. 1.) The *Chēra* army was particularly strong in elephants, while the *Chōḷa* had a numerous band of archers and horsemen. The elephants were unable to stand the ceaseless fury of the arrows shot by the *Chōḷa* archers, and were slaughtered in great numbers by the cavalry and swordsmen. The *Chōḷa* king drove in a chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes (St. 33). He is described as young, valiant, and terrible in war. He wore ornaments made of gold and of precious stones, a sword and scabbard, and garlands of fragrant flowers. His name was *Chenkaṇ* or "Red-eye" (St. 4, 5, 11, 15, 21, 29, 30, 40). He is also described as the lord of *Punāl-Nādu* ("the land of floods," a name of the *Chōḷa* country), *Chembian* (a descendant of *Sibi*) and king of the country watered by the *Kāvēri*. Nothing is said of his rival, the *Chēra* prince, beyond that he was the king of *Vaṇji* (St. 39) and that his soldiers were *Koṅgas* (St. 14). The modern name of *Vaṇji* is *Karūr*, according to the Tamil metrical dictionary *Tivḍkaram*. But the identification of this town with *Karūr* in the Coimbatore District, by all the European scholars who have discussed the Ancient Geography of Southern India, is erroneous. They were apparently misled by the similarity of the names. Ancient Tamil works however describe *Vaṇji* as situated west of the *Western Ghats*. In the *Peria-Purāṇam*, a history of Saiva devotees, which was written in the eleventh century A.D., during the reign of the *Chōḷa* king *Anabhāya-Kulōttuṅga*, *Vaṇji* is mentioned as the capital of the *Chēra* king, and it is stated that it was known also as *Makōtai* or *Koduṅkōḷūr*. The name *Makōtaipattanam* occurs in the *Chēra* grants in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Cochin, and it is alluded to therein as the capital of the *Chēramān*. Ptolemy correctly places it (*Carura Regia Cerobothi*) near the western coast, on a river flowing into the sea, close to the port of *Muziris*. In the *Kēraḷōlpatti*, a legendary history of the Malabar country, *Karūr* or *Tirukkarūr* (the prefix *tiru* means 'sacred') is mentioned as the capital of a *Chēramān* who embraced the Buddhist faith. The site of the ancient *Karūr* should therefore be found somewhere near the modern towns of *Koduṅkōḷūr* or *Tirukkarūr* in the Cochin Territory.

We also gather from the poem that swords, javelins, lances, bows, and arrows, were used as weapons of war. Leathern sandals were worn by the soldiers to protect their feet. Big

thundering drums were carried to the battle-field on elephants, and tall banners were borne on chariots as well as on elephants. The soldiers fought on foot or on horseback; the nobles and princes rode on elephants, while the commanders drove in chariots. Umbrellas, with straight handles and flat circular tops covered with white cloth, were carried behind the officers of the army as tokens of their dignity. Another curious fact mentioned in the poem is that women went to the battlefield, to recover the bodies of their slain kindred (St. 29). Such of the bodies as were not taken away by their relations, lay on the field to be devoured by crows, hawks, eagles, and jackals. The Kārttikai feast or the "feast of lights," peculiar to the Drāviḍian people, is also alluded to in the poem (St. 17).

The date of the poem cannot be later than the sixth or seventh century A.D.; for Cheṇkappān or Kōchcheṇkappān (the prefix *kō* means 'king') is mentioned in the Leiden grant (see *Archæol. Surv. South. India*, Vol. IV. p. 217) as one of the ancient and illustrious ancestors of Rājārāja-Chōḷa, who lived in the eleventh century A.D., and the poem is to be taken as composed in his life-time, very shortly after the battle described in it. He is similarly mentioned as a progenitor of Vīra-Nārāyaṇa-Chōḷa, whose date is presumed to be about A.D. 935 to 955 (see the grant of the Bāṇa king Hastimalla, published by Mr. Foulkes, *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 369). It will be seen from other poems which I shall translate, that his date is also anterior to that of Pallava-Malla-Nandivarman, who lived most probably in the seventh or eighth century A.D. (see his grant published by Mr. Foulkes in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 355). In the later Tamil poems which I shall notice hereafter, Cheṇkaṇ is described as having extended his authority over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings; as having settled Brāhmaṇs, and built for them houses, at Chirāmbalam (now known as Chillumbram, a station on the South Indian Railway, in the South Arcot District), where there is a famous temple of Siva; and as having built no less than seventy temples, dedicated to the worship of that god, in different parts of the Chōḷa country. He was, in fact, one of the earliest of the Chōḷa kings who favoured Saivism, and helped the revival of the Brāhmanical religions in Southern India.

TEXT.

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| <p>(1) Nāṇ Nāyiraṇṇa cheruviṇku viṇṭavar
vāṇ māy kuruti kaḷiṇṭakka tāṇmāyntu
mun pakal eḷḷam kuḷampāki pin pakal
tuppu tukaḷil keḷḷum punanādan
tappiyār adda kaḷattu.</p> <p>(2) Nāḍpinuḷ eōchiya nāḷaṇchēr yānaikkī
pōrppil idi murasiṇḍu pōm oṇkuruti
kārppeyal peytapin cheṇkuḷak kōḍḍukkī
nīrtūmbu nīrumiḷva pōṇṇa punanādan
ārttamar adda kaḷattu.</p> <p>(3) Oḷakkuṇkuruti uḷakkittāḷarvār
iḷakkuṇkaḷiṇṭakkaḍḍūṇṇi eḷuvār
māḷaikkuran māmurachin malku nīr nādan
pīḷaittārai adda kaḷattu.</p> <p>(4) Uruvakkaḍuntēr murakki māṇṇattēr
parutiḥumantēḷunta yānai yiruvichumbil
chelchudar chēṇṭa malai pōṇṇa Cheṇkaṇ-
māl
pullārai adda kaḷattu.</p> | <p>(5) Terikaṇai ehham tiṇṇa viyellām
kuruti paḍiṇṭaḍḍa kākam uruviḷantu
kukkil puṇṇa chiraḷvāya Cheṇkaṇmāl
tappiyār adda kaḷattu.</p> <p>(6) Nānāṇṇichaiyūm piṇṇam piṇṇa yānai
aḷukkapu eṇṇikkidanta iditturaṇi
aṇkaṇvichumpin urumeriṇṇēṇkum
perumalaṇṇiṇṇaṇṇiṇṇaṇṇi arumaṇi
pūṇṇiṇṇaṇṇiṇṇaṇṇiṇṇaṇṇi Chembian tev
vēntarai adda kaḷattu.</p> <p>(7) Aṇṇanakkunṇēyikkum yānai amaruḷakki
iṇṇulakkaṇ kunṇē pōṇṇṇuṇṇam cheṇkaṇ
varivarāl mīṇṇiṇṇaṇṇiṇṇaṇṇi Kāviri nādan
porunarai adda kaḷattu.</p> <p>(8) Yānai mēḷ yānai neritara ānātu
kaṇṇēr kaḍuṇkaṇai meymāyppa evvāyūm
eṇṇarum kunṇil kuṇṇiṇṇam pōṇṇaṇavē
paṇṇār idi murachil pāy punal nīr nādan
naṇṇarai adda kaḷattu.</p> |
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- (9) Mēlōrai kilōr kuruki kṛaṇṭittidda
kālār chōḍṇa kālāḷ kālirūṇkadalāl
nīla cuṇṇipāḷva pōṇṇa punanādan
nērārai adda kaḷattu.
- (10) Palkaṇai evvāyūṁ pāyṭalil cheḷkalā
tolki nyankkum kaḷiḷellām toḷehiṇṇappiṇ
chevvalankuṇṇam pōṇṇōṇṇum punanādan
tevvarai adda kaḷattu.
- (11) Kaḷamiya nāḍpinuḷ maintikantār idda
olimuracham oṇkuruti ādi tōḷimadintu
kaṇṇāṇā yānai utaippa ilumena
maṇṇkūḷ maḷayin aṭirūppōr
Cheṇkaṇmāl adda kaḷattu.
- (12) Ovāk kaṇai pāya olki yeḷil vōḷam
tīvāy kuruti ilṭalāl cheṇṭalai
pūvalaṇṇuṇṇam pūyaṇṇēṇṇa pōṇṇanavō
Kāviri nādan kādāikkaditāka
kōḍārai adda kaḷattu.
- (13) Nirai kaṭir nīḷehham nīddi vayavar
varai purai yānaikkai nūṇa — varai mēl
urameṇi pāmbil paraḷum cheru moimbil
chēy porutadda kaḷattu.
- (14) Kavaḷaṇṇōḷ yānaiyin kai tuṇikkappadda
pavaḷāṇchoritaru pai pōr — tivaḷōḷya
oṇcheṇkuruti umiḷum punanādan
konkarai adda kaḷattu.
- (15) Kōḷyānai pāyakkudai murakki evvāyūṁ
pukkavāyellām piṇampiraṇka — taṇṇeṇ
vinai paḍu paḷṭiyil tōṇṇumē Cheṇkaṇ
chinamāl poruta kaḷattu.
- (16) Paruma inamākkadavitterimaṇavar
ūkki eduttavaravattinārpaṇchāk
kuṇṇcharakkumbattu pāyvana kuṇṇivarum
vēṇkai irum puli pōṇṇa punanādan
vēṇṭarai adda kaḷattu.
- (17) Āṇṇṇelunta nāḍpinuḷ āḷāḷetirtōḍi
tākki eritara viḷṭarum oṇ kuruti
Kārttikai chāṇṇiṇ kaḷivīḷakkai pōṇṇanavō
pōrkkodittānai poru punal nīr nādan
ārttamar adda kaḷattu.
- (18) Nāḷinta kadalāl timiṇirai pōḷenkkum
viḷintār piṇam kuruti iṇṇkum tēḷintu
tadaṇṇidankōḷ vāḍḍalai aviḷum tār chēy
udaṇṇiyār adda kaḷattu.
- (19) Idai maruppin vidḍeṇṇintu eḷham kāl
mūḷki
kadai maṇi kāṇṇavarattōṇṇi nadai melintu
mukkōḍḍa pōṇṇa kaḷiḷellām nīr nādan
pukkamaṭ adda kaḷattu.
- (20) Iruchirakar iṇṇkaṇ parappi eruvai
kuruti piṇaṇṇkavarum tōṇṇam tiravilā
chirṇṇa paṇṇamaippān pōṇṇa punanādan
nērārai adda kaḷattu.
- (21) Iṇai vōḷ eḷinmarumattiṇka puṇ kūrntu
kaṇai alaikkolkia yānai — tuṇai ilavai
tol vali āṇṇi tuḷaṇṇinavai mella
nīḷaṇṇkāl kavaram malai pōṇṇa Cheṇkaṇ
chinamāl poruta kaḷattu.
- (22) Iru nīḷāṇṇeṇṇa kudaikkīḷ varinutal
āḍiyal yānai tadakkai oḷiruvāḷ
ōḍā maṇavar tuṇippa tuṇintavai
kōḍu koḷ oṇṇatiyāi nakkum pāmbokkumō
pādār idi murachil pāy punal nīr nādan
kōḍārai adda kaḷattu.
- (23) Eddivayavar eṇṇiya nutal pilantu
neytōṇṇṇunāl nīvanta kaḷiṇṇadampu
cheṇṇkarkōḷvāṇiḷ kaduṇṇōṇṇmūppōṇṇavō
koṇṇavōṇṇānai kodittindēr Cheṇbian
cheṇṇārai adda kaḷattu.
- (24) Tiṇḍōṇ maṇavar eṇṇiya tiṇṇaitōṇṇum
pāṇṇṇalāi pāriṇ purāḷpavai — nankenāittum
peṇṇaiantōḍḍam peruḷai pukkaṇṇē
kaṇṇiṇ kamāl teriyal Kāviri nīr nādan
naṇṇārai adda kaḷattu.
- (25) Malai kalaṇṇap pāyūṁ malai pōḷ nīlai
koḷḷa
kuṇṇcharam pāyak kōḍi eḷuntu-pōṇṇikuṇ
vānāntudaippāna pōṇṇa punanādan
mēvārai adda kaḷattu.
- (26) Evvāyūṁ ōḍi vayavar tuṇittidda
kaivāyil konḍelunta cheṇṇeṇvi puṇṇṇēval
aivai vayanākam kavvi viṇṇumbivarum
chevṇvāi uvapattirōṇṇum punanādan
tevvarai adda kaḷattu.
- (27) Cheṇ chēṇṇuḷ chel yānai chīṇi mitittalāl
on cheṇṇkurutikaḷ tokkīndi nīṇṇavai
pū nīr viyāṇa midā pōṇṇa punanādan
mēvārai adda kaḷattu.
- (28) Ōḍā maṇavar uruttu mataṇṇeṇṇerukki
pīḍudai vālār piṇaṇṇiṇ nāḍpinuḷ
kōḍakat tōḍaṇṇa tadakkai kaḷ konḍōḍi
ikalanvāṇṇiṇṇa tōṇṇam aḷalārṇṇu
kaṇṇāḍi kaṇṇpāriṇṇōṇṇum punanādan
naṇṇārai adda kaḷattu.
- (29) Kadi kāvil kaṇṇṇṇeṇṇiya vedipaddu
viṇṇu viṇṇu ōḍum mayil inam pōḷ —
nāṇṇichaiyūṁ
kēḷiṇṇiṇṇāṇṇa āḷaṇṇavō Cheṇkaṇ
chinamāl poruta kaḷattu.

- (30) Madañka eṇintu malai uruddu nīr pōl
tadaōkoṇḍa oṇkuruti kolkaḷiṇikkum
madañkan maṇa moimpil **Chēṇkad-**
chinamāl
adañkārai adda kaḷattu.
- (31) Ōḍā maṇavar eṇiya nutal piḷanta
kōḍēntu kol kaḷiṇṇa kumbattu eḷilōḍai
minnukkodiṇ mīḷirum **punanādan**
onṇarai adda kaḷattu.
- (32) Maiṇin māmēni nilamennum nallavaḷ
cheyyatu pōrttāl pōṇ chevvantāl—poitirnta
pūntār muraciṇ poru pūṇal nīr **nādan**
kāintārai adda kaḷattu.
- (33) Poikai udaintu pūṇal pāyṇta vāyellām
neytal idai idai vāḷai piṇḷavanapōl
aitilankēhṇinaviroḷi vāḷ tāyinaṇē
koichuvān māviṇ kodittinḍēr **Chembian**
teṇṇarai adda kaḷattu.
- (34) Iṇariya nāḍpinuḷ ēṇṇeṇṇa maintar
chudarilañkēhṇam eṇiya chōṇṇtukka
kudar konḍu vāñkum kuṇṇari kantil
todarodu koṇṇai puraiyūm adar paimpūṇ
chēy porṇṇṇadda kaḷattu.
- (35) Cheṇṇaraichchēnni arimānōḍavṇarai
olkiurumīṇ kudaintaṇṇān—malki
karaikonṇiḷitarūṇ **Kāviri nādan**
uraichāl udampidi mūḷka arachō
darachuvā vīḷṇṇa kaḷattu.
- (36) Ōo nṇaman uṇḷvinṇi ottatē
Kāviri nādan Kaḷumalam kondanāl
māvutaippa māṇṇār kudai ellām kiḷmēḷāy
āvutai kālāmbi pōṇra **punanādan**
mēṇarai adda kaḷattu.
- (37) Arachar piṇṇāṇṇa neyttōṇ murachōḍu
mūtṇudai kōḍḍa kaḷiṇṇṇa — ettichaiyūm
pauṇṇam puṇar āmbi pōṇra **punanādan**
teṇṇarai adda kaḷattu.
- (38) Parumap paṇai erattir pal yānai pūṇkūṇṇ
urumeṇi pāmbiṇ purāḷum cheru moimbiṇ
ponṇāra māṇṇiṇ pūnai kaḷar kāl **Chembian**
tūṇṇarai adda kaḷattu.
- (39) Maintu kāl yāṇṇu māyāñkiya nāḍpinuḷ
pūṇṇu kāl pōki pūḷān mukanta veṇkudai
pañchi pey tāmē pōṇra **punanādan**
vañchi kō adda kaḷattu.
- (40) Vēḷi veṇṇpāṇ chīlān nālamuḷavanapōl
ellāk kaḷiṇṇum nilam chēṇṇta — pal vēṇ
paṇai muḷāñku pōrttānai **Chēṇkadchinamāl**
kaṇai māri peyṇa kaḷattu.
- (41) Vēṇiṇṇaṇṇa vāyavarāl ēṇṇu
kaṇilañkolḷākkalañki chevichāṇṇu
māṇilañkūṇ maṇai kēḍpa pōṇṇavē
pāḍār idi murachiṇ **pai pūṇal nīr nādan**
kōḍārai adda kaḷattu.

TRANSLATION.

(Stanza 1) In the forenoon it was miry with the blood flowing from the sword-wounds of those who fell in the fight, trampled by elephants; and in the evening it was bright with dust of a coral hue, — in the battle-field where the lord of **Punal-Nādu** killed those who had failed in their duty.

(2) The bright blood of the elephants which had dropped during the strife, streamed through the torn drums that were tied to their backs, like water bursting through sluices in the high embankment of a tank, — in the field where the lord of **Punal-Nādu** rushed to the battle shouting the war-cry.

(3) The warriors who sank with weariness from wading in the blood that was spilt in the fight, rose again by holding the tusks of slain elephants, — in the field where the lord of the land abounding in water killed those who had erred.

(4) The elephants, which rose lifting up on high the shining wheels of strong and well shaped chariots which they had broken, resembled mountains on the brow of which descends the setting sun, — in the field where **Chēṇkapmāl** killed his foes.

(5) Red as jungle-cocks were the crows which dipped in and drank the blood flowing from wounds caused by the well-directed arrows and lances, — in the field where **Chēṇkapmāl** killed those who had failed in their duty.

(6) Piles of slaughtered men and elephants lay on all sides like the boulders of a mighty rock scattered by a terrific thunderbolt, — in the field where the **Chembian**, riding on a strong chariot, and bearing on his breast jewels set with rare gems, killed the rival kings.

(7) Elephants which looked like black rocks, when they entered the fight, resembled hills of red sand after the conflict, — in the field where **the king of the country watered by the Kāvēri**, in which the striped *varāl*-fish (*delight to*) sport, killed his foes.

(8) Elephants, huddled one with another, and pierced on all sides by swiftly shot arrows, appeared like countless rocks with birds perched on them, — in the field where **the lord of the land of the bounding waters**, who owned thundering drums, killed those who slighted him.

(9) The feet of the horse-soldiers covered with leathern sandals and adorned with anklets, which were cut off by the warriors on foot, rolled in the flowing blood like blue sharks in the great ocean, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed his enemies.

(10) The elephants, which, unable to bide the storm of numberless arrows flying on all sides, were in great distress, appeared like the famous red mountain (*Mēra*), — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** slaughtered his enemies.

(11) The drums, abandoned by the weak in the thick of the fray, bathed in blood, and kicked by blinded elephants, resounded like thunder proceeding from dark-clouds, — in the field where the dauntless **Chēnkaṇṇal** destroyed his foes.

(12) Majestic elephants, shedding crimson blood, having been pierced by ceaseless arrows, appeared like rocks with red peaks, washed by rain, — in the field where **the king of the country watered by the Kāvēri**, charged fiercely and killed those who would not be his friends.

(13) The trunks of elephants, lofty as mountains, which were cut down by warriors flourishing their bright and long swords, rolled on the ground like huge rocksnakes struck by lightning, — in the field where **the young king**, valiant in war, killed (*his foes*).

(14) The bright blood flowing from the maimed trunks of elephants, fell like strings of coral dropping from bags, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** defeated the *Kōṅgas*.

(15) The furious elephants having broken umbrellas and killed men wherever they charged, the scene appeared like the workshop of a carpenter, — in the field where the wrathful **Chēnkaṇṇal** engaged in battle.

(16) Like tigers springing on rocks, columns of mailed steeds, ridden by veteran warriors, charged against the elephants which stood (*motionless*) unawed by the shouts of the horsemen, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** slaughtered his rivals.

(17) Amid the battle-shouts the bright blood, shed by warriors who rushed on each other, resembled the lights in the *Kārttikai* feast, — in the field where **the lord of the land of raging waters**, who leads bannered hosts, killed his enemies with a loud shout.

(18) Corpses floated in the running blood like ships in the broad sea, — in the field where **the young king**, who wears garlands of full-blown flowers (*on his breast*), and a sword and scabbard (*at his waist*), killed his enemies.

(19) Elephants, pierced by javelins which had entered deep between the tusks, appeared as if they had three tusks, — in the field where **the lord of the land of waters** killed his enemies.

(20) The eagles, flapping their extended wings, and feeding ravenously on the bleeding corpses, appeared like musicians beating their drums with both hands, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed those who opposed him.

(21) Pierced in the chest by rows of javelins, and sorely wounded by waves of arrows, helpless, faint, and weary, the elephants sank on the ground like falling rocks, — in the field where the wrathful **Chēnkaṇṇal** engaged in battle.

(22) The massive trunks of elephants, whose foreheads are wrinkled, cut off by undaunted swordsmen, lying on the ground alongside of the umbrellas, appeared like serpents licking the full-moon, — in the field where **the lord of the land of surging floods**, possessing thundering drums, killed those who would not be reconciled.

(23) Slain elephants, floating in blood, with their foreheads cut open by warriors, appeared like dark clouds in a red sky, — in the field where **the Chembian**, who possesses the bannered chariots and the ever-victorious army of lancers, killed those who frowned at him.

(24) Men's heads, cut off by strong-shouldered warriors, rolling on the ground, appeared like *(the round black fruits which had dropped down in)* a grove of palmyra-palms shaken by a storm, — in the field where **the king of the country watered by the Kāvēri**, who wears garlands of fragrant flowers, killed those who would not be attached to him.

(25) Like rocks advancing on rocks, elephants rushed against elephants, and the tall banners borne aloft on them shook and fluttered as if brushing the sky, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed those who would not be united with him.

(26) The red-eared hawks, which flew upwards holding in their mouths the hands cut off by warriors, appeared like the red-beaked eagle which soars in the sky, seizing a five-headed snake, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed those who would not submit to him.

(27) The bright crimson blood which gathered in the deep foot-prints, left in the red mire by furious elephants, appeared like the juice of flowers collected in pots, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed those who would not be allied to him.

(28) The jackals which snatched away the hands of warriors, with shields in their grasp, cut off by heroes who had never fled *(from their foes)* and who rushed furiously brandishing their massive swords, appeared as if holding up mirrors, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed those who would not approach him *(to be his friends)*.

(29) Like troops of peacocks flying from groves shaken by a tempest, came women, wailing for their kindred slain in the fight, — in the field where the furious **Chenkaṇṇāl** engaged in battle.

(30) Like floods which washed down rocks, was the flowing blood that dragged down the elephants, — in the field where the wrathful **Chenkaṇṇāl**, brave and strong as a lion, killed those who would not submit.

(31) The gold plates adorning the foreheads of ferocious elephants killed by fearless warriors, were dazzling, like flashes of lightning *(mid dark clouds)*, — in the battle-field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed his enemies.

(32) The faultless fair lady earth crimsoned, as if she had clothed herself in red, — in the field where **the glorious lord of the land of raging floods**, who possesses drums adorned with garlands, killed those who offended him.

(33) Broken swords of shining steel lay glittering in streams of blood, like fishes struggling on land inundated by floods which had burst suddenly from a tank, — in the field where **the Chembian**, driving in a bannered chariot drawn by horses with cropped manes conquered his enemies.

(34) The jackals which tugged at the entrails cut out by warriors with flashing swords in the mêlée, appeared like chained wolves *(struggling to get free)*, — in the field where **the youthful king**, adorned with ornaments of gold, killed *(his enemies)* in battle.

(35) Like rocks rolled down with lions on them by the shock of a thunder-clap, the royal elephants fell, with the princes that rode them, — in the field where *(fought)* **the king of the country watered by the Kāvēri** which bursts its banks when swollen by floods.

(36) Like mushrooms trodden by cattle, were the enemies' umbrellas trampled by war-steeds, and the comparison was indeed too true, — in the battle-field where **the king of the country watered by the Kāvēri** seized **Kaḷumalam**.

(37) Big drums, and the dead bodies of princes and of tusked elephants, floated on all sides, like ships at sea, — in the field where **the lord of Punal-Nādu** killed his enemies.

(38) Huge caparisoned elephants, wounded and sore, rolled like snakes struck by lightning, — in the field where the Chembian, valiant in war, and adorned with necklaces and anklets of gold, killed those who would not approach him (*in friendship*).

(39) Where hardy warriors strove, setting foot against foot, the white umbrellas, lost by the enemy, lying without handles, and filled with blood, appeared like salvers containing water coloured with red cotton, — in the field where the lord of Punal-Nādu defeated the king of Vañji.

(40) The elephants all dropped down, and seemed as if raking the soil with silver ploughs — in the field where the fierce Chenkanmāl, with an army possessing thundering drums, and countless lances, showered arrows on his enemies.

(41) The elephants, pierced in their breast with lances by warriors and unable to stand, dropped, and laid their ears on the ground, as if to hear the secrets of the earth, — in the field where the lord of the land of leaping floods, who possesses thundering drums, killed those who would not unite with him.

BAGUMRA GRANT OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI;

DATED IN THE YEAR 406.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined edition of the Bagumra grant of Nikumbhallasakti¹ has been prepared according to an excellent ink-impression taken by Mr. Fleet. It is frequently the case with imperfectly preserved inscriptions that a good impression is easier to read than the original, where the half-effaced strokes are difficult to recognise. And it thus happens that, thanks to Mr. Fleet's work, I am able to restore now the whole text, and to give a number of important emendations of the version published in my German article "Ueber eine Sendraka Inschrift aus Gujarāt" (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Band CXIV. p. 169ff.) from the original plates. The most important is the new reading of the date, which I formerly gave as *saṁvatsaraśata-chaturāśatyā śhatchatvāriṁśadadhikā*, etc. The reading *śhaḍuttarā* is plain on the accompanying lithograph. It was first recognized by Mr. Fleet.

The grant is engraved on two copper plates, — now in the British Museum, — each measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". The rims are raised. Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and on the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates are inscribed; the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size, and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other. The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxydisation. The letters closely resemble those of the Kāvi and Nansāri inscriptions² of the Gurjara king Jayabhata IV. A few peculiarities, such as the round form of the subscribed *ma* in *lakṣmīkaḥ* (l. 9) and in *brāhmaṇottarān* (l. 17), occur also in the later Valabhi inscriptions. The abnormal form of the same letter, which looks like *sha*, e.g. in *Nikumbhallasaktiḥ* (l. 15), and in *grāmarā*³ (l. 17), is probably due to want of skill on the part of the engraver. The language is throughout Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory verse and the quotations from Vyāsa towards the end, very faulty prose. The grammatical knowledge of the author of the document must have been very limited. He uses the accusative instead of the nominative in *savitāram ivōdayavantam anuraktamāṇḍalanā cha* (l. 7), *kalpadrumam iva*, and *Janārdhanam iva* (l. 8), makes the accusative plural of the *a*-stems and *i*-stems end in the *anuvāra* before consonants and in *m* before vowels (ll. 17-18), and forms compounds like *vikasitamahatīyāsāsi* (l. 2-3), instead of *vikasitamahāyāsāsi*, *°amalayaśāsah* (l. 7.), instead of *°yaśāh*, and *apahṛitamaśēshabalirājya* (l. 8-9), instead of *apahṛitāśēshabalirājyaḥ*. It is to his ignorance and carelessness that we owe the monster *rajaśērīḥ* (l. 29), instead of *rājairīḥ* or

¹ Regarding its discovery, see *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 179.

² *ante*, Vol. V. p. 113, and Vol. XIII. p. 70.

vājyaśrīḥ, as well as the omission of various consonants, vowels and *visargas*, the erroneous repetition or transposition of words, and numerous mistakes in spelling. The details may be learnt from the transcript where the necessary corrections have been inserted.³

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Balisa which was situated in the āhara of Trēyannā to a Brāhmaṇ called Bappasvāmin Dikshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, a member of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, and a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajur-Vēda. The grantor was the illustrious Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallasakti of the Sēndraka line of kings, whose father was the illustrious lord of men, Ādityasakti, and whose grandfather was the illustrious lord of men, Bhāṇusakti. Trēyannā is no doubt the same place as Trēnnā, or Tēnā, the modern Tēn, near Bārdōli, which the Rāthār grants mention as the head-quarters of a political district;⁴ and Balisa, the modern Wanesa,⁵ south-east of Tēn. Both localities thus are not very distant from Bagumrā, the place where the plates were found. Regarding Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri, the residence of the grantee, I am not able to offer any conjecture. The above identifications make it certain that the Sēndraka Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallasakti held a portion of southern Gujarāt. As far as the information, furnished by the formerly known inscriptions, went, the Sēndrakas appeared to have been settled exclusively in the Kanarese country and in Maisūr. In one of the Kādamba grants published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 32, the Kādamba Harivarman grants the village of Mārādē to certain Jains "at the request of Bhāṇusakti-rāja, the ornament of the Sēndraka race." Again the Chalukya Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 670-80-81) presents ten Brāhmaṇs with some fields in the village of Raṭṭagiri "at the request of the illustrious Dēvasakti-rāja, who was famous in the Sēndraka family" (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. A. S.*, Vol. XVI. p. 239). Further, in a third inscription (Fleet, *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 152) the name of the Chalukya Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-81-96) is found together with that of the illustrious Sēndraka Pogilli. Finally, in Mr. L. Rice's Mercara inscription (*Inscriptions from Mysore*, p. 283), a Sēndraka is named among the witnesses. The first three documents indicate, as Mr. Fleet has stated in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 10, that the Sēndrakas were feudatories first of the Kādambas and later of the Western Chalukyas who overthrew the former. The appearance of Sēndrakas in Gujarāt must under the circumstances excite surprise, and it would be inexplicable, if we did not know that southern Gujarāt was conquered about the middle of the seventh century by the Western Chalukyas. The oldest document which proves this conquest, is the Khēḍi grant of Vijayarāja, who in (Chēḍi)-Saṃvat 394 or A.D. 642-43 held the Kāsakūla *vishaya*, immediately north of the Tapti.⁶ To somewhat later times belong the grants of the Yuvarāja Silāditya-Sryāśraya, dated (Chēḍi)-Saṃvat 421 and 443, or A.D. 669-70 and 691-92, the grant of his brother Maṅgalarāja, dated Saka-Saṃvat 663 or A.D. 731; and the grant of Pulakēśi-Vallabha-Janāśraya, dated (Chēḍi)-Saṃvat 490 or A.D. 738-39.⁷ As the Sēndrakas in Kanara were feudatories of the Chalukyas, it seems probable that they came to Gujarāt in the service of their liege lords, and were rewarded with grants of districts on the conquest of the country. In support of this conjecture it may be pointed out that the titles, 'the illustrious lord of men' and 'the illustrious,' which are applied respectively to Bhāṇusakti and Ādityasakti, and to

³ I have intentionally not changed those words where the *saṃdhā* has been simply neglected in prose sentences. Permission to make any number of breaks in prose and to use then, instead of the *saṃhitā*, the final forms of the single words, is clearly given by the well known Kārikā:—

Saṃhitākapadē nityā nityā dhātūpasargayōḥ |

nityā saṃdhāc vākyē tu sē vivakṣhām apēkṣatē ||

The first line is quoted by Yāmāna in his *Kāryālaṅkāraśāstravṛtti*, v. 1, 2, and the verse no doubt goes back to early times.

⁴ See *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 181, and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL. p. 322. Tēn is to be found on the Trig. Surv. Map, Guj. Ser., No. 34.

⁵ The change of *la* to *na* is very common in Gujarātī, e.g. in *nahān* for *lahān*.

⁶ For the grant itself, see *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 248, and for the identification of the geographical names, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 197.

⁷ See Dr. Bhagwānlāl's papers, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 75, *Jour. Bo. Br. E. A. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. p. 1 ff., and *Verhandlungen des Siebenten Int. Congr. in Wien*, Ariische Section, p. 210ff.

Nikumbhallasakti, indicate their being vassals of some great power. It may further be urged that the possessions of the last chief lay exactly in those districts which we know to have been included in the Chalukya possessions. A connection of these three personages with the Southern Sēndrakas of Harivarman's and Vikramāditya's inscriptions is, I think, indicated by the not very common termination *śakti*, which occurs in both sets of names. If this conjecture is to stand, it is, of course, necessary to refer the year 408, in which our grant is dated, to the Chēdi era, and to take it as equivalent to A.D. 654-5. The characters of the inscription too may be adduced in support of this view. They cannot, I believe, be assumed to belong to an earlier period. The specification of the date, "the full-moon-day of the month of Bhādrapada," without any such details as the week-day, does not permit us to test its exact equivalent by calculation.

In conclusion, I will add that, when I sent my German paper on this inscription to the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl, he informed me that he possessed several sets of Sēndraka plates from southern Gujarāt. It is advisable that they should be looked for and published. They will probably bring us certainty regarding the points which at present are merely conjectures.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ō[m*]⁹ Prathama⁹-dik-sarasi-pri(pri)thu-pamkajam gagana-vāridhi-vidruma-pallavam
[i*] tridaśa-rakta¹⁰-japā-kusumam navam
- 2 diśatu vō vijayam ravi-mamḍalam || Svasti Mēru-mahidhara-vijara-sthira-
rachita-samunnatē vikasi-
- 3 ta-mahati-yaśasi¹¹ Sēndraka-rājānam-anvayē naika-chānu(tu)rddanta-gaja-ghaṭ-
ḥha-samada-saṅghaṭṭa-la-
- 4 bdha-vijayō vijit-āśēśha-ripu-gaṇaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-vikkram-ākraṇta¹²-mahi-mamḍalaḥ
pragat-āśē-
- 5 sha-sāmanta-sirō-muku[ta*]-nighriṣṭa-pāda-pamkajaḥ naya-vinaya-satya-śauch-āchāra-
dama-dayā-dāna-dā-
- 6 kshinīya-śrī-sampad-upētō narapatiḥ śrīmad-Bhāṇusaktiḥ tasya putras=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō(taḥ) śarad-ama-
- 7 la-śasāmka-mamḍal-āmala-yaśasaḥ¹³ savitāram=iv=ōdayavantaḥ¹⁴=anurakta-mamḍalam(ś)=
cha kalpa-lu(dru)-
- 8 mam=iv¹⁵=ābhivāmchhit-āśēśhajan-ōpabhuja-yamāna-vibhavō Janārdanam=iv¹⁶=āpa-
hri(hri)tam-aśēśha¹⁷-Bal[i*]-
- 9 rājya[h*] para-chakr-ānurakta-lakshmikaḥ śrīman-[n*]arapatiḥ Ādityasaktiḥ
tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātā[h*]
- 10 śrīmān dakṣiṇa-gur[u*]-bāhu-damḍaḥ(da)-pri(pri)thivi-pālana-kshamō vyapagata-sajala-
jala¹⁸-jaladhara-
- 11 pātala-dhyā(vyō)ma-tala-gata-śarad-inda-kirāṇa-dhavalatara-yaśō-visānala¹⁹-vitānō dhi-
y[ā*] para²⁰
- 12 parama-gabbhīrō di(dē)va-dvijāt[i*]-tava²¹-jana-b[ā*]mdhav-ā(ō)pabhuja-yamāna-vibhavō
Bhava-sūnur=iva pra-
- 13 tihat-āratiḥ Sattir=iv=ōpātta-rājyaḥ samada-dvirada-vara-salila-gatir=Arjuna iv=
āśēśha-sam-
- 14 grāma-vijayī anavarata-vikkram-ā(ō)tsāha-śakta-shapanah²² Kāma iva samāna-yuvati-
jā(ja)na-

⁹ Expressed by the Valabhi symbol for 9.

¹⁰ Metro, Dantavilambitā.

¹¹ rakta is doubtful.

¹² If the text stands thus, then read mahā-yaśasi; but the syllables mahāti-yaśa are doubtful.

¹³ Possibly ākrānta.

¹⁴ Read yaśiḥ.

¹⁵ Read savitāram=iv=ōdayavantaḥ.

¹⁶ Read kalpa-druma iv².

¹⁷ Read janārdana iv².

¹⁸ Read apahrit-āśēśha.

¹⁹ Dele this word.

²⁰ Dele this word.

²¹ Dele these two syllables.

²² Read guru.

²³ Read śatru-mardanaḥ.

- 15 nayan-ana danah²³ śrīma[t*]-Pri(pri)thivivallabha-Nikumbhallasaktiḥ sarvān=
ēva yathā-sa[m*]badhyamā-
16 nakā[n*] rāja-rājasthāniya-chōrī(rō)ddharanika-dāṇḍapāsika-dūta-gamagamika-bhaṭa-
chāta-si(sē)-
17 vak-ādi[n*] brāhmaṇ-ōttarām(n) vaṇig-da(ja)napadām(n)=anyā[m*]ś=cha viśaya[pa*]ti-
rāshṭragrāmarū(kū)-
18 t-[ā*]yuktaka-mahattar-ādihikārik-ādīm(n)=anayuty²⁴=Astu vō vidita[m*]²⁵ may[ā*]
19 para-lōk-āvēkshatvam=a[m*]gikri(kri)tya

Second Plate.

- 20 mahārtham va(cha) śrutvā datah²⁶ Trōyann-āhār-āntarggata-vishayō Balisa-grāmō
21 bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgn(ni)hōtr-ādi-kriy-ōtsarppaṇ-ārthha[m*] mātā-pitr[ō*]r=ātmanaś=
cha pu-
22 nya-yaśō-bhivri(vri)ddhayō ā-cha[n*]dr-ārkt(kk)-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-samakālīnaḥ putra-
pō(pau)tr-ānvaya-kram-[ō*]-
23 pabhōgyaḥ sabhūta-vāta-praty[ā]y-ōparikarah²⁷ sarvv-ādāna-ditya-viśṭi-pr[ā*]tibhōdikā-
parihīnaḥ
24 bhūmiechhidra-nyāyēn=āchāta-bhaṭa-pravaśya²⁸ sōdraṅgaḥ s[ō*]parikarah Bhādrapada-
paurṇam[ā*]syām Vija-
25 y-Āniruddhapuri-vāstavya -Bhāradvāja-sagōtra-Vāji(ja)sanēy[i*]-M[ā*]dhyaṁdina-sabra-
hmachāripō Bappasvāmi-
26 n[ō*] Dikshitasityō²⁹ udak-ātisarggēṇa pratipāditaḥ [i*] yatō=smad-va[m*]śajair=
anyair=vv=ā-
27 gāmi-nri(nri)patibhir=nnala-v[ē*]ṇu-kadalī-sāraṁ sāmsāraṁ jala-budbud-ōpamaṁ
cha jivitaṁ=avadbāryya
28 śīrīsha-kusuma-sadri(dri)ś-āchamācha³⁰ yauvana[m*] giri-nadī-salila-gatvarāpi ch=
aiśvaryy[ā*]ni prabasa(la)-
29 pavan-āhat-āsvattha-pat[t*]tra-chaṁchalā cha rajah-śrīr³¹=ity=ayam³²=ākalayy=āyam=
asmad-dāyō=numamtaḥ³³
30 pratipāyitavyaś=cha yō v=ājūāna-timira-paṭalā-vri(vri)ta-matir=āchchhindyāś=
āchchhidyamānaḥ v=[ā*]numōdōta
31 sa pañchabhīr=mmah[ā*]p[ā*]takaiḥ sōpa sēpapātakaiś=cha³⁴ saṁyuktaḥ syād=ity=
uktaḥ cha bhagavatā Pāratarīyēpe vō-
32 da-vyāsēna Vyāsēna || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbih Sagar-ādibhir=yyasya
yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=
33 tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || Viṁdhy-ātavishu tōyāsa³⁵ śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ
kri(kri)shṇ-ābhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-d[ā*]-
34 x x ranti yē || Shashṭi[m*] varshsha³⁶-sahasrāpi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-
daḥ [i*] āchchhētā ch=ā x x mantā cha tāny=ēva narak[ē*]
35 vasō x x x x para-dattā[m*] vām(vā) ya[t*]nād-raksha Yudhisṭi(ṣṭi)ra
mah[i*]m mah[i*]matām śrē x x x yō=nupālanam[ū*]
36 Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmārttha-yasaskarāpi ni x x
x x x māni tāni kō
37 nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita || Samvatsara-sata-chatusṭayē shaḍ-uttarō
Bhādrapada-su(su)ddha-pamchadaśy[ām*]

²³ Read *nandanah*.²⁴ Read *tas*, i.e. *etas*.²⁵ Read *chātābhāṣapravāṇyaḥ*.²⁶ Read *āpāyāḥ cha*.²⁷ Read *anumantacyan*.²⁸ Read *varsha*.²⁹ Read *rājair*.³⁰ Dele *cha*.³¹ Dele *cha*.³² Read *anudarīcyaty*.³³ Dele *parikarah* which appears again in the next line.³⁴ Read *dikshitya* or *dikshityaty*.³⁵ Dele *ayam*, which gives no sense and is superfluous.³⁶ Read *vinḍhy-ātavishv-atōyāu*.³⁷ Insert *yathā* after this word.

³⁸ Read *varsha*. The ungrammatical doubling of sibilants which are preceded by a *ra* and followed by a vowel, is, however, found in all MSS. from Southern India. Its occurrence in this inscription may indicate that the Pandit who composed it was a Southerner.

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ii.

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- 38 dātakō=tra Srivallabha-Bappaḥ [i*] mahābalādhikri(kṛi)ta-Māsam-ādēśāma³⁷
likhitam=i[daṁ] tasya=aiv=ānu-³⁸
39 [jē]na sa[m]dhi(dhi)-vighra-ādhikri(kṛi)ta-Dēvadinnēn=ēti

TRANSLATION.

Om! May the orb of the sun, the broad water-lily of the lake-like eastern region, the coral-branch of the ocean of the sky, the newly-(opened) flower of the red Japā of the gods, grant you victory!

(Line 1.) — Hail! In the race of the **Sēndraka** kings that is free from decay, firmly fashioned and high like mount Mēru, the great fame of which has unfolded itself, (*there was*) he who obtained victory by the furious³⁹ onslaught of arrays⁴⁰ of troops of four-toothed elephants, he who conquered the crowd of all his foes, he who gained the circle of the earth by the valour of his arms, he whose lotus-feet were scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending vassals, he who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, virtuous behaviour, self-restraint, mercy, liberality, kindness, glory and wealth, the lord of men (*narapati*), the illustrious **Bhāṇusakti**.

(L. 6). — His son, who meditated on his (*father's*) feet, (*was*) he who possessed a fame spotless like the orb of the pure autumnal moon, he who (*daily*) rose (*higher*) (*udayavān*) and had a loyal kingdom (*anurakta-maṇḍalaḥ*) and thus resembled the sun who (*daily*) rises (*udayavān*) and whose orb is coloured (*red in the evening*) (*anuraktamaṇḍalaḥ*), he who resembled the tree of paradise, his wealth being desired and constantly enjoyed by all people, he who took tribute or (*their*) empire (*balirājya*) from all (*kings*) and thus resembled Janārdana who took the whole kingdom of Bali (*balirājya*), he whose Fortune was attached to the kingdoms of his foes,⁴¹ the illustrious lord of men (*narapati*), **Ādityasakti**.

(L. 9). — His son, who meditates on his (*father's*) feet, who is glorious (*and*) able to protect the earth with his weighty staff-like right arm, whose canopy of glory is more brilliant than the rays of the autumnal moon that stands in the sky from which the water-laden clouds have departed, who is most deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brāhmanas and his Gurus, who like the son of Bhava repulses his enemies, who like Satti⁴² has gained a kingdom, who has the coquettish gait of a most excellent rutting elephant, who like Arjuna is victorious in all battles, who destroys his foes by unceasing acts of bravery and energy, who like Cupid is the joy of the eyes of the courtizans, the illustrious **Prithivivallabha-Nikum-bhallasakti** instructs even all, however they may be connected (*with him*), (*viz.*) kings, viceroys, thief-catchers,⁴³ policemen, messengers, *Gaṁagamikas*, regular and irregular soldiers, servants and so forth, Brāhmanas, traders and lower provincials and others, rulers of *vishayas*, heads of *rāshṭras* and of villages, officials (*āyuktaka*), *Mahattaras*, persons in authority (*ādhikārīka*), and so forth (*as follows*):—

(L. 18). — "Be it known to you (*that*), being convinced of the reference (*of donations of land*) to the next world,⁴⁴ and having been taught (*their*) great advantage, I have therefore granted, (*confirming the gift*) with a libation of water, for the increase of my own and my parents' merit and fame, the village of Balisa in the *vishaya* included in the *āhāra* of **Trēyaṇṇa**, for a period equal to the duration of the moon, sun, seas and earth, — (*the said village*) being to be enjoyed by (*the donee's*) sons, grandsons, and their offspring, together with the *bhūtavātapratyāya*, together with the *udraṅga*, (*and*) together with the taxes payable by non-

³⁷ Read *māsamādēśā* (F)

³⁸ The syllables *dash* and *jē* are very faint.

³⁹ The connexion of *samada*, 'furious,' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before *gaja*.

⁴⁰ I translate *āha* by 'array,' as the author seems to have used it in the sense of *vyāha*.

⁴¹ This means, I suppose, that his Fortune was not contented with his empire, but desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them.

⁴² This name is, of course, corrupt.

⁴³ Probably the *Pagis* are meant.

⁴⁴ I understand *bhūmidānaya*, with *paralākaśkhatam* and *mahārtham*.

resident cultivators, being exempted from all *ādāna*, *ditya*, forced labour and *prātibhédikā*, (and) not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, — (the grant being made) according to the maxim concerning land unfit for tillage,⁴⁵ on the full-moon day of Bhādrapada, to Bappaevāmin-Dikshita, an inhabitant of Vijaya-Aniruddhapuri,⁴⁶ a member of the Bhāradvāja family, a student of the Mādhyamīna (branch) of the Vājasaneyi (or White Yajur-Vēda) in order to defray the expenses of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, and other rites. Wherefore future kings, whether of our line or others, understanding that worldly existence possesses (as little) kernel as a reed, a bamboo or a plantain-tree, and that life is comparable to a water-bubble, and considering that youth is liable to fade like the *śirīsha*-flower, that sovereignty passes away like the water of a mountain-torrent, and that regal splendour is unstable like an *āvattha*-leaf which is struck by a very strong wind, should agree to and protect this our grant. But he, who with a mind covered by the dense darkness of ignorance resumes it, or allows it to be resumed, shall be guilty of the five mortal and the minor sins. And it has been said by the worshipful son of Parāsara, Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas

(L. 37). — In the year four hundred and six, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of the bright half of Bhādrapada. The messenger for (the conveyance of) this (grant) is Sri-vallabha-Bappa. By order of the great general (*mahābalādhikṛita*) Māsama, this has been written by his younger brother Dēvadinna, the minister of peace and war (*sandhivigrahādhikṛita*).

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 182.—BELUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA III.—Saka-Samvat 944.

Belūr is a village about seven miles south-east of Bādāmi, the chief town of the Bādāmi Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Belloor,' Lat. 15° 51' N., Long. 75° 49' E. It is mentioned in this record by the old name of the Pērūr agraḥāra, in line 33; and as simply Pērūr, in lines 35 and 38. There are two inscriptions at this village; both inside the Fort. One of them is on a large stone-tablet that stands facing a modern shrine of the god Hanumanta. On this stone there are the remnants of an Old-Kanarese inscription of sixty-seven or sixty-eight lines of about thirty letters each; but a great deal of this record is now illegible; and, at my visit, I only noted that the date (line 32 f.) is Saka-Samvat 962, the Vikrama *samvatsara*.¹ The other inscription, which I am now editing, is on a stone-tablet at an old temple, now known as the temple of the god Nārāyaṇa. A photograph, from my estampage, has been published in *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 70. And I have noticed it in *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 43 f. But it is now edited for the first time.

The temple, which is now half below the level of the ground, is of some interest, though it does not present any elaborate architectural decorations. Instead of having the usual porch and entrance-hall, it is entered by a small door about 5' 6" high by 3' 0" broad. The first hall, the roof of which is supported by sixteen pillars, is about forty-five feet square. The second half is smaller, about thirty feet long by twenty feet broad. Over the door from the first hall to the second, there is a sculpture of Lakshmi and her elephants; and the same is repeated over the door from the second hall into the shrine. In the shrine, standing on an *abhishēka*-stand, there are three stone images, between three and four feet high, of the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Siva, with emblems and attendant figures, and of beautiful antique workmanship. They are, in fact, among the best specimens of their class that I have ever seen; and, if they are still in a state of perfect preservation, as at the time of my visit in January, 1877, it would

⁴⁵ See *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 138, note 2, and the rectification on p. 221 above.

⁴⁶ I suppose that the real name of the town is Aniruddhapuri, and that the prefixed *Vijaya* means 'victorious' as in *Vijaya-Vaijayanti*, *Vijaya-Pāṇḍitika*, etc.

¹ In connection with the results for the date in the inscription now edited, it would be useful to have the full details of this date. But, as they are not in my notes, they are probably illegible.

be well worth while to remove them to a Museum; this could probably be easily arranged, as I found that the temple was not used for purposes of worship; and, as the roof had begun to fall in, it is desirable that the images should be secured and removed. The presence of these three images in the shrine, is in accordance with line 34 of the inscription, which speaks of "the hall of the Traipurushas," i.e. of the three gods Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. And the record shews that they date, with the temple, from in or about A.D. 1020. The inscription is on a stone-tablet which stands outside the temple, against the east or front face, on the south side of the door. As it is fixed in its position, I could not remove it, to place it in safety inside the temple; but I covered it with stones, so as to guard it from further injury.

The emblems at the top of the stone have at some time or another been purposely defaced; but enough of them remains to shew that they were:—In the centre, a *liṅga* on an *abkishēka*-stand, with an officiating priest; on the proper right, the bull Nandi or Basava; and on the proper left, a cow and calf. There must have been also the sun and moon; but these have been quite destroyed. — The writing covers a space of about 1' 9½" broad by 5' 1½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation; not many letters having been destroyed. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of the period and locality to which the record refers itself. They include, in line 30, the decimal figures 4 and 9. The *virāma* occurs only twice, in *mēdiniyoḷ*, line 13, and *dēviyar*, line 28; and is represented by its own proper sign. In *bedanūgiyūm*, line 27, we have very clearly the separate form of *ḍ*, as distinct from *d*. The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese; with four Sanskrit verses in lines 42 ff. And the inscription is in verse and prose mixed. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anusvāra*, instead of the proper nasal; and (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *ḷ*, in *nirbbhartsanā*, for *nirbbhartsanā*, line 16.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Chalukya king Jagadēkamalla-Jayasimha III. And its object is to record that, while governing the district known as the Kisukāḍ Seventy, his elder sister Akkāḍēvi, apparently in memory of her elder brother Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya V., made a grant of the Pērūr agrahāra, and caused to be built there "a hall of the Traipurushas," the Elders of which granted some land for the purpose of feeding and clothing students. The inscription is of interest in giving an instance of the combined worship of the three gods, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva. And we also learn from it that Akkāḍēvi practised the religious observances of Jina and Buddha, as well as those of Vishnu and Siva.

As regards the identity of the names Pērūr and Bēlūr, there can be no doubt about the fact, though the record contains no specification of the boundaries of the Pērūr agrahāra. In the first place, there is no other name in the vicinity at all resembling Pērūr. In this part of the country, the only Herūr or Hērūr, written 'Yehroor' in the map, is in the Hungund Tālukā, about twenty-seven miles from Bēlūr, in a north-easterly direction. And, though in the Parasgaḍ Tālukā there is a Hirūr, yet this is a different name altogether, and the village is about forty miles distant from Bēlūr, to the east. And in the second place, the text tells us distinctly that "the hall of the Traipurushas," i.e. plainly the temple at which the inscription stands, was in the Pērūr agrahāra. I may mention that, in spite of the spelling in the map, 'Belloor,' which might be thought to indicate the short *e*, the *ē* in Bēlūr is long. And the metre, in line 38, distinctly marks the *ē* in Pērūr as long. In this name, *r* has been changed to *l*; an instance of the opposite change, from *l* to *r*, occurs in Kādaravalli, which appears elsewhere as Kādaravalli, and is now Kādarōlli (see the Kalbhāvi Jain inscription, in the next number of this Journal).

The date is given as Saka-Saṃvat 944, expressed in decimal figures, the Dundubhi saṃvatsara; the Uttarāyana-Saṃkrānti or winter solstice; a *vyatipāta*; on Ādityavāra or Sunday. The month and the *tithi* are not given. And the details that are given, refer to the making of the grant; not to the writing of the record. By the southern luni-solar system, the Dundubhi saṃvatsara coincided with Saka-Saṃvat 945 current; i.e. with the

given year, 944, as an expired year. But I find, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, that in this year the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrānti, occurred, not on a Sunday, but on Monday, 24th December, A.D. 1022, at about 5 *ghaṭis*, 19 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bādāmi;² and this must, apparently, have been the proper day for the celebration of any rites connected with it. For, the general rule regarding the *puṇyakāla* of the Makara-Saṁkrānti is that, lasting according to some for twenty *ghaṭis* and according to others for forty *ghaṭis*, it comes after the *saṁkrānti*; and, though there are certain exceptions to this, and though there is a rule that, at the solstices and at the equinoxes, the rites of bathing, making a grant, &c., should be performed after fasting for either three nights or one night beforehand, yet this seems to refer only to the fast, and neither in the *Nirṇayasindhu* nor in the *Dharmasindhusūtra* can I find any authority by which, as this *saṁkrānti* occurred after sunrise on the Monday, the making of the grant could properly have been performed on the Sunday. The term *vyatipāta* ought to help in explaining the date; but what it may mean in this passage, is not apparent; and all that I can say is that it does not seem to denote the *Vyatipāta yōga*. For, by Prof. Jacobi's Tables, at sunrise on Sunday, 23rd December, the *yōga* was *Vṛiddhi*, No. 11; and at sunrise on Monday, 24th December, the *yōga* was *Dhruva*, No. 12; so that the *Vyatipāta yōga*, No. 17, did not occur even on this day. Later on the Monday there commenced the *Vyāghāta yōga*, No. 13; but the *vyatipāta* of the text is very distinct, and can hardly be a mistake in writing for *vyāghāta*. In the preceding year, however, Saka-Saṁvat 944 current, the Makara-Saṁkrānti occurred at about 49 *gh.* 47 *p.* on Saturday, 23rd December, A.D. 1021; and it must apparently have been then celebrated on the Sunday, in accordance not only with the general rules, but also with a special rule in the *Dharmasindhusūtra* which states that, if the Makara-Saṁkrānti occurs in the night, — in the present instance about 43 minutes after midnight, — its *puṇyakāla* is always on the following day. This date, accordingly, Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, may perhaps be the day that is intended. This solution entails the application of the given year as a current year; but to this there is no obstacle in the expression that is used in the text.³ And as regards the *saṁvatsara*, it is at least a curious point that, by the southern *Vikrama* luni-solar system, if it can be established and can be carried back so far,⁴ the *Dundubhi saṁvatsara* would coincide with Saka-Saṁvat 944 current; for, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, it commenced on the 5th December, A.D. 1019, in Saka-Saṁvat 942 current; and by the northern luni-solar system it coincided with Saka-Saṁvat 943 current. But here, again, the term *vyatipāta* fails to help in deciding the question; for, at sunrise on Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021, the *yōga* was either *Pṛiti*, No. 2, or *Āyushmat*, No. 3. This date, therefore, must remain for further consideration, when the rules regarding the *puṇyakāla* of *saṁkrāntis* have been fully elucidated, and when we can determine what is meant by the use of the word *vyatipāta* in this passage.

The exact meaning of the mention of *Vikramāditya V.* in this record, seems to call for some remark. His name is introduced in line 32, where it stands in the dative case, and is apparently governed by the immediately following word *parōkṣham*. This word in Sanskrit governs the genitive, and means 'out of sight, behind one's back, in the absence of, without the knowledge of.' And we have met with it in a rather peculiar passage in the *Miraj* grant (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 17; see also Vol. XVI. p. 19), where *Vikramāditya V.* himself is mentioned as supporting the earth "behind the back, or in the absence (*parōkṣham*)," — i.e., as I take it, "in succession after the death," — of *Satyāśraya II.* Now, the latest certain date that we have for *Vikramāditya V.* is Saka-Saṁvat 933, in an inscription at *Galagnāth* in the *Rāpibennūr Tālukā* (*Elliot MS. Collection*, Vol. I. p. 40), which mentions him as then reigning. While, in an inscription at *Hirūr* in the *Hāngal Tālukā* (*id.* Vol. I. p. 44), *Jayasimha III.* is mentioned as the reigning king in Saka-Saṁvat 940. The inference is that *Vikramāditya V.*

² The difference of time for Bombay is only 30 *palas* earlier; so that nowhere in India did the *saṁkrānti* occur on the Sunday.

³ See my remarks, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 119 f.

⁴ See page 222 ff. above.

died in the interval, and at least four years before the date of the present record. And the same inference is to be drawn from the omission of his name in the genealogical part of this record. The use here of the dative case with *parōksham* seems certainly peculiar, even in Old-Kanarese. And the sense of the passage could be considerably altered by the insertion of an *anuvāra* after *Tribhuvanamalla*, in line 32; thus making it a nominative case, instead of taking it, as part of a compound. The meaning might thus be arrived at, that it was Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramāditya V., who had previously granted the *Pêrûr agrahāra*, to a god named Vikramādityadēva after himself, and who had caused the hall of the Traipurushas to be built; and that, on the specified date, Akkādēvi simply made a grant of land for the purpose of feeding students. But this seems hardly a satisfactory method of dealing with the passage; especially because it leaves *parōksha[m vi]nayaḍim*, line 32-33, and *māniga[aynūr-earuḥ]*, line 34, without any apparent context and meaning, and because line 40 expressly refers to a "pious act of the Five-hundred" which can only be found in line 34f. And taking the passage as it stands, including the perhaps wrong or at least exceptional use of the dative case with *parōksham*, the meaning seems certainly to be that Akkādēvi granted the *agrahāra* and caused the hall to be built, and did so "behind the back, or in the absence," or, as I understand it, "after the death, and in memory," of Vikramāditya V.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 [Om Sva]st[i] Samastabhuvanāśraya śripri(pri)thvivallabha mahā-
rājādhirāja
2 [pa]ramēśvara paramabhāṭṭarakam Satyāśraya-kula-tīlakam
3 [Chā]lūky-ābharanam śrimaj-Jagadēkamalladēvara vijaya-rā-
4 [jya]m=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṁdr-ār k k a - t ā r ā m
5 [sa]luttam-ire [i*] tad(j)-Jayasimha-chakravarttiya nij-āgrajāte ||
6 [Ka]m* || Śrī⁷-vanitey=enisid=Akkādēvige vāg-dēvig=akhiḷa-jana-
7 nuta-Sītādēvige Mādēvige⁸ bhū-dēvige saman=emba nri-
8 pa-sutā-samudayamam || Guṇada-beḍaṁgiy=enal=sad-guṇa-
9 mam negaḷd=ēkavākyey=ene sūṇitamam rapa-Bhairaviy=ene sau(śau)-
10 ryyada guṇaman=ad=ēn=emdn baṇṇipeṁ nri(nri)pa-suteyam || Vri⁹ ||
11 [Ja]nakam¹⁰ śrī-Dasa(sa)varmmedēvan=abhayam Chāḷukya-vajram
āinēsa-nibham Bhāga-
12 lādēvi puṇyavati saty-ālāpe tāy=chakravartti nija-prōj[j*]vaḷa-kirtti-
13 mūrtti Jayasimham tamman=amēd=amde mēdiniyol śrī-negaḷd-ē-
14 kavākyeya yasa(śaḥ)-prakhyāti-sāmānyam=ē || Avinamn(mr)-āri-nri(nri)-
15 pālaka-praḷe(la)ya-sampāda-ksham-ōchchaṇḍa-Bhairavi tān=āgiyum=e-
16 yde sāmātara-rūp-ānvite¹¹ nirbbhatsanā¹²-rava-simh-āgrajey=ā-
17 giyum mada-gaj-ōdyad-yāney=emēd=amdu dhā(dha)ta-vichitraṁ negaḷd=ēka-
18 vākyeya charitraṁ bhūri-bhūchakrado || Jina¹³-Buddh-Ānanta-Ru-
19 dr-āgama-nigadita-dharmmaṅgaḷa[m] māḍi kayyāmtana[— — —]
vrajakk=app-e-
20 nitān=anudinam koṭṭu sarvv-ōrvviyol=dāna-nay-āḷamkāre rārā-
21 jisida=akhiḷa-vidyārtthi-din-āvaḷl-nandiniy=Akkādēvi dharmm-āgra-
22 n[i*] vimaḷa-vacha[h*]śrī-jayaśrī-yaśa[h*]śrī || Vachana || Antu saka-
23 ḷa-jagat-praṇūteyam samasta-ripunṇipa-charaṇaraviṁde-

⁵ From the original stone.⁶ i.e. *kaṁda*.⁷ Metre, Kanda; and in the next verse.⁸ i.e. *maḍādēvige*.⁹ i.e. *vṛitta*.¹⁰ Metre, Mattēbhavikrīḍita; and in the next verse.¹¹ Monier-Williams gives both forms, *anvita*, and *anvita*. I have met with the latter in other Old-Kanarese inscriptions, and also with *pranūta*, which occurs in line 23 below, or else with *vinūta*; though I cannot just now give the references.¹² Read *nirbbhatsanā*.¹³ Metre, *Mahā-Sragdharā*; i.e. *Sragdharā*, with two short syllables, instead of one long, at the commencement of each pāda.

24	[y]um ¹⁴	vivē[ka]-chūḍamaṇiyum	dīn-ānātha-chimāmaṇi-
25	y[u]m	[sva-vaṁśa(?)]-varddhan-aika-sākshāl-Lakshmiyum	parijana-
26	[ka]p[a]vri(vri)[kshe]yum	vasudhā-jana-kāmadbēnum=ēka-vā-	
27	kyeyum	goṇada-beḍaṁgiyum=enisi	negaḍa śrīma-
28	d-Akkādēviyar	Kisukāḍ-erppattam	sukha-saṁkathā-vi-
29	nōdadin=āḷuttam-ire	Sa(sa)ka-nṛipa-kāḷ-ātita-saṁvatsara-	
30	[sa]tamga[!]	944neya	Dumḍubhi-saṁvatsarad=uttarayana-
31	saṁkrāntiyum	vyatipātamum=Ādityavārad-a[m*]du	aṇṇam
32	Tribhuvanamalla-śrī-Vikramādityadēvarge	parōksha[m vi]-	
33	nayadin=agrahāram	Pērūram	sarvva-namaśya(sya)m biṭṭ=alli
34	māḍisida	Traipurushara	śāleya māṇigal=aynūrvvarum
35	vidyārtthigal=aśan-āchchbādanake	koṭṭa nelam	mattar-Ppērūro-
36	l=aynūru	maney=ayvattu	pūvina-tōmṭa mattar=eraḍu
37	chatus-simē(mā)-paryyamtam=eraḍum	nasave ¹⁵	rājā(ja)-rakshitam
	dharma		
38	Kam	Vira ¹⁶ -guṇar=int=idam	Pērūra mahājanam=oraldū nālnū-
39	rvvarum=urvvi-ramaṇar=akhiḷa-guṇa-gaṇa-sārar=ppālisuge		vā-
40	rddhi-nagam=ul-inega[m*]	Mannisiy=aynūrvvara	dharmm-ē(ō)nnatiyam ka-
41	nḍu Pāṇḍuvamśa-lalāmam	Mannoya-Chattam	biṭṭam manneya-
42	maṁ nelada	nēsar=ul-annevaram	Slōkam Sva ¹⁷ -datt[ā*]m
	para-da-		
43	tt[ā*]m vā yō harēta	vasundharā[m*]	shashṭir-vvaraha ¹⁸ -sahasrāṇi vi-
44	shṭhāyām	jāyatō krimi[h*]	Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā
45	rājabbis=Sage(ga)-ādibbiḥ	yasya	yasya yadā bhū-
46	miḥ tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ	Dānam vā pha(pā)lanam	v=[ē*]ti
47	dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam		dānāt=svarggam=avāpnōti
48	pālanād=aohyutam	padam	Sāmānyō ¹⁹ -yam dha-
49	mma-sētur=nṛipapām	kālē-kālē	pālanīyō bha-
50	vadbhiḥ	sarvvān=ētān	bhāgi(vi)naḥ pārtthivēndrō(adrān) bhū-
51	yō-bhūyō	yāchatē	Rāmabhadrah
52			Māṅgaḷa-ma-hā-śrī[h*] Ōm ²⁰ Ōm [*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

During the reign of the asylum of the universe (*saṁastabhuvanāśraya*; line 1), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Mahārājadhīrāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, the ornament of the family of *Satyāśraya* (l. 2), the glory of the *Chālukyas*, the glorious *Jagadēkamalladēva* (l. 3):—

The elder sister of that same *Chakravartin Jayasimha* (III.) (l. 5) is *Akkādēvi* (l. 6), who has the epithets of 'she who is charming by reason of her virtues' (*goṇada-beḍaṅgi*, l. 8; and *goṇada-beḍaṅgi*, l. 27), and 'she whose speech is single and uniform' (*ēkavākye*, ll. 9, 13-14, 17-18, 26-27), and who is a very *Bhairavi* in battle and in destroying hostile kings (ll. 9, 15). Her father was the glorious *Daśavarmadēva* (l. 11),²¹ the *Chālukya* diamond or thunderbolt; her mother was the virtuous *Bhāgaladēvi* (ll. 11-12); and her younger brother is the

¹⁴ Here we ought to have something like *nṛip-ārachchita-charaṇāśrayinīyum*.

¹⁵ This word is quite distinct; but what it is intended to mean, is not apparent. Perhaps it is connected with *nasa*, 'delight, joy'; or with *nasu*, 'little'.

¹⁶ Metre, Kanda; and in the next verse.

¹⁷ Metre, *Slōka* (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next two verses.

¹⁸ Read *shashṭi-vvaraha*.

¹⁹ Metre, *Śālini*.

²⁰ Represented in both places here by a symbol.

²¹ This is one of the metrical passages spoken of in connection with my remarks on his name, ante, Vol. XVI. p. 19 f.

Chakravartin Jayasinha (III.) (l. 13). And she has practised the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jina (l. 18), Buddha, Ananta (Vishnu), and Rudra (Siva).

While she, the glorious *Akkādēvi*, is governing the *Kisukād* Seventy (l. 28) with the delight of pleasing conversations; — (At) the *Uttarāyana-Samkrānti* (l. 31) of the *Dundubhi samvatsara*, which is the 944th (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king (l. 29); and (at) a *vyatipāta* (l. 31); on Sunday, — in the absence²² of her elder brother the glorious *Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramādityadēva* (V.) (l. 32), she with reverence allotted the *Pārūr* *agrahāra* (l. 33) as a *sarvanamasya*-grant, and caused to be made there a hall of the *Traipurushas* (l. 34), the Five-hundred Elders²³ of which, for the purpose of feeding and clothing students, gave (one) *mattar* of land, and two *mattars* out of the flower-garden, consisting of fifty (*mattars*), belonging to the five-hundred houses²⁴ at *Pārūr* (l. 35).

The Four-hundred *Mahājanas* of *Pārūr* (l. 38) shall preserve this grant, as long as the ocean and the mountains endure. And seeing, and honouring, the excellence of this pious act of the Five-hundred (l. 40), *Manneya-Chaṭṭa*, the ornament of the *Paṇḍuvamśa* (l. 41), gave a *manneya*-grant, to endure as long as the sun.

The inscription ends with four of the customary Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 42 to 51.

FOLKLORE IN BURMA.¹

BY TAW SEIN KO.

No. 1.—*Maung Pauk Kyaing*,² or the Dull Boy who became a King.

In former times at *Tetkatho*³ there were congregated, for their education, sons of Mins, *Pōnnas*, *Thatēs* and *Thagywēs*,⁴ from all parts of *Zabudeik*.⁵ Among them was *Maung Pauk Kyaing*, a young man of obscure birth, who, despite his long residence at the schools, was found to have made no progress whatever in his studies. His restless energy, his superior physical strength, and his aversion to books, convinced those who came in contact with him that his sphere lay not in secluded cells and cloisters, but in the wide work-a-day world. His preceptor, therefore, taught him the following three formulæ and enjoined on him to make good use of them as occasion required:—

- (1) *Thwā ṡ bá myá ṡ hkyi ṡ yauk*:—Distance is gained by travel;
- (2) *Mé ṡ bá myá ṡ sagá ṡ ya*:—Information by inquiry;
- (3) *Ma eik ma nē athet shē*:—And long life by wakefulness.

Maung Pauk Kyaing bade his preceptor good-bye and started for his home. Arrived there he could find no congenial occupation for his restless spirit, so he resolved to leave his country and carve out a fortune for himself.

²² *parākṣaṇa*; see the introductory remarks.

²³ *māni* seems to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *mānya*, 'respectable, venerable,' and the present meaning is doubtless to be given to it in also the Aihole inscription, *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 74, No. 63.

²⁴ This passage seems to give the average size of the village at that time; and to indicate the proper meaning of such expressions as "the Sixty Cultivators," "the Ugura Three-hundred," and "the Five-hundred-and-four," which occur, for instance, in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 21, 22, 23. The point, however, requires further consideration.

¹ The transliteration, or rather the method of rendering Burmese sounds,—for strict transliteration is impossible,—adopted, is that usually used officially in Burma, so that those acquainted with the Burmese language may at once doubtless to be given to it in also the Aihole inscription, *ante*, Vol. IX., p. 74, No. 63.

² *Maung Pauk Kyaing* is a well-known character in legendary Burmese history, as *Thadonānanaing*. He was the ninth of the 2nd dynasty of *Sākya* Kings supposed to have reigned at *Tagaung*.

³ *Tetkatho* = *Takshasilā* (Skr.) = *Taxila* (Greek), near *Rāwal Pindī* in the *Pañjāb*.

⁴ *Mins*, *Pōnnas*, *Thatēs*, and *Thagywēs* = *Kshatriyas*, *Brāhmanas*, and *Vaiśyas*; *Thatēs* and *Thagywēs* being classed under the third caste. Observe the precedence accorded to the warrior-caste, to which *Gautama Buddha* belonged.

⁵ *Zabudeik* = *Jambudvīpa*, the southern continent in the cosmogony of the Buddhists.

Applying the first formula of his preceptor to his case, he travelled on and on and passed through strange scenes and countries. During his journey he asked the people he met questions on various subjects, and gained much information. At last he reached **Tagung**,⁶ the most ancient capital of the kings of Burma. His inquisitive spirit soon made him acquainted with the condition of the country he was in. The King had been dead for some time, and his Queen had taken a **Nāga**,⁷ or a huge serpent, for her spouse, much against the wish of her people. The ministers and her other subjects wanted a human being to rule over them; but their wish was foiled because every one of the candidates elected by them to be their King, was killed by the **Nāga** after passing a single night in the palace.

Maung Pauk Kyaing became desirous of aspiring to the hand of the widowed Queen, in spite of the rumours that all that had done so met with sure death. He accordingly intimated his wish to the ministers, and was, in due course, ushered into the palace. He observed that the Queen was sedate and silent, and he vainly tried to put her in good humour by his joviality.

Night came on, and the Queen put on her blandishments to induce Maung Pauk Kyaing to fall into a slumber. But he was too sharp for her. He had ascertained that all the former aspirants to her hand were killed by a **Nāga**, whose spouse she was, and that to sleep in the palace was to sleep for ever.

He therefore pretended to go off to sleep and snore as loudly as possible. The Queen slept by his side. As soon as he found out that she had fallen into a natural slumber, he got up and placed the trunk of a plantain-tree on the bed, covered it up with his own blanket, and retired behind a screen to see what would happen. He had not to wait long. Out from the darkness came a huge serpent hissing and wriggling along in a fearful manner. It reached the place where the Queen was sleeping, and taking a well-directed aim its head descended on the plantain tree with a tremendous crash. The **Nāga** could move no more. Its fangs had been deeply buried in the fibrous tree, and tenaciously held there, while Maung Pauk Kyaing with the quickness of lightning, darted forth from his hiding place and plunged his dagger into the **Nāga**, cutting it in twain.

In due course Maung Pauk Kyaing was crowned King. There was great rejoicing and jollification among his subjects, but the Queen would not cast off her sullen and melancholy aspect.

The news of the good fortune that befell Maung Pauk Kyaing soon reached his parents, who accordingly set out for their son's kingdom. On nearing Tagaung they rested under a tree on which two crows, who were husband and wife, were perched. The male bird said: "Wife, to-morrow we shall have a good feast." "Why?" asked the female bird. "Because the King is to be executed. He and the Queen, you know, laid a wager that on his failure to solve a certain conundrum he was to forfeit his life, but that if he was successful, the Queen was to die." "What may that conundrum be?" "It is this:—

Htaung pe 2 le' hōk
Yá pe 2 lo chōk
Chūt tē lú ayo 2 sado 2 sagyin lōk.
 "A thousand is given to tear;
 A hundred to sew;
 And the bones of the loved one
 Are made into hair-pins."

The female crow observed that its solution was very easy, and she said: "This conundrum refers to the **Nāga**, the loved one of the Queen. A thousand coins were paid for tearing

⁶ Tagaung is on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, and lies about a hundred miles north of Mandalay. It is supposed to be the most ancient capital of Burma, and to have remained as such during the reign of 50 kings. Its founder was Abiyāzā (Abhirāja) who immigrated from the valley of the Ganges long before the birth of Gautama Buddha (623 B. C.).

⁷ The **Nāgas** play an important part in Burmese folklore. They are represented as huge serpents; but as a matter of fact they are the indigenous **Nāga** races inhabiting the country.

off its skin, and a hundred to sew it into pillows and cushions; and its bones were made into hairpins, which are worn by the Queen."

The aged parents of Maung Pauk Kyaing overheard the conversation of the crows, and with increased speed they resumed their journey. They were just in time to save the life of their son; and the Queen, in accordance with the terms of the wager, offered herself to be killed. But the King, with great magnanimity, characteristic of a real hero, spared her life.

Eventually the Queen became reconciled to Maung Pauk Kyaing, who assumed the title of Thadonāganaing;⁸ and they reigned happily together.⁹

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XVIII.

Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archaeological Society, Vol. III. Part 3.

(a) *The finding of a hoard of Bulgarian Coins in the year 1887; by A. Likhachev.*

On the subject of Jūchi numismatics there is an interesting question, which remains to the present time unsettled. Among the coins of the Jūchi dynasty relating to the XIIIth-XVth centuries, a whole series is met with, struck in the city of Bulgar in the name of the Baghdadī Khalifa An-Nasir-li-din-Allah who is known to have ruled the Eastern Khalifate from 585 to 622 A.H. (= 1180-1225 A.D.). On these coins are no dates, and the time when they are coined can only be ascertained relatively. The obverse contains the Khalifa's name and title 'Commander of the Faithful': the reverse the name Bulgar and some pious expression. It is found both in silver and copper. Among the latter some are stamped with the Jūchi mint in the name of Mangu, the Mongolian Khān. The name of the Khalifa An-Nasir-li-din-Allah is met with earlier than that of Mangu Khān. In consequence of this fact, Ch. D. Fachu thought that the money coined at Bulgar in the name of An-Nasir was an independent coinage during the XIIth and the first quarter of the XIIIth century, before the country had been conquered by the descendants of Chāngēz Khān. This opinion gained ground from the antiquity of the coins. Thus these coins were considered the last monument of independent

Bulgaria on the Volga, which from the tenth century became connected with the Eastern Khalifate and Muhammadan. Fachu found that the Bulgarian maliks as they were called, coined their own money, like the Sāmāni dirhams. He found among the hoards of Kufic money some Bulgarian coins, upon which are recognised the names of Talib, the son of Aḥmad, who coined money, A.H. 338, in Suvar, and his brother Mūmin, A.H. 366, in the towns of Bulgar and Suvar. He was able to furnish a quantity of dynastic knowledge, adding to the information gained from coins thus preserved in their histories. The coins discovered by Fachu are very rare. They differ from the Sāmāni dirhams by the inscriptions which resemble those found on monuments on the soil of ancient Bulgaria, and sometimes barbarous corruptions of words are found. Besides the coins described by Fachu, there was found at Bulgar in 1868 a dirham of Talib, the son of Aḥmad, coined A.H. 338. It has come into the writer's collection, and as far as concerns the place where it was struck it is still unpublished, he calls attention to it. After these coins, till the end of the twelfth century, no independent Bulgarian money is met with, and the cause of the long interval is unknown. Judging by the rarity of these Bulgarian coins of the tenth century, we may conclude that they were never much used and could not supplant the Kufic money introduced into the country in large quantities. Consequently they are only attempts at establishing a national coinage. But the plan was abandoned, probably because there was not

⁸ Thadonāganaing = "the Prince who conquered the Nāgas;" vide note 2.

⁹ The above tale is widely known among the Burmese. It was narrated to me by Maung Tin, late Sayegyi (clerk) of the Hluttaw (Late Royal Council Chamber at Mandalay), but now employed in the Burma Secretariat.

[This tale is common in many variants throughout India. See *Wide-Awake Stories*, p. 401, where many instances are quoted: and again pp. 24, 25, above, where the tale crops up in Bombay. S. D'Oldenburg, quoted in *Trübner's Record*, 3rd series, Vol. I. Pt. I, pp. 14-15, says—"The oldest known version of the legend about the snake and the girl is found in *Kaṭhaśaritsaṅgāra*, vi., 8ff, where Guṇādhyā is the child. For other versions of the birth of Sālivāhana, see the *Sinhāśanadr̥śhinīka*. In Buddhist books serpents and Nāga tribes are often confounded with one another. Concerning *jimōtārāhāna*, compare a number of snake stories in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, especially pp. 108, 109. For Buddhistic stories about serpents, see further the portion of the *Māghasūtra* ed. Bendall (J. R. A. S., April, 1880): Th. Pavie, *Quelques observations sur le mythe du serpent chez les Indous* (*Journal Asiatique*, 5th series, Vol. V. pp. 409-429), and the *Nāgapatāridhi*, a small Buddhist tract (Paris, Bibl. Nat. D 117). These serpent tales are by no means confined to Aryan and the old world folklore, but are common to America: See *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. I., No. 1, pp. 44f, and 74f.—R. C. T.]

enough of workmen and there was no experience in the technical parts. They therefore returned to the use of foreign money. While there was so much of this the attempt to coin native money was not stimulated by any need, but was only the fruit of the ephemeral fancy of royal personages. This is further proved by the fact that, when in the first quarter of the eleventh century the importation of foreign money was stopped, there was no fresh attempt at coining. Coined money was exchanged for bars of silver of various kinds, such payments being common at the time. In hoards, besides perfect coins, many such bars are found which have been cut, and sometimes scales are discovered with a balance. Thus we see that money was taken according to the weight of the metal. So matters went on to all appearance till the close of the twelfth century, when a new attempt was made to coin real Bulgarian money, and the issue lasted not only till the end of the independent kingdom of great Bulgaria, but even after the conquest of the country by the descendants of Chagēz Khān. These coins are totally different from those of the tenth century. They are coined, however, like them, by illiterate workmen. There was thus felt to be a complete want of good coiners. But still coins were struck in great numbers. They bear the name of the Khalifa An-Nasir-li-din-Allah, and it is by the years of his reign that we are enabled to tell their date. The coining was protracted even after his death. Their transformation into Jūchi coins only occurred in the time of Mangū Khān. He was elected in 1250, whereas the conquest of

Bulgaria on the Volga occurred in the year 1237. That the Khāns of the Golden Horde did not establish the use of their money in the country immediately after its conquest, is explained from the descendants of Chagēz never destroying the institutions of a conquered country unless they were opposed to their interests. Besides, they thought only of new conquests, and being able to gain what they wanted by plunder they had no need of money.

Among the Jūchi there have been found other coins, struck in the name of the Khalifa An-Nasir-li-din-Allah, but with the date A.H. 692-693 (= 1293-1294, A.D.), exhibiting a completely inexplicable anachronism. They only resemble the previously mentioned coins in having the Khalifa's name, and were coined in the Jūchi epoch in the time of Tokhtā Khān. Why was the Khalifa's name on them, when he had been dead already seventeen years? This led Fachu to alter his views about these coins and look upon them as Jūchi.¹

P. S. Saveliev, however, the Russian numismatist, looks upon these as special coins of the independent Bulgaria of the Volga, and makes a class of their coins before the Mongols. The periods he subdivides into (a) Xth century, (b) the end of the XIIth and first quarter of the XIIIth. These coins only agree in having been coined in the names of the 'Abbāsī Khalifas, whose spiritual power was revered in Bulgaria, when converted to Islām. But on the first coins, together with the names of the Khalifas Mustaff B'illah, Muta B'illah and Tai-B'illah, there were also included

¹ There had been already an attempt to coin money among the Mongols in the time of Chagēz Khān, [Tiesenhausen]. [The above abstract has much interested me because I think I can throw light on its subject. A paper will be shortly published in this Journal illustrating my collection of the coins of the modern Panjāb Native Chiefs. All these coins are now in the British Museum. The modern Panjāb Native Chiefs who are entitled to coin money are Patālā, Jind, Nābhā and Mālēr Kotlā. They obtained the right in the last quarter of the XVIIIth century, originally from Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (Durrānī) Afghān conqueror of Dehli. Patālā, Jind, and Nābhā are Sikhs, Mālēr-Kotlā is Afghān. They all coined as independent Chiefs, and used the coin of Ahmad Shāh of his fourth year, i.e., of A.D. 1751, exactly as it stood. From that day to this there has been no change in the die beyond a mark, as the reigning Chief's special mark or crest. A gold coin struck for me at the mint at Patālā in 1884 in my presence, bore the date 1751, i.e. year 4 of Ahmad Shāh.

The only attempt to vary the die has been made by Nābhā, which State dates its coins by the Vikrama Samvat on the obverse, and uses the couplet adopted by the Sikhs of Lāhōr in the days of Ahmad Shāh. The reverse bears the date, "Sinh-i-jalās 4."

I once had a set of gold mūhars from the Rājput (Hindu) State of Jaypur, purporting to have been struck during each year of Bahādur Shāh the last emperor of Dehli (1838-1857 A.D.). But Jaypur was at no period of Bahādur Shāh's reign under his suzerainty, but was more under British suzerainty than any other Rājput State. The fact is that the Rājās used the Dehli coin as a

convenience. The legends contained no record of real historical or political facts.

In a letter to me the late Mr. Gibbs, a good authority on such subjects, said that the same adaptation of anachronistic coins to local uses was the universal rule among the native states in Kachh.

In Burma King Mindōn Min (1852-1878 A.D.) established a mint, indenting on London and Calcutta for his dies. This was about A.D. 1860, but his earlier coins all bear date Burmese era 1214 = A.D. 1852. All in Mandalay tell me that Mindōn Min used the peacock as his crest, and his son, Thibō Min (1878-1885 A.D.), whom the English deposed, used the lion (or dragon). But I have "lion" coins dated 1214 = A.D. 1852. I am told by a man who was once employed in the mint, that this was because the Burmans would sometimes use the reverse die of one coin with the obverse die of another! It is also doubtful whether the Panjāb chiefs really coined before Samvat 1820 = A.D. 1763, though their coins bear date A.D. 1751.

The coins of the Buddhist kings of Arakan bore Muhammadan titles and designations and even the kalima long after the country ceased to be tributary to the Muhammadan Kings of Bengal. Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 78. The history of the early British coinage in India strongly exhibits the same falsification of facts and is described by Prinsep as an "unhappy tissue of mis-statements as to names, places, and dates." *Useful Tables*, Pt. I, p. 4.

The inferences therefore are (1) that anachronisms are the rule, not the exception, in the coinage of Minor Oriental Mints; (2) by analogy the deductions about the Bulgarian coinage are probably all correct.—B. C. TAPPEL.]

the names of the Bulgarian kings TALIB and MUMIN. On the coins of the second class is only read the name of An-Nasir-li-din-Allah. Saveliev considers them the last memorials of the independent Bulgarian Empire, and thinks that they were coined in great quantities.

These coins are generally copper, and of an antique type. The silver money is rarest with the inscription:—"Use life, short as an hour, in honourable works." The writer disagrees with Saveliev's opinion that many were coined. On the 2nd of December, 1887, some silver coins were brought to the writer from Al-Kasar. The discovery had been made while a grave was being dug. 104 silver coins were found in a heap. There was no Jüchl coin among them. Their condition showed that they had long been buried. They were rudely fashioned, and the inscriptions ungrammatical.

He then proceeds to give a few of the most interesting—

1. Obverse:—En-Nasir-li-din Allah, Commander of the Faithful.

Reverse:—a *dīnār*, coined in Bulgaria.

The Khalifa's name is spelled wrong; and instead of *dīnār*, which means gold coin, *dirham*, silver coin, should have been used.

2. Obverse and reverse the same as above, but on the reverse a kind of zigzag is cut.

3. On the obverse there are three stars placed horizontally. Reverse: the inscription is, "Life is an hour; use it for piety."

Some of these coins are rare. The writer, during thirty years, has had only one example of No. 3. He concludes by stating that the coins are independent Bulgarian money, the coining of which continued after the conquest of the country by the Mongols till the establishment of an independent Jüchl rule.

Finds of large hoards of money coined in the name of An-Nasir-li-din-Allah were not known up to this time.

(b) *Nicholas Spathari, before his arrival in Russia; by P. Sirku.*

There is a Chinese account in the Manchu language of the stay of Nicholas Spathari in Peking. This document is valuable, because it explains the relations existing between Russia and China. Only some extracts have previously appeared in the *Manchu Chrestomathy* of Prof. Vasiliev. The writer of the article does not propose to give a complete account of Spathari, but some new material about him, especially from the Greek State Papers. He was born about 1625 in Moldavia, of a family which had come from the Peloponnesus, and was educated at Constantinople. Here he acquired ancient Greek,

Turkish and Arabic, and afterwards probably finished his education at Padua. In 1653 Stephen Giorgitsa seized the hospodarship of Moldavia from Basil Lupu, and Nicholas became his secretary and private friend. In 1657 George Ghika was hospodar, and into his good graces Spathari insinuated himself. But under a subsequent governor we find Spathari caught intriguing, and he had his nose cut off, hence he was called Kurnal or the snub-nosed. Afterwards on the recommendation of Dositheus, the patriarch of Jerusalem, he was received into the Russian service. In consequence of his great knowledge of foreign languages, the Tsar Alexis sent him as ambassador to China in 1675.

(c) *List of Persian-Turko-Tatar and Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of St. Petersburg (concluded): extends from page 197 to page 220; by V. Rosen.*

In a note at the conclusion, the writer thanks J. Gotwald for the presentation to the Library of a very old copy of the celebrated work of Gazālī. It is true that a Bulāq edition exists of this work; but a good old manuscript always preserves its value, inasmuch as the greater part of the oriental editions are only reproductions of some one manuscript, and it is good to test them by other copies.

There is also an additional list of ten manuscripts given by E. F. Kahl, which he collected in Bokhara and Tashkand.

(d) *'The Wisdom of Balavar,' a Georgian version of the History of Varlaam and Joasaph.*

The writer became acquainted with this Georgian version of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph during his stay in the Caucasus. He was told of two copies, one in possession of the priest of the Alavard monastery, Simeon Gadzeliev, and the other in that of Ivan Berdzenov, who died two years ago. There were also in Guria some persons with the name of Balavar, which might point not only to the existence of a book about Balavar, but also to its popularity in Georgia, because in that country personal names are often taken from popular works. In the *Georgian Gazette (Iveria)*, was an account of some books, which had been given to the Society for Spreading Education among the Georgians, and among these was mentioned the *Wisdom of Balavar*. When the writer was in Tiflis, he copied the whole MS. It was of the very recent date 1860, but this very circumstance gave hopes of finding the original, and with this object he put a notice into the *Iveria* of his desire to find it. Soon after, in the *Gazette*, No. 104, there was a communication that the copy of the *Wisdom of Balavar* had been made from that of the

Miltaurovs, inherited by them from the Georgian Tsareviches, under one of whom a Miltaurov was the court captain. The manuscript, which belongs to the Society and includes the *Wisdom of Balavar*, has the form of an ordinary pamphlet. The story of Balavar, which occupies the first 153 pages is followed by 20 pages containing various poems, and an interpretation of the Lord's prayer. The last ten pages are blank. It is in the civil character, with the exception of the capitals, which are in the ecclesiastical. The pagination is in Arabic numerals.

At the beginning of the manuscript we read:—*The Wisdom of Balavar: the work of Father Sophronius of Palestine, the son of Isaac.* There are some lines at the beginning of the tale, apparently by the author, pointing to the Ethiopian i.e. Indian, origin of the book:—"Once I was in the country [Ethiopia] where in the library of the king of the Indians, I found this book, in which his deeds are described." The following is the inscription at the end:—"On October 6th, 1860, this tale was copied by the Government Secretary, the noble Anthony Zakharievich Dapkiv."

"The hands of the labourers are turned to dust:
"Their work will remain, like a treasure."

The language is ecclesiastical, with all those peculiarities of style which we find in the Bible and religious authors of the best period of Georgian literature. The use of the demonstrative pronoun in the place of the definite article, and many other archaic forms of speech and ancient words,—thus the proper word for nightingale, *nitchrinavi*, which has become supplanted in modern Georgian by the Greek *ἀνθήρ*, &c. &c.,—all show the value of the manuscript.

Up to the discovery of the Georgian manuscript, two chief redactions of the tale of the Indian king's son were known: the Greek, which was most celebrated, and the Arabic, which was only recently published from a defective manuscript. In it the story is interrupted at the moment when Balabhar has bidden adieu to the king's son, and the king takes counsel with the wizard how to bring back his disobedient child. Hommel, of Munich, reckons among the sources of the *Fihrist* some books about Bilavhara, translated from Pahlavi into Arabic, and thinks that this tale is in the closest connexion with the *Kalila and Dimna*, also translated from the Pahlavi. At the same time he states that the Hebrew redaction, called *The Son of the King and the Wrestler*, is a translation from this Arabic redaction, which is Musalmán and not Christian. There were many versions of the history of Barlaam in Pahlavi, whence there was an Arabic

translation, which was turned into Greek by John, a monk of the Savva Monastery. There is also another Arabic translation from the Pahlavi which is the original of the Hebrew *rifacimento* of Ibn-Khisdan.

In the tale about the son of the Indian king, if we contrast the Georgian version with the Greek and Musalmán Arabic, we can distinguish three elements:—(1) A fable; (2) A parable; (3) Religious teaching.

The writer compares the various redactions and alludes to an edition of the Georgian text which he is about to publish. He gives the Georgian version with a translation. The Greek and Arabic redactions are also compared. The Arabic version appears to be of the least importance: in the Greek two of the creeds are cited: in the Georgian, only one. The article concludes with a list of proper names contained in the tale, in Georgian, Greek, and Arabic. The author hopes in a forthcoming work to trace the progress of this tale from the East to the West.

(c) *Various Notes.*

(1) *Baron V. Rosen on the Anthology of Ahmad-Ibn-Abi-Tahir.*

In the British Museum (MS. Add. 18532), is preserved a fragment of the anthology of one of the remarkable writers of the third century, A.H., namely Abu'l-Fadhl, Ahmad-ibn-abi-Tahir-Taipna, ob. 280 A.H. (893-94 A.D.). This is a most important century of Arabic literature, as all Arabists know. These works were driven from popularity by the great compilations, such as the *History of Tabari*, the *Book of Songs (Kitabu'l-Aghni)* of 'Alí Ispaháni, and others, which have not preserved all the material which existed. The anthology cited above had been described by Dr. Rieu in his *Arabic Catalogue*, and the writer, during his stay in London in 1875, made some extracts from it, in the hope that interest may be awakened in it.

Ibn-Abi-Tahir, the author of the *Fihrist* tells us, came from a family of Khurásán, and was born at Baghdád A.H. 204. He died in the 76th year of his age. He is accused of pilfering from other poets. Of his numerous works mentioned in the *Fihrist*, not one has come down complete, as far as the writer knows. Only fragments of two of them have been preserved: viz. (1) *The Book about Baghdád*; (2) *The Book of Prose and Verse*. These fragments are in the British Museum. *The Book about Baghdád* treats of the history of the 'Abbásids; the London fragment is that which treats of the Khalífa Mámún. *The Book of Prose and Verse* is an anthology. According to the *Fihrist* it consisted of 14 parts, but only thirteen were published:

the London fragment contains parts 11 and 12. The loss of the greater part of this manuscript is much to be regretted. The eleventh part is entirely devoted to women, distinguished and undistinguished, free and slave, clever and stupid, pre-islamite and post-islamite: their speeches, and witticisms are introduced with many anecdotes. The author gives some of the heads of the chapters which he noticed, as a supplement to Dr. Rieu's work. In the twelfth part two poets especially deserve attention: **Aḥmad Ibn-ʿAlī-Karīm** has an elegy on an old shirt, the whole history of which the author lays before us; the other gives a very realistic picture of the sufferings which were endured from the tax-gatherers, &c.

The text of the London manuscript is very mutilated. One chapter is devoted to the 'incomparable verses' of various poets. The author was to all appearance a special worshipper of **Nabīgī**. Among other things there is an Epistle of **Abū'l Kābī-Muḥammad-ibn-al-Lais** to **Constantine**, the emperor of the Greeks, which is no doubt the same as the book of the **Answer to Constantine** in the name of **Hārūn** which the **Fihrist** mentions among the works of that celebrated secretary. It contains an enthusiastic defence of **Islām**, with a quantity of citations from the Old and New Testament, and deserves notice as one of the oldest specimens of Muhammadan polemic with Christianity. The Epistle appears to be complete.

The rest of the MS. contains letters and fragments. Enough will have been said to shew the character and importance of this anthology.

We see from this manuscript that (1) the ancient poems, or *mu'allahs*, as they were called in later times, in the time of our author, i.e. the third century A.H., already formed a subject of study. (2) The Khalifa 'Abdu'l-Malik collected seven pieces of poetry, which up to that time had never been gathered into any *recueil*. Among this number were six pre-islamite; and, strange to say, there was not one production of the Yaman or South-Arabian races. Finally, it is curious that our author does not make use of the term *mu'allahs*, and knows nothing about the *mu'allahs* or any other ancient poems, which were written in golden letters and hung at the Ka'aba: so we must consider **Ibn-'Abd-u'r-Rabbī**, as the oldest author acquainted with this legend.

(2) *The latest discoveries in Egypt and Southern Arabia.*

V. S. Golenistchev has already communicated on pp. 121-126 of the *Journal of the Russian Archaeological Society*, some notes on the

discoveries made in Egypt in **Tal-el-Amārna**, cuneiform tablets and *rubāyāt* (a collection of portraits). Bezold has contributed further information to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, his report being partly compiled from that of L. A. Budge.

(3) Rosen adds a further note on the Essay by F. Hommel on 'Eduard Glaser's *Reise nach Marib* (in *Südarabien*). For all Arabists this book preserves great interest and throws much light on the Early history of Yaman.

(4) *The Persian Version of the Story of Varlaam and Joasaf.*

S. F. Oldenburg in a letter from London, dated 17/29 of October has written to say that there is a Persian **Varlaam and Joasaf** in the British Museum. The MS. is without date: it came from the Churchill collection, and belongs to the last century. It is in *talik* handwriting, and contains 33 leaves. This MS., the speedy publication of which would be very desirable, will perhaps give the full text of the Musalmān version of the Romance, which in its Arabic form has no conclusion. The opening lines of the MS. quoted in the letter of Oldenburg, give us the first account of the Romance among Musalmāns.

The **Ibn-Bataveih** mentioned in this part, must be the celebrated **Abū-Jā'far-Muḥammad-ibn-'Alī-ibn-Bataveih-al-Kummi**, ob. A.H. 381 (A.D. 991), whom the Shi'a authors considered the best of the scholars that came from Kumm, and one of the most notable Shi'a teachers. He compiled about 300 books, of which a few are preserved in the great European libraries. There is also mention in the same passage of **Abū-Bakr-Muḥammad ibn-Zakari-ar-Rāzi**, the celebrated philosopher, surgeon and polyhistor, who died probably A.H. 320. Among his numerous productions is the *Book of the man who has not a surgeon at hand*, a short guide to medicine. **Ar-Rāzi** was a many-sided writer, among other things on Ethics, and in his works we might hope to find mention of the Romance; moreover he was not unacquainted with foreign languages.

(5) *N. Miednikov: on the coin No. 1 of the collection of A. V. Komarov.*

On a previous page is described the 'Abbāsi *fels* coined at Merv, A.H. 156, in the reign of the Khalifa **Al-Mahdī**. Here an inaccuracy has crept in, inasmuch as **Al-Mahdī** ruled from 158 to 169 A.H. (A.D. 775-785). This *fels* was not coined in the time of **Al-Mahdī**, but in that of his predecessor **Al-Mansūr**.

(f) *Criticism and Bibliography.*

S. Georgievski. *An analysis of the Chinese Characters, &c.* St. Petersburg, 1888.

The book is uncritical: the author connects the Chinese language among others with the Aryan.

An attempt is made, by an analysis of the characters, to give a sketch of the old Chinese culture. The results already obtained by the study of early Aryan culture are well known, but these results have been brought about by a comparative study of roots, which are unquestionably connected, but even about which scholars are not uniform in their opinions. Our author only investigates the Chinese language, and is very fantastic in his explanation of the Chinese combined characters. And in the Chinese characters the same group has a different meaning with different keys.

There is also this radical fault in his interpretation: he accepts the idea that the present style of writing is nothing else than simplification of the ancient styles. But why should we not believe that, as the culture changed, the writing changed, so that in their different conditions the people would naturally express their thoughts by different combinations and thus change the old methods? He frequently treats as old characters those which are late. He attempts to prove, among other things, that the Chinese, at the time when they settled in the east from Central Asia, had not black hair, and were of a fair complexion, but not one of the examples introduced confirm this. He interprets the combination of characters which Vasiliev takes to mean 'black-haired' as signifying 'ploughmen, agriculturists,' which he holds the primitive Chinese to have been.

The writer is too fond of seeing allusions to foreigners everywhere. He is led to this by the fact that the names of foreigners are written with keys denoting the dog, snake, &c., but this may point to the custom of calling races after animals, and does not shew any attempt to look upon them with dislike. Throughout, the author interprets the characters from preconceived notions, and also explains the same character differently in different parts of his book. Thus, as explaining the earliest unit of the Chinese family, father, mother and son, he interprets the character *tera*, on page 21, as 'three people under a roof,' and on page 97 he says, 'the character *tera*, 'house or family,' is compounded of *mian*, 'a roof,' and *shi*, 'swine,'—i.e. each Chinese family had swine.

To conclude: the Chinese language and its literature are still too little studied for it to be possible to investigate the primitive culture of the Chinese people: the analysis which our author gives, is arbitrary and can lead to no satisfactory results.

(2) *Z. Matusovski. A. Geographical Survey of the Chinese Empire. St. Petersburg 1888.*

This work answers a want long felt in Russia. It is valuable both to the general public and to specialists. There is not only a careful map

appended, but plans of some of the Chinese towns. Perhaps the former is somewhat overcrowded with names, but the work is a very valuable one.

(g) *Catalogues of Oriental MSS.; by Rosen.*

(i) *Catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum, by Ch. Rieu. London, 1888.*

(ii) *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin von Wilhelm Pertsch. Berlin, 1888.*

(iii) *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin von W. Ahlwardt. Erster Band. Berlin, 1887.*

The materials for the study of these three Muhammadan languages are constantly increasing; the British Museum and the Library of Berlin being very active in their purchase. Dr. Rieu's *Turkish Catalogue* will be warmly greeted, because, with the exception of that of the Viennese Library by Flügel, there was little to aid our study of Ottoman literature.

The collection of the British Museum contains 444 Ottoman MSS. (including some from Azurbijân) and 39 Chughatai. It is rich in ancient works preserved in ancient copies. In this respect it almost surpasses all other collections. Those of Paris and Oxford, of which up to the present time there is no description, perhaps will prove richer. The British Museum has no copy of the *Kudatku-Bilik*, of which Vienna is justly proud, and manuscripts in the Uighur character are wanting, but it boasts an old copy of the *History of the Prophets* by Rubguzi, compiled A.H. 710, and referred by Dr. Rieu to the XV. century. The MS. is not dated, but we can rely upon such a competent scholar as Dr. Rieu. He identifies the Amir Nâsirü'd-din Tukboga, mentioned in the preface of Rudguzi, to whom the whole work is dedicated, with the Amir Tukboga, whom Ibn-Batûta (A.H. 733) saw in the camp of Sultân Termashirin, near Naksheb. When Rudguzi is edited again,—which is much to be desired,—the London copy must be compared with the text.

Besides this pearl, we find (p. 290) a rare old Chughatai work, *Muhabbat-namah*, by a certain Khwarizmi, compiled in A. H. 754, in a manuscript of the year 914, which also contains the *Makhsan-u'l-ierdr* of Haidar Telbê, the *Gul-i-Nâraz* of Maulânâ Lutfi and also his *dîwân*, the *De-nama* of Amiri (compiled in A.H. 833), the *Qasida* of Shaibânî Khân, the *Laidfat-nama* of Khozhdeni (a work up to the present entirely unknown), the *Ta'ash-Shah-nama* of Sidi Ahmad ibn-Mirân Shâh and some other small poetical productions. There is also the *Dîwân* of Sakkâki, the oldest contemporary of Mir 'Alishêr, unfortunately

incomplete. The works of Mir 'Alishér are to be found in several examples: especially remarkable is the dated copy of his *diwān* of the year A.H. 887 and the copy of his *Majlis-an-nafaris* of A.H. 987. There is also the historical work of *Tavdrikh-Gusida-i-Nusrat-nāma*, compiled in A.H. 908, which contains the history of Shaibānī Khān. The *Shaibānī-nāma*, according to Dr. Rieu, appears to be an abridgment of this work. The London copy is incomplete. Among Chughatai MSS. is the only known copy of the great Chughatai-Persian dictionary, *Seng-Lākh*, compiled by Mirzā-Mahdī Khān, the historian of Nādir Shāh. Among Osmānī MSS. very rare are the Turkish translation of Tabari (in MSS. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), the *diwān* of 'Ashiq Pāshā, the contemporary of Dante in an excellent copy, a treatise on Sufism by the patron of the Janissaries, Hājī Bakbāsh, the *Iekandar-Nāma*, of Ahmadi, composed A.H. 792 in three copies, *Futuh-ash-Sham* by the Pseudo-Wākidi, (compiled, according to Dr. Rieu, A.H. 795, by Zarir-Mustafa of Erzerum), the very rare Sūfi treatise *Bashdrat-nāma*, by a certain Rafi who wrote A.H. 811, the *Khushrav* and *Shīrīn* of Shaikhī in three old copies. These books must be studied if we wish to have a really scientific Ottoman grammar and Ottoman dictionary.

In history the British Museum Collection is poorer than that of Vienna, but it possesses a small number of valuable MSS. even in this branch. In some of them we may hope to find fresh information about the Crimean Khanate, or events connected with Russian history: for example, the *History of the Ottoman Sultans from Ilderin Bayazid to the death of Muhammad II.*, written by Sinān Chelebi, surnamed Bihishth the contemporary of Neshri,—the *Histories of Bayazid II. and Selim I.* by an unknown author, but a contemporary. Here we should perhaps find an account of the stay of Salim at Kaffa and the visit he paid to Mengli Ghirei. Valuable are the works of Kojī Nishānji and Mustafa-Jalālgāda on Sulaimān the Great and Selim I. The London copy of the latter work is the third which has been found.

The *History of Islām-ghirei* from A.H. 1054-1060 (1644-1650) has a direct connection with the Crimea; the copy is almost unique. The conquest of Georgia, by Lāla-Mustafa-Pāshā, is told in the *Wusrat-nāma*, written by 'Alī of Gallipoli, his secretary, which is preserved in an excellent copy.

In the collection of Letters of Abu'l-Kāsim we appear to have the oldest specimens of Ottoman prose. In another collection are letters from and to Peter the Great, and a copy of

the treaty of the Pruth in July, 1711. There is also a very old cosmography, translated from the Persian. The original Dr. Rieu assigns to the beginning of the fourth century A.H., but it has not been found. Everyone who is acquainted with the Persian Catalogue of Dr. Rieu, will find in this new work the same excellent qualities which made that a model. We see in it the same vast erudition and perfect criticism. Moreover there is a copious index.

The Persian Catalogue of Dr. V. Pertsch, contains a description of about 1150 manuscripts. Numerically Berlin is the richest in this branch, but in quality it yields to the British Museum and probably to Paris and Oxford. There are however some ancient MSS. one a *Recueil of Edifying Tales*, dated A.H. 543. Six dated MSS. refer to various years of the seventh century A.H. We may here mention the Persian translation of the *Kullī-va-Dimna* of A.H. 669, the very rare *Astronomy of Muhammad-al-Mas'ūdī* of A.H. 685, the *Cosmography of Tūst* of A.H. 687. There are six MSS. belonging to the eighth century A.H. One of A.H. 731, a very rare translation of Samarkandi. One of A.H. 734, a little treatise on the difficult words in the *Qurān*, &c.

Persian MSS. of the ninth century A.H. meet us pretty often in all great libraries. The writer has not remarked many rare ancient works on going through the Catalogue. There are, however, a short encyclopædic work of Avicenna, almost unique; a rare *Tazkira* of Aufi, a valuable copy of the mystic poem of Senaie, and the *Diwān* of his pupil Sozeni; and some comparatively old copies of the works of Nizāmi. No ancient copies of the *Shāh-Nāma* of Firdūsī are to be found in this library, and the manuscript of the *Vis-u-Ramīn* has no value. But an old copy of the great *Medical Encyclopædia of Jurjānī* and two copies of the *Cosmography of Tūst* deserve notice. This last work is very interesting both in contents and language, and deserves editing.

Besides these there is a copy of *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, incomplete but somewhat old; two good copies of *Zafar-Nāma*; a comparatively rare *Dustūr-u'l-Vusard* of Khondamīr; the *History of the Kirmān Seljāks*, not long since edited by Houtsma; the *History of Haidar-Rāzi*; the *Memoirs of Shāh Tahmāsp*, important for the modern history of Persia; &c.

Generally speaking, the Berlin Collection is richest in Indo-Persian history and literature, as might be inferred from the fact that the greater part was brought by Sprenger from India. The Catalogue here published is the best known of Persian literature, with the exception of that of Dr. Rieu. The condition of Dr. Pertsch in

oriental literature is already known from his *Catalogue of the Arabic books at Gotha*. The reviewer has only two faults to find:—(1) There is no systematic reference to copies of the books in other libraries; (2) The author in the case of the minor *taskira* gives full lists of the poets mentioned in them; of these there are about 4,000; our knowledge of Persian poetry is certainly thereby increased, but instead of so many names of mere rhymesters it would have been better to have given extracts from rarer works.

The indices are copious: these include the geographical names and *ansab*, lists of Indian words in Arabic transcriptions, and indices of MSS. in which are found seals, miniatures, remarkable arabesques, beautiful bindings, &c. The Catalogue of Dr. Pertsch will undoubtedly take an honourable place in the library of all students of Persian literature.

The first volume of the *Arabic Catalogue* of Prof. Ahlwardt embraces about the sixth part of the vast collection of the Berlin Royal Library, which in all possesses about 6,500 vols. of Arabic MSS. The great characteristic of the Library is its richness in the works of all periods of Arabic literature.

The following MSS. are especially worthy of attention:—

Fragments of the Encyclopædia of Nuairi (with the author's autograph) written in A.H. 738, an old copy, about A.H. 600, of a work of Khwarizmi which up to this time was considered unique in the Leiden collection, a work by Gazzâri, extracts from the *Qurân* in Kufic writing, two very rare Kufic fragments of an historical character, a *Qurân* of A.H. 883, with Turkish interlinear translation, three copies of Abd-ul-Aziz-al-Kinâni, a work of Abu Obaid-al-Kârim-Ibn-Sallâm, almost unique, rare and important works on the various readings of the *Qurân* by Mikhi, a valuable *Dictionary to the Qurân* by Rajab Isfahâni, and some very rare commentaries on the *Qurân* forming a complete series.

The Catalogue of Prof. Ahlwardt is compiled upon a plan in complete contrast to those of similar works. In the descriptions of the books, the European literature on the subject is completely ignored. The various parts of a manuscript are described under different heads, and therefore we do not realise what were the literary tastes of the compilers of the *recueils*. The reader is obliged to be constantly referring to the indices. There are quantities of cross-references. It would have been better to describe each manuscript separately, and to add, as Dr. Rieu does, at the end a systematic index

to the subjects. As regards ignoring European literature, it leads to constant repetitions. The author catalogues with equal accuracy the rarest MSS. and those in everybody's hands. At the end of each section he gives a kind of summary of Arabic literature on the subject, but the reviewer does not think this beneficial. The history of Arabic literature will be produced by the united labours of many generations, founded on a great number of monographs, and in no other way. The ordinary system of a detailed description only of unknown or little known books is the best.

The reviewer then proceeds to shew some instances of confusion in the Catalogue, but concludes that he is far from wishing to undervalue the importance of the work of Prof. Ahlwardt. He looks upon the Catalogue as a triumph of erudition and industry, and dwells with affectionate enthusiasm upon the time when he sat at the feet of the author. For a course of more than twenty years Prof. Ahlwardt devoted himself for ten hours a day to the compilation of this Catalogue. But great as is the work, the author might have found some more original task more worthy of his splendid abilities.

W. R. MORFILL.

A LITERARY QUERY.

Can any of your readers, more especially those in South India, give me any particulars as to the authorship or date of a Sanskrit philosophical work called *Gurujñānadvāishītha*? A quarto edition of a portion (*Jñāna-Kāṇḍa*) of this work appeared at Madras in 1882, under the editorship of Appayadikahita of Pattamañjai (? a descendant of the well-known writer on *alamkāra*, etc.) It would seem, from the preface in Telugu, that the book has other *Kāṇḍas* (*Upāsana-kāṇḍa*, *Karma-kāṇḍa*); but if it is connected with the *Yōga-advāishītha* or *Jñāna-advāishītha-rāmāyana*, it must belong to an unknown recension of that work, as the latter work is not divided into *Kāṇḍas*.

More recently, an extract from the same *Gurujñānadvāishītha* has reached me (*Kāṇḍa I, vāda i. adhyāya*, xi. 45—xiii.), under the curious title *Yajñavarāha-bhagavadgītā*, and edited with an extensive Telugu commentary by a scholar whose name is itself a crux,—Mantri Lakshmi Nārāyana. This appeared recently, undated, at the Ādi-Kālanidhi Press, Madras. As to the editor's name, I at first took Mantri for a kind of family epithet, and the remainder for a compound personal name, children being, in North India at least, often dedicated to two deities. But this supposition is rather discountenanced by the circumstance that in a Sanskrit Śloka at the

beginning, the *Lakshmi* is dropped, as if an un-essential part of the name. Even if no one can settle my bibliographical query, perhaps some correspondent can at least solve this point of nomenclature.

According to Dr. Oppert's Catalogue (i. 7053), a copy of the *Gurujñānāśāstha* exists at Kottapēta, Vijayanagaram (Library of Mandadi Kōṇḍayya Pantulu).

CECIL BENDALL.

British Museum.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 29.

In the spurious copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I., from Kurtakōṭi in the Gadag Tāluka, Dhārwad District, published by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 217 ff., the passage containing the date (line 20 ff.), with all its inaccuracies, runs—*viditam=astu sō=smāśhi batrinś=ōttara-pamecha=śatēshu Saka-varahēshv=ātītēshu vijaya-rājya=sambachchara-ahōshaśa-varshē pravarttamāna Kisuvōjal-mahā-nagara vikhyāta sthitvā tasya Vaiśākha-Jyēshthā-māsa-madhyam-amavāsya-Bhāskara-dinē Rōhiniya-rikshē madhyāhna-kālē Vikra[mā]dityasya ātmā cha ātma-vinitē nāma mahā-dēvitayōpr=ubhayōr=Vrīṣhabha-rāṣau ta-min Vrīṣhabha-rāṣau sūryya-grāhapa sarvāmāsi (read sarvvagrāsi)bhūtē, — “be it known to you that by Us, when there have expired five hundred Saka years, increased by the thirty-second (year); in the current sixteenth year of the years of the victorious reign; (by Us) stationed at the famous great city of Kisuvōjal; on Sunday, which is the new-moon day between the months Vaiśākha and Jyēshthā of that (year); (the moon being) in the Rōhini nakshatra; at noon; (the sun being) in the sign Vrīṣhabha; there being a total eclipse of the sun.” And the charter goes on to record a grant of the village of Kurutakōṭe, — the modern Kurtakōṭi, — or of some land at that village, to a Brāhman.*

Here the details for calculation are—Saka-Samvat 532, distinctly specified as expired; the new-moon day between the months Vaiśākha and Jyēshthā, i.e. the new-moon tithi of the amānta Vaiśākha, since, by the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, the phase of the moon that separates these two months, is the

full-moon of Vaiśākha, and the new-moon of Vaiśākha, or of Jyēshthā, falls in the middle of its month; Bhāskaradina or Sunday; the Rōhini nakshatra, for the moon; the sign Vrīṣhabha, for the sun; and a total eclipse of the sun, apparently indicated as central at noon, or at any rate as including the hour of noon in its duration.

With Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, in the given year Saka-Samvat 533 current (532 expired), the new-moon tithi of the amānta Vaiśākha¹ ended, not on a Sunday, but on Tuesday, 28th April, A. D. 610, at about 59 *ghaṭis*, 20 *palas*, after mean sunrise for Bādāmi.² On this day, the sun was in Vrīṣhabha; having entered that sign at about 46 *gh.* 39 *p.* on Sunday, 19th April. And, though by the equal-space system of the *nakshatras* with Prof. Jacobi's Tables, Krittikā, No. 3, commenced at about 8 *gh.* 42 *p.*, and Rōhini, No. 4, did not commence till the next day, yet by both of the equal-space systems there was the Rōhini nakshatra, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhānta system at about 36 *gh.* 38 *p.*, and by the Garga system at about 39 *gh.* 55 *p.* On this day, however, there was no eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The eclipse, a total one, which was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only in northern Europe, North America, and the Pacific Ocean,³ took place on Monday, 30th March, on which day there ended, at about 40 *ghaṭis*, the new-moon tithi of the amānta Chaitra or the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha. This eclipse, however, is expressly barred by the wording of the text, which distinctly specifies the new-moon of the amānta Vaiśākha. Moreover, the week-day is not correct; for, even if the word *madhyāhna-kālē* is not to be connected with the eclipse, still the tithi only commenced at about 44 *gh.* 37 *p.* on the Sunday, and was not current at noon (15 *ghaṭis*) on that day. Also, the sun had not then entered Vrīṣhabha. And the *nakshatra* at sunrise being Aśvini, No. 1, by all three systems, there was no Rōhini, No. 4, at all on that day.

If it should be thought that the given year is wrongly specified as expired, then we have to consider the circumstances for Saka-Samvat 532 current (531 expired). In this year the new-moon tithi of the amānta Vaiśākha ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Friday, 9th May, A. D. 609, at about 15 *gh.* 19 *p.* On this day the sun was in Vrīṣhabha; having entered that

¹ The tithi was nominally amānta Vaiśākha kṛishna 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 6 *gh.* 39 *p.* on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth tithi was expanded. The results with Prof. Jacobi's Tables are very nearly the same; the ending-times being respectively 2 hrs. 25 min. = 6 *gh.* 2 *p.*, and 23 hrs. 51 min. = 59 *gh.* 38 *p.*

² The times here are for Bādāmi all through; that place being the Western Chalukya capital, and Kisuvōjal being the modern Pattadakal, quite close to Bādāmi.

³ For this and the following eclipses, see von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 174, 175, and Plate 87.

sign at about 31 gh. 7 p. on Saturday, 19th April. And by all three systems the Rôhini nakshatra was current at sunrise, and up to about 38 ghatts. But there was no eclipse of the sun, visible or invisible. The preceding new-moon tithi, of the *amānta* Chaitra or the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha,⁴ ended at about 57 gh. 18 p. on Wednesday, 9th April. At this new-moon, again, there was a total eclipse of the sun, which, owing to the difference of longitude, is entered in the Tables for Thursday, 10th April; and which again was not visible in or anywhere near India, but only on the west coast of North America, in the Pacific Ocean, and in Australia. In addition, however, to the week-day not being correct, and to this not being the given new-moon tithi of the record, the sun, as we have seen, did not enter Vṛishabha till ten days later; and by all three systems the nakshatra at sunrise was Āśvini, No. 1, so that Rôhini, No. 4, could not occur at all on that day. This eclipse again, therefore, is not admissible from any point of view.

If it should be held that the Prākṛit word *ba*, 'two,' is not acceptable as part of the date, but is a pure mistake, e. g. for the *visarga* of the preceding word *asmābhiḥ*, which otherwise was omitted, then we have to consider the circumstances for Śaka-Samvat 531 current (530 expired). In this year the new-moon tithi of the *amānta* Vaiśākha ended, again not on a Sunday, but on Saturday, 20th April, A. D. 608, at about 16 gh. 42 p. The sun was then in Vṛishabha; having entered that sign at about 15 gh. 46 p. on the preceding day, Friday, 19th April. By the equal-space system of the *nakshatras*, Kṛittikā, No. 3, commenced at about 15 gh. 7 p.; and Rôhini No. 4, did not commence till the next day, Sunday; but by both the unequal-space systems there was the Rôhini nakshatra on the Saturday, commencing by the Brahma-Siddhānta system at about 43 ghatts, and by the Garga system at about 46 gh. 20 p. And on this day there was a total eclipse of the sun; though it was visible only in Australia and towards the South Pole, and not in or anywhere near India. As we have seen, however, the week-day is not correct; and therefore this eclipse also fails to give a completely satisfactory solution. In this year there was no solar eclipse, visible or invisible, at the preceding new-moon, of the *amānta* Chaitra or the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha. And in A. D. 607 the only solar eclipse in this period of the year was a partial eclipse, not visible anywhere

north of the equator, on Wednesday, 31st May, at the new-moon of the *amānta* Jyēṣṭha or the *pūrṇimānta* Āṣāḍha.

Thus, in no way can a completely satisfactory solution of this date be obtained. This result was not needed in order to establish the spurious nature of the grant, which is perfectly clear (1) from the extreme inaccuracy of the language and orthography; (2) from the standard of the palaeography, which marks at least the ninth or tenth century A. D. as the period of its composition; and (3) from the fact that, according as we omit or retain the syllable *ba* as part of the date, it gives a day corresponding either to the 20th April, A. D. 608, or to the 28th April, A. D. 610, as falling in the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikramāditya I., whereas we know perfectly well from the unquestionably genuine records of this family that his father Pulikēśin II. only commenced to reign in A. D. 608, 609, or 610, and continued to reign at least up to A. D. 634-35. But the important point that attracts attention is the analogy between this spurious grant and the spurious Umēta, Bagumrā, and Ilāo grants of the Gurjara chieftain Dadda II., dated Śaka-Samvat 400, 415, and 417. The Umēta date cannot be actually tested; and the nature of the record has only to be decided in accordance with that of the other two. As we have seen (page 93 above), the possibility of obtaining uniform results for the Bagumrā and Ilāo dates rests entirely upon the use, by the person who calculated them for the forger of the grants, of the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, not only for his calculation, but also for the purpose of actual record in the civil reckoning for a period when it is not at all likely that this arrangement was used with the years of the Śaka era, even in Gujārat; supposing that the era itself was then used there, which I do not believe to be possible. In the case of the present grant, it is not easy to decide whether the calculator worked out the eclipse of Saturday, 20th April, A. D. 608, with a correct result, except for the week-day,⁵ and except for his improper use of the *amānta* instead of the *pūrṇimānta* month in formulating his results for record in the charter according to the civil reckoning; or whether he worked out the eclipse of Monday, 30th April, A. D. 610, again with a wrong week-day, and also with the mistake of a month either in the course of his work, or in formulating the results. And perhaps, under all the circum-

⁴ Here, also, the tithi was nominally *amānta* Chaitra kṛishṇa 14. The fourteenth tithi ended at about 3 gh. 45 p. on the same day; and consequently the fifteenth tithi was expunged. With Prof. Jacobi's Tables the ending-times are respectively 1 hr. 55 min. = 4 gh. 47 p.,

and 23 hrs. 13 min. = 58 gh. 2 p.

⁵ This point could be put right by assuming that *bhāskara-dina* is a mistake for *bhāskara-pūtra-dina*, Śani, the regent of the planet Saturn, being a son of the Sun.

stances, the former hypothesis, resting upon the rejection of the syllable *ba* as part of the date, may be considered the more acceptable of the two. But, whatever opinion may be held on this point, the very specific expression used in formulating the details of the date, viz. "the new-moon day between the months *Vaiśākha* and *Jyēṣṭha*,"—an expression which cannot possibly be interpreted as meaning anything but the new-moon of an *amānta* month, in this case *Vaiśākha*,—shews that the calculator, working,

as is proved by the palmography of the grant, at a time when the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights had probably been adopted for all purposes in Southern India, not only used that arrangement for his work, as was proper enough, but was distinctly under the impression that it was valid for the civil reckoning in a period when, as we have already found (*ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 141, 142), the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement was used with the Śaka years, even in Southern India.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOMBAY SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PREGNANCY.

On eclipse days, whether the eclipse be of the sun or of the moon, a pregnant woman is strictly prohibited from cutting anything asunder by means of a knife or any other cutting instrument, lest on her delivery she should have the child, then in her womb, injured.

Bombay.

R. JAGANNATHJI.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; DEATH.

In Bombay.

One of the funeral rites amongst the *Pārsis* is to carry a dog into the presence of the dead a certain number of times, from the time of death to the time the body is carried away. The dog's eyes are made to turn in the direction of the face of the dead. Does this custom bear any reference to the 'dog-hound,' the *Kerberos* of the Greeks?

Mandalay.

H. E. B.

In Kashmir.

With reference to *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I., notes 333 and 917, most *Musalman*

tombs in the valley of Kashmir have oblong hollows on the top, whether the tombs of men or women or children. The friends of the deceased are accustomed to meet round the grave once a year when the roses are in bloom, and to pour water and about a *ser* of rose-leaves into these hollows. A few prayers are then offered and the company depart.

Srinagar.

J. HINTON KNOWLES.

MADRAS SOCIAL CUSTOMS; PARTURITION.

In South India, before a woman is confined, the room, in which her confinement is to take place, is smeared with cowdung, and in the room at the outer gate, to the height of four or five feet from the floor, are fixed small wet cowdung cakes. These cakes are stuck to the wall and are then covered over with *Margosa* (*Hindustāni* *nīm*, Sanskrit *nimba*) leaves and cotton seeds. The cakes with these leaves and seeds are supposed to have a very great power in averting evil spirits from entering the room and doing mischief to the new-born baby or the lying-in woman.

Madras.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

BOOK NOTICES.

MAṢNAVĪ-I-MĀ'NAVĪ, THE SPIRITUAL COUPLETS OF MAULANA JALĀLU'DDĪN MUHAMMAD-I-RUMĪ; translated and abridged by E. H. WHINFIELD, M.A. late B.C.S., London. Trübner & Co.

In issuing a judiciously abridged translation of this work, so widely celebrated and respected throughout the East, Mr. Whinfield has added to the laurels already gained by his charming rendering of the quatrains of 'Umr Khayyām.

The *Maṣnavi* of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī, which Mr. Whinfield rightly calls the *Divina Commedia* of Islām, is well deserving of a rendering into English, and we may congratulate ourselves on the task having fallen into such competent hands. We may further congratulate ourselves on the judiciousness that has reduced its 26,000 couplets to a readable size, without detracting from the

value of the abridgment as an exponent of Eastern philosophical thought.

The philosophy of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī was that the true basis of religion is love, and that all faith and piety not based on love are false. In illustrating at interminable length his doctrine that the visible universe is but what medical science would call the "symptom" of the spiritual reality within, the great poet took as his bases the *Qurān*, the *Hadīses*, and the writings of the theologians and of the Sūfīs. By his "Love" (*Ishq*) the poet, as Mr. Whinfield insists at some length, meant the "Love," the "Charity" of the *New Testament*, and his "Knowledge" (*Gnosis*) is the result of this Love. "The more a man loves, the deeper he penetrates the purposes of God."

The "Knower" (Gnostic, 'Arif) therefore is he who possesses this Love, and whose "faith" is based on love alone. No writer, in fact, deals more severely with that faith which consists of orthodox dogmas (*jam'd'at*) and is based on orthodox customs (*taql'id*). For mere ritual he expresses no respect.

Taking the above as a very brief expression of the cardinal points of the Sûfi faith, as expounded by one of their greatest representatives, it will be sufficient here to note one or two points of the practices he inculcated and of the doctrines he taught, to show what a remarkable thinker and teacher we have before us in this book. The Sûfis aimed at perfection by self-annihilation (*fand*) and Jalâlu'ddin Rûmî countenanced ecstasy (*hâl*) as an attendant of *fand*, though he was aware of its liability to abuse. He believed in saints as the special favourites of heaven, gifted with miraculous powers, which were not, however, of much consequence; and he also taught the doctrine of unrecognised saints, or those who were endowed with spontaneous goodness:—"against such as these there is no law."

The poet also always, as emphatically as he could, taught the "paramount obligation of compassion, humility, toleration, patience, and the peaceful temper": the mystical meaning of the text of the *Qurân*; the final restitution of those who throw themselves on the mercy of God at the Day of Judgment; and the doctrine that woman is "not a mere plaything of man but a ray of the Deity."

We may justly quote, from Mr. Whinfield's book, his dying instructions (ob. A.D. 1273) to his followers as a means of judging what manner of man this remarkable philosopher was: "My testament is this, that ye be pious towards God in private and in public;—that ye eat little, sleep little, speak little;—that ye depart from wickedness and sin;—that ye continue instant in fasting and steadfast in vigilance;—that ye flee from carnal lusts with all your might;—that ye endure patiently the contumely of all men;—that ye shun the company of the base and foolish, and consort with the noble-hearted and the pious. Verily the best man is he who doth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short and guideth men aright. Praise be to the God, who is the Unity!"

INDIA: A DESCRIPTIVE POEM, by H. B. W. GARRICK, Assistant Archaeologist to the Government of India. London: Trübner & Co. 1889.

Before Mr. Garrick issues anything else, he might advantageously get some competent friend

¹ Pubblicazioni della Società Asiatica Italiana, Volume II. *Stefanites kai Ixhlaiths*: Quattro Recensioni della

to revise his spelling of Sanskrit and other Indian words and names. Note 1, page 2, in addition to giving *Pûrânas* and *Bhagavat* instead of *Purânas* and *Bhâgavata*, contains no less than six mistakes in the well-known names which (according to the system aimed at) would properly have been written Jambudwipa, Kuru, and Siddhapuri. And a still more remarkable peculiarity is Mr. Garrick's use, all through the book, of the long *û* in Buddha and Buddhism, though the merest tyro should know that this is a mistake.

Some of the footnotes are very wonderful from other points of view. In note 1, page 56, Mr. Garrick tells us that "*Merû* is the Olympus of the Hindûs: hence the generic form of *mer* for a mountain or mountainous district, and hence also the affix of *mer* to such place-names as Ajmer, &c., in India."!!! And in the note on the next page he arrives at B.C. 1424 as the date of the Bhârata War; an error of 1024 years, since the real date is B.C. 2448, as established by the well-known complete version, — quoted by Varâhamihira and Kalhâna, — of the first of the data mentioned by him. These are only typical instances out of a large number of mistakes which ought not to occur in even the lighter writings of one who tells us, on the title-page of the present book, that he is an Assistant Archaeologist to the Government of India.

As to the "poetry," the kindest thing we can say of it is that it is on a par with the archaeological knowledge and scholarship displayed throughout, as just noted. We can only hope that it will afford as much pleasure, as it will no doubt afford amusement, to that master of verse, the Earl of Lytton, to whom we observe it has been dedicated "by kind permission."

FOUR EDITIONS OF *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΧΝΗΑΙΤΗΣ*, the Greek version of *كتاب كليله و دمنه*, by VITTORIO PUNTONI. Publications of the Italian Asiatic Society, Vol. II. Rome, Florence and Turin; Hermann Loescher, 1889.

The Fables of Bidpai, equally well known by their other title of *Kalilah and Dimnah*, in their Arabic and Syriac forms have long attracted the attention of Orientalists; and the distinguished Italian scholar who has now presented us with four distinct editions of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, as the title of the Greek version runs, has earned the gratitude of all students of this class of Folklore and conferred a lasting benefit on the newly formed Italian Asiatic Society.

Versione Greca del *كتاب كليله و دمنه* pubblicata da Vittorio Puntoni. Roma-Firenze-Torino, Libreria di E. manno Loescher, 1889.

AN ANCIENT TERRA-COTTA SEAL FROM BULANDSHAHR.

BY F. S. GROWSE, M.A., C.I.E., B.C.S.; FATEHGARH.

THE curious terra-cotta seal, of which a full-size print is here given from a wax impression, was found about eight years ago at Bulandshahr, the capital of the District of that name, in the North-West Provinces. The site was a piece of high broken ground immediately to the west of the modern town. This was popularly known as the 'Môtî Chauk' or 'Môtî Bâzâr,' meaning, of course, not that it had ever been a 'pearl-market,' in the literal sense of the words, but that it was once the principal bazar of the place; in the same way as the beautiful mosque in the Agra Fort is called the 'Môtî Masjid.' The spot is now occupied by the new Town-Hall and Municipal Garden, the latter — in order to preserve the old tradition — being styled the 'Môtî Bâgh.'

The seal was turned up accidentally in levelling the ground, and was only a few inches below the surface. Though probably some fourteen hundred years old, the lettering is perfectly fresh and clear, and the rudely moulded ring that forms the back of the seal, still shows the texture of the workman's fingers who had handled the moist clay. It was inside a closed earthen jar, which accounts for its excellent preservation. It is oval in shape, with a dotted rim, and is divided into two equal compartments by a pair of parallel lines across the centre. In the upper portion are two devices, one of which is a conch-shell; the other, which is raised on a little stand, looks like a wing. Mr. Fleet was inclined to take it for a nautilus; but it seems difficult to understand how such an emblem could be used so far inland. I myself had at first thought that it might be intended to represent the *chakvâ* or Brâhmaṇi duck, so frequently introduced in old Hindu painting and sculpture. In the lower compartment is the owner's name, in characters of about the 5th century A.D. Though the letters are so clear, they are somewhat abnormally shaped, and there has been considerable difference of opinion as to how they should be read. My first proposal was 'Sattila,' which Gen. Cunningham corrected to 'Mattila,' and this has been finally endorsed by Mr. Fleet, who thinks the person in question may possibly be identified with the king Matila, of the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, where the omission of the second *t* may have been a mistake. Dr. Hoernle had suggested 'Hattiya;' and Mr. Pincott, 'Hattipa.'



In spite of its modern Muhammadan designation, which is more correctly restricted to the Fort, the town of Bulandshahr, which stands on an eminence overlooking the river Kâlindî, is of prehistoric antiquity. It was originally called Baran (the Sanskrit *varāṇa*), and the name still survives as the title of the Parganâ. Bactrian and Gupta gold coins have frequently been found, which attest its existence as a place of some wealth in those early days; and at the time of the invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1017 A.D., Har-datt, the Râja of Baran, though nominally a feudatory of Kanauj, was virtually the independent sovereign of all the country now included in the districts of Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Mêrâth and Dehli, with parts of Murâdâbâd, Mathurâ, and Etâ. He was a Dôṛ Râjput, and, according to a copper-plate grant of one of his successors dated in the year 1076 A.D., he was the seventh of his line who had ruled at Baran. The Dôṛs,—now almost extinct,—claim to be a branch of the great Pramâr clan.

TABLES FOR THE APPROXIMATE CONVERSION OF HINDU DATES.

BY DR. ROBERT SCHRAM; VIENNA.

Professor Kielhorn's kind remark upon my *Hilftafeln für Chronologie*, in his valuable paper on the epoch of the Nêwâr era, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 247, and the wish he expresses that these Tables may become more widely known, induce me to place before the English reader those of my Tables which treat of the Hindu luni-solar year, hoping that they may prove useful for an approximate, but rapid, conversion. The resolution of years and months in days, which in most cases facilitates the conversion of dates given in different eras, is especially fit for the Hindu year, in which the counting up of the *ahargana*, or number of days, is a constant practice. The reader must, however, be cautioned that Tables like the following cannot, for the Indian dates, be expected to give always absolutely true results. There must remain some uncertainty, which, it is true, will not generally exceed one day, but which in exceptional cases may even amount to two days. This must always be borne in mind; as well as the circumstance that the place of an intercalated month also may sometimes be found to be different by the different rules. A calendar like the Indian one cannot be brought with absolute accuracy into a simple Table; and I consider it not a little dangerous to give dates as absolutely certain ones, which by means of a general Table cannot really be fixed with accuracy.

Tables 1 and 2 serve for converting dates of our own calendar (old or new style) into days of the Julian period, and *vice versa*. Table 1 gives the number of days elapsed since the beginning of the Julian period to the beginning of each century; whilst Table 2 gives the number of days elapsed from the beginning of the century to the beginning of each month of every year within the century. And to obtain the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we simply add up three quantities, *viz.* (1) the number of days corresponding to the given century; (2) the number of days corresponding to the given year and month; and (3) the given date of the month.

As regards Table 2 it will be observed that it is arranged after the manner of logarithmic tables, the first number of the first column being common to all columns; *e.g.*, for the 22nd year January, we have the number of days 8036; for the same year, September, the number of days is 8279. There are always to be taken the *preceding* numbers, so long as the figures in the column of the months are not printed in italics, in which case the *following* number should be taken. So, *e.g.*, the number of days for the year 65, February, is 23773, while for the same year, November, it will be 24046. Supposing it now to be proposed to find the day corresponding to the 20th October, A.D. 879, we shall have the following calculation:—

Table 1, century 800, old style.....	2013 257
--------------------------------------	----------

Table 2, year 79, October	29 128
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Date of month	20
---------------------	----

Sum	2042 405;
-----	-----------

i.e. the 20th October, A.D. 879, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period.

Similarly, for the 10th February, A.D. 1889, we find:—

Table 1, century 1800, new style.....	2378 495
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Table 2, year 89, February	32 539
----------------------------------	--------

Date of month	10
---------------------	----

Sum	2411 044;
-----	-----------

i.e. the 10th February, A.D. 1889, corresponds to the day 2411 044 of the Julian period.

The date of the month, which is always a number not exceeding 31, may with some advantage be added immediately to the number taken from Table 2, so that the two above examples would stand as follows:—

Table 1, century 800, old style.....	2013 257
Table 2, year 79, October, + 20	29 148
Sum	2042 405;
and Table 1, century 1800, new style	2378 495
Table 2, year 89, February, + 10.....	32 549
Sum	2411 044.

Two other remarks are necessary. When calculating for one of the years 1700, 1800, 1900; 2100, 2200, 2300; 2500, etc., new style, one should in Table 2 use the line 00½ g. K.½, (and *not* the line 00). Accordingly, for the 3rd February, A.D. 1800, we find:—

Table 1, century 1800, new style	2378 495
Table 2, year 00½ g. K.½, February, + 3	35
Sum	2378 530.

When calculating for a year B.C., we should bear in mind that years are given here *as counted by the astronomers*, who count the year commonly called 1 B.C. as 0, the year 2 B.C. as — 1, the year 3 B.C. as — 2, and so on. The number expressing years B.C. must therefore be diminished by 1, to get the negative number of years counted in the astronomical manner. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that, whilst the number of the centuries B.C. in Table 1 are *negative*, the number of years in Table 2 are always positive; and that therefore, in case we had to calculate *e.g.* for — 813, we would have to take — 900 from Table 1, and 87 from Table 2, because — 900 + 87 = — 813; in other words, we must always take from Table 1 the *preceding* century, exactly as in the case of years A.D. we take the (completed) preceding century. If then we should have to find the day corresponding to the 18th February, B.C. 3102, we should have (since B.C. 3102 = — 3101 = — 3200 + 99):—

Table 1, century — 3200	552 257
Table 2, year 99, February + 18	36 209
Sum	588 466;

i.e. the 18th February, B.C. 3102, corresponds to the day 588 466 of the Julian period.

If, on the contrary, the day of the Julian period be given, and we have to find the corresponding day of our calendar, we must first subtract from the given number of days the next lower number in Table 1 to find the century. From the remainder we must subtract the next lower number in Table 2; the place which this number occupies in Table 2 gives the year and the month, and the remainder gives the day of the month. For instance, having to find the date corresponding to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period, we have —

given number of days	2042 405
— next lower number in Table 1 old style	2013 257 = century 800, old style;
Remainder	29 148
— next lower number in T. 2.	29 128 = year 79, October;
Remainder	20;

i.e. the day 2042 405 of the Julian period corresponds to the 20th October, A.D. 879, old style.

Here, again, the subtraction of the number in Table 2 can be easily made, without writing it down. Thus, for converting the day 2411 044 into a date of new style, we simply have the following calculation:—

given number of days.....	2411 044
— next lower number in Table 1, new style.....	2378 495 = century 1800, new style;
Remainder	32 549 = year 89, February; remainder 10,

i.e. the day 2411 044 of the Julian period corresponds to the 10th February, A.D. 1889, new style.

TABLE I.

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

Years B.C. counted
astronomically.Years A.D.
Old Style.Years A.D.
New Style.

Years.	Day of Julian period.
-3500	442 682
-3400	479 207
-3300	515 732
-3200	552 257
-3100	588 782
-3000	625 307
-2900	661 832
-2800	698 357
-2700	734 882
-2600	771 407
-2500	807 932
-2400	844 457
-2300	880 982
-2200	917 507
-2100	954 032
-2000	990 557
-1900	1027 082
-1800	1063 607
-1700	1100 132
-1600	1136 657
-1500	1173 182
-1400	1209 707
-1300	1246 232
-1200	1282 757
-1100	1319 282
-1000	1355 807
- 900	1392 332
- 800	1428 857
- 700	1465 382
- 600	1501 907
- 500	1538 432
- 400	1574 957
- 300	1611 482
- 200	1648 007
- 100	1684 532

Years.	Day of Julian period.
0	1721 057
100	1757 582
200	1794 107
300	1830 632
400	1867 157
500	1903 682
600	1940 207
700	1976 732
800	2013 257
900	2049 782
1000	2086 307
1100	2122 832
1200	2159 357
1300	2195 882
1400	2232 407
1500	2268 932
1600	2305 457
1700	2341 982
1800	2378 507
1900	2415 032
2000	2451 557
2100	2488 082
2200	2524 607
2300	2561 132
2400	2597 657
2500	2634 182
2600	2670 707
2700	2707 232
2800	2743 757
2900	2780 282

Years.	Day of Julian period.
{ 1500 }	2268 922
1600	2305 447
{ 1700 }	2341 971
{ 1800 }	2378 495
{ 1900 }	2415 019
2000	2451 544
{ 2100 }	2488 068
{ 2200 }	2524 592
{ 2300 }	2561 116
2400	2597 641
{ 2500 }	2634 165
{ 2600 }	2670 689
{ 2700 }	2707 213
2800	2743 738
{ 2900 }	2780 262

When calculating for one
of the secular years
put in brackets, use the
line 00 {g. K.} of Table 2
(not the line 00).

TABLE 2.

Tables for the Julian and Gregorian Calendar.

Year.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Year.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.		Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
00	{g.K.}001	032	060	091	121	152	182	231	244	274	305	335													
00	000	031	060	091	121	152	182	213	244	274	305	335	50	18	263	294	322	353	383	414	444	475	506	536	567
01	366	397	425	456	486	517	547	578	609	639	670	700	51	628	659	687	718	748	779	809	840	871	901	932	962
02	731	762	790	821	851	882	912	943	974	1004	1035	1065	52	993	1024	1053	1084	1114	1145	1175	1206	1237	1267	1298	1328
03	1 096	127	155	186	216	247	277	308	339	369	400	430	53	19	359	390	418	449	479	510	540	571	602	632	663
04	461	492	521	552	582	613	643	674	705	735	766	796	54	724	755	783	814	844	875	905	936	967	997	1028	1058
05	827	858	888	917	947	978	1008	1039	1070	1100	1131	1161	55	20	1089	1120	1148	1179	1209	1240	1270	1301	1332	1362	1393
06	2 192	223	251	282	312	343	373	404	435	465	496	526	56	454	485	514	545	575	606	636	667	698	728	759	789
07	557	588	616	647	677	708	738	769	800	830	861	891	57	820	851	879	910	940	971	1001	1032	1063	1093	1124	1154
08	922	953	982	1013	1043	1074	1104	1135	1166	1196	1227	1257	58	21	185	216	244	275	305	336	366	397	428	458	489
09	3 283	319	347	378	408	439	469	500	531	561	592	622	59	550	581	609	640	670	701	731	762	793	823	854	884
10	653	684	712	743	773	804	834	865	896	926	957	987	60	915	946	975	1006	1036	1067	1097	1128	1159	1189	1220	1250
11	4 018	1049	1077	1108	1138	1169	1199	1230	1261	1291	1322	1352	61	22	281	312	340	371	401	432	462	493	524	554	585
12	333	414	443	474	504	535	565	596	627	657	688	718	62	646	677	705	736	766	797	827	858	889	919	950	980
13	749	780	808	839	869	900	930	961	992	1022	1053	1083	63	23	111	142	170	201	231	262	292	323	353	384	414
14	5 114	145	173	204	234	265	295	326	357	387	418	448	64	376	407	436	467	497	528	558	589	620	650	681	711
15	479	510	538	569	599	630	660	691	722	752	783	813	65	742	773	801	832	862	893	923	954	985	1015	1046	1076
16	844	875	904	935	965	996	1026	1057	1088	1118	1149	1179	66	24	107	138	166	197	227	258	288	319	350	380	411
17	6 210	241	269	300	330	361	391	422	453	483	514	544	67	472	503	531	562	592	623	653	684	715	745	776	806
18	575	606	634	665	695	726	756	787	818	848	879	909	68	837	868	897	928	958	989	1019	1050	1081	1111	1142	1172
19	940	971	999	1030	1060	1091	1121	1152	1183	1213	1244	1274	69	25	203	234	262	293	323	354	384	415	446	476	507
20	7 305	336	365	396	426	457	487	518	549	579	610	640	70	568	599	627	658	688	719	749	780	811	841	872	902
21	671	702	730	761	791	822	852	883	914	944	975	1005	71	933	964	992	1023	1053	1084	1114	1145	1176	1206	1237	1267
22	8 038	1067	1095	1126	1156	1187	1217	1248	1279	1309	1340	1370	72	26	293	323	353	383	413	443	473	503	533	563	593
23	401	432	460	491	521	552	582	613	644	674	705	735	73	664	695	723	754	784	815	845	876	907	937	968	998
24	786	797	828	857	887	918	948	979	1010	1040	1071	1101	74	27	1029	1060	1088	1119	1149	1180	1210	1241	1272	1302	1333
25	9 132	163	191	222	252	283	313	344	375	405	436	466	75	394	425	453	484	514	545	575	606	637	667	698	728
26	497	528	556	587	617	648	678	709	740	770	801	831	76	759	790	819	850	880	911	941	972	1003	1033	1064	1094
27	862	893	921	952	982	1013	1043	1074	1105	1135	1166	1196	77	28	125	156	184	215	245	276	306	337	368	398	429
28	10 227	258	287	318	348	379	409	440	471	501	532	562	78	490	521	549	580	610	641	671	702	733	763	794	824
29	593	624	652	683	713	744	774	805	836	866	897	927	79	835	866	894	925	955	986	1016	1047	1077	1108	1138	1169
30	953	989	1017	1048	1078	1109	1139	1170	1201	1231	1262	1292	80	29	220	251	280	311	341	372	402	433	464	494	525
31	11 323	354	382	413	443	474	504	535	566	596	627	657	81	585	617	645	676	706	737	767	798	829	859	890	920
32	688	719	748	779	809	840	870	901	932	962	993	1023	82	951	982	1010	1041	1071	1102	1132	1163	1194	1224	1255	1285
33	12 054	1035	1113	1144	1174	1205	1235	1266	1297	1327	1358	1388	83	30	316	347	375	406	436	467	497	528	559	589	620
34	419	450	478	509	539	570	600	631	662	692	723	753	84	681	712	741	772	802	833	863	894	925	955	986	1016
35	784	815	843	874	904	935	965	996	1027	1057	1088	1118	85	31	1047	1078	1106	1137	1167	1197	1228	1258	1289	1319	1350
36	13 149	180	209	240	270	301	331	362	393	423	454	484	86	412	443	471	502	532	563	593	624	655	685	716	746
37	515	546	574	605	635	666	696	727	758	788	819	849	87	777	808	836	867	897	928	958	989	1020	1050	1081	1111
38	830	861	890	920	950	981	1011	1042	1073	1104	1134	1164	88	32	142	173	202	233	263	294	324	355	386	416	447
39	14 245	276	304	335	365	396	426	457	488	518	549	579	89	503	533	567	598	628	659	689	720	751	781	812	842
40	610	641	670	701	731	762	792	823	854	884	915	945	90	873	904	932	963	993	1024	1054	1085	1116	1146	1177	1207
41	976	1007	1035	1066	1096	1127	1157	1188	1219	1250	1280	1310	91	33	233	263	297	328	358	389	419	450	481	511	542
42	15 341	372	400	431	461	492	522	553	584	614	645	675	92	603	634	663	694	724	755	785	816	847	877	908	938
43	706	737	765	796	826	857	887	918	949	979	1010	1040	93	969	1000	1028	1059	1089	1120	1150	1181	1212	1242	1273	1303
44	16 071	102	131	162	192	223	253	284	315	345	376	406	94	34	334	365	393	424	454	485	515	546	577	607	638
45	437	468	498	527	557	588	618	649	680	710	741	771	95	699	730	758	789	819	850	880	911	942	972	1003	1033
46	802	833	861	892	922	953	983	1014	1045	1075	1106	1136	96	35	1061	1095	1124	1155	1185	1216	1246	1277	1308	1338	1369
47	17 167	198	226	257	287	318	348	379	410	440	471	501	97	430	461	489	520	550	581	611	642	673	703	734	764
48	532	563	592	623	653	684	714	745	776	806	837	867	98	795	826	854	885	915	946	976	1007	1038	1068	1099	1129
49	893	929	957	988	1018	1049	1079	1110	1141	1171	1202	1232	99	36	160	191	219	250	280	311	341	372	403	433	464

These examples will suffice to show how dates of our own calendar are converted into days of the Julian period and *vice versa*, by Tables 1 and 2. By the construction of similar tables for the Hindu calendar, we shall now be able, when a Hindu date is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period and afterwards into a date of our own calendar; or, when a date of our own calendar is given, to convert it first into days of the Julian period, and afterwards into the corresponding Hindu date.

The Tables 3 and 4 for converting Hindu luni-solar dates into days of the Julian period, and *vice versa*, are arranged in exactly the same manner as the Tables 1 and 2; the only difference being this, that in Table 3, which takes here the place of Table 1, the argument does not proceed by complete centuries, but in a rather irregular manner, by periods of 19 or 122 years. To calculate the day of the Julian period corresponding to a given date, we first take out from Table 3 (using either the column *expired* or the column *current*, as the case may be) the number corresponding to the year next lower than the year of the date. We then add from Table 4, the number for the month of the date, in the line corresponding to the difference between the year of the date and the year taken out of Table 3; and to the sum we add the given date of the month. Thus, to ascertain which day of the Julian period was Kārttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, we have —

given year	937
— next lower year in Table 3, Vikrama current 845	= 2008 562
Remainder	92
Table 4, year 92, month Kārttika, + date 1	= 33 843
Sum	2042 405;

i.e. Kārttika śukla 1 of the Vikrama year 937, current, corresponds to the day 2042 405 of the Julian period. And as this day has been already found (see above) to correspond to the 20th October, A.D. 879, this is the European date which corresponds to the given Hindu date.

The Table 4 is arranged for the *amānta* scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the same month. Here the *n*th day of the *śukla-pakṣa* or bright half is, of course, the *n*th day of the month, while the *n*th day of the *kṛishṇa-pakṣa* or dark half is to be sought as the $(15 + n)$ th day of the same month. With the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, by which the dark half of a month follows upon the bright half of the preceding month, the *n*th day of the *śukla-pakṣa* will likewise be the *n*th day of the month; but the *n*th day of the *kṛishṇa-pakṣa* must be sought in Table 4 as the $(15 + n)$ th day of the preceding month. But in applying this rule, we must always keep strictly to the year of the date, and must on no account calculate for the preceding year. Thus, calculating for Chaitra kṛishṇa 9 of the northern Vikrama year 837, current, we have to look in the tables for Phālguna $(15 + 9 =) 24$ of Vikrama 837, current (*not* of 836 current). The reason of this is that, even with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the lunar fortnights, the year always begins with the bright half of the month; and consequently Chaitra kṛishṇa 9 belongs to the end of the given year.

It will be seen that in every second or third line of Table 4, two numbers are given for one and the same month; e.g., for the month Jyāishṭha of the year 00. This shows that the month to which the numbers refer, is an intercalary month; and in such a case the upper number serves for the first or *adhika*, the lower one for the second or *nija* month of the name.

A few examples, suggested by Professor Kielhorn or taken from his papers on the Chēdi and Nēwār eras (the results of which have been adopted in the construction of Table 3) will show the practical working of Tables 3 and 4, in conjunction with Tables 1 and 2:—

1. Which day of the Christian era corresponds to Vikrama 1397, current, Māgha sudi 4 (Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. XXI., Plate xxix.)?

Given year : Vikrama 1397, current.

— Table 3, Vikrama current, 1371 2200 688

Table 4, 26, Māgha + 4 9 807

Sum 2210 495

— Table 1, old style, next lower number 2195 882 = century 1300, O. S.

Remainder 14 613

— Table 2, next lower number 14 610 = year 40, January

Final remainder 3.

Answer : 3 January, A.D. 1340.

2. Which day corresponds to Vikrama 1275, expired, Mārga sudi 5 (*Archæol. Survey of W. India*, No. X. p. 111) ?

Given year : Vikrama 1275, expired.

— Table 3, Vikrama expired, 1229 2149 187

Table 4, 46, Mārga + 5 17 073

Sum 2166 260

— Table 1, old style 2159 357 = century 1200, O. S.

Remainder 6903, by Table 2 = year 18, November 24.

Answer : 24 November, A.D. 1218.

3. Which day corresponds to southern Vikrama 1224, expired, Āshāḍha sudi 2 (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XXI. Plate xxiii. G.) ?

Southern Vikrama 1224, expired.

— Table 3, column for Āshāḍha, 1106 2104 625

Table 4, 118, Āshāḍha + 2 43 205

Sum 2147 830

— Table 1, old style, 2122 832 = century 1100, O. S.

Remainder 24 998 by Table 2 = year 68, June 9.

Answer : 9 June, A.D. 1168.

4. Which day corresponds to Nēwār 923, expired, Mārgaśīrsha vadi 10 (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 248) ? Since the Nēwār year has the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, Mārgaśīrsha vadi 10 = Mārgaśīrsha 10 + 15 = 25 ; and we accordingly have :—

Nēwār 923, expired.

— Table 3, column for Mārgaśīrsha 819 2341 313

Table 4, 104, Mārga + 25 38 266

Sum 2379 579

— Table 1, new style, 2378 495 = century 1800, N. S.

Remainder 1 084 by Table 2 = year 2, December 19.

Answer : 19 December, A.D. 1802, new style.

5. Which day corresponds to Chēdi 793, current, Phālguna vadi 9 (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 215) ? Since the Chēdi year has the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, Phālguna vadi 9 = Māgha 9 + 15 = 24 ; and we accordingly have :—

Chēdi 793, current.

— Table 3, Column for Māgha 680 2060 064

Table 4, 113, Māgha + 24 ... 41 602

Sum 2101 666

— Table 1, old style 2086 307 = Century 1000, O. S.

Remainder 15 359 by Table 2. = year 42, Jan. 18.

Answer : 18 January, A.D. 1042.

TABLE 3.
Tables for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

Nêwâr Era.		Chêdi or Kalachuri.		Saka.		Vikrama Era.		Kaliyuga.		Day of the Julian period.
								Exp.	Curr.	
This column serves for the months:	This column serves for the months:	This column serves for the months:	This column serves for the months:			Northern (Chaitrâdi) year.		0	1	588 437
Chaitra	Kârttika	Chaitra	Bhâdra.			122	123	122	123	632 998
Vaisâkha	Mârgasîra	Vaisâkha	Âsvina			244	245	244	245	677 560
Jyaishtâ	Pausa	Jyaishtâ	Kârttika			263	264	263	264	684 500
Âshâdha	Mâgha	Âshâdha	Mârgasîra			This Col.	385	385	386	729 061
Śrâvapa	Phâlguna	Śrâvapa	Pausa			507	508	507	508	773 623
Bhâdra			Mâgha			526	527	526	527	780 563
Âsvina			Phâlguna			648	649	648	649	825 124
						770	771	770	771	869 686
						789	790	789	790	876 626
						Southern (Kârttikâdi) year.		911	912	921 187
						1033	1034	1033	1034	965 749
						This column serves for the months:	This column serves for the months:	1155	1156	1010 310
						Chaitra	Kârttika	1174	1175	1017 250
						Vaisâkha	Mârgasîra	1296	1297	1061 812
						Jyaishtâ	Pausa	1418	1419	1106 373
						Âshâdha	Mâgha	1437	1438	1113 313
						Śrâvapa	Phâlguna	1559	1560	1157 876
						Bhâdra		1681	1682	1202 436
						Âsvina		1803	1804	1246 998
								1822	1823	1253 938
								1944	1945	1298 499
								2066	2067	1313 061
								2085	2086	1350 001
								2207	2208	1394 562
								2329	2330	1439 124
								2451	2452	1483 686
								2470	2471	1490 625
								2592	2593	1535 187
								2714	2715	1579 749
								2733	2734	1586 638
								2855	2856	1631 250
								2977	2978	1675 812
								3099	3100	1720 373
								3118	3119	1727 313
								3240	3241	1771 875
								3362	3363	1816 436
								3381	3382	1823 376
								3503	3504	1867 938
								3625	3626	1912 499
								3747	3748	1957 061
								3766	3767	1964 001
								3888	3889	2003 562
								4010	4011	2053 124
								4029	4030	2060 064
								4151	4152	2104 625
								4273	4274	2149 187
								4395	4396	2193 749
								4414	4415	2200 688
								4536	4537	2245 250
								4658	4659	2289 812
								4677	4678	2296 751
								4799	4800	2341 313
								4921	4922	2385 875
								4940	4941	2392 814
								5062	5063	2437 376
								5184	5185	2481 938
								5306	5307	2526 499
								5325	5326	2533 439
								5447	5448	2578 001

TABLE 4.

Tables for the Hindu Luni-Solar Year.

Year.	Chai.	Vaid.	Jyai.	Ashv.	Shrāv.	Bhādr.	Āśvī.	Kārt.	Mārg.	Paush.	Māgh.	Phālg.	Year.	Chai.	Vaid.	Jyai.	Ashv.	Shrāv.	Bhādr.	Āśvī.	Kārt.	Mārg.	Paush.	Māgh.	Phālg.	
00	000	030	060	090	119	148	178	207	237	266	296	325	61	22	295	325	354	384	413	443	472	502	531	561	590	620
01	384	414	443	473	502	532	561	591	620	650	679	709	62	649	679	708	738	767	797	827	856	886	915	945	974	004
02	738	768	798	827	857	886	916	945	975	004	034	063	63	23	033	063	092	122	151	181	210	240	269	299	328	358
03	1092	1122	1151	1181	1210	1240	1269	1299	1328	1358	1388	1417	64	388	418	447	477	506	536	565	595	624	654	683	713	743
04	476	506	535	565	594	624	653	683	712	742	771	801	65	742	772	801	831	861	890	920	949	979	008	038	067	097
05	830	860	889	919	948	978	1007	1037	1066	1096	1125	1155	66	24	126	156	185	215	244	274	303	333	362	392	421	451
06	214	244	273	303	332	362	391	421	450	480	509	539	67	480	510	539	569	598	628	657	687	716	746	775	805	835
07	569	599	628	658	687	717	746	776	805	835	864	894	68	895	924	954	983	1013	1042	1072	1101	1131	1160	1190	1220	1250
08	923	953	983	1012	1042	1071	1101	1130	1160	1189	1219	1248	69	25	219	249	278	308	337	367	396	426	455	485	514	544
09	307	337	366	396	425	455	484	514	543	573	602	632	70	573	603	632	662	691	721	751	780	810	839	869	898	928
10	661	690	720	749	779	808	838	867	897	926	956	985	71	957	987	1016	1046	1075	1105	1134	1164	1193	1223	1252	1282	1312
11	015	045	075	104	133	162	192	221	251	280	310	339	72	26	311	341	370	400	429	459	488	518	547	577	606	636
12	399	429	458	488	517	547	576	606	635	665	694	724	73	666	696	725	755	784	814	843	873	903	932	962	991	1021
13	754	784	813	843	872	902	931	961	991	1020	1050	1079	74	27	050	080	109	139	168	198	227	257	286	316	345	375
14	138	168	197	227	256	286	315	345	374	404	433	463	75	404	434	463	493	522	552	581	611	640	670	699	729	759
15	492	522	551	581	610	640	669	699	728	758	787	817	76	758	788	817	847	877	906	936	965	995	1024	1054	1083	1113
16	846	876	905	935	964	994	1024	1053	1083	1112	1142	1171	77	28	142	172	201	231	260	290	319	349	378	408	437	467
17	230	260	289	319	348	378	407	437	466	496	525	555	78	497	527	556	586	615	645	674	703	733	762	792	821	851
18	585	615	644	674	703	733	762	792	821	851	880	910	79	880	910	939	969	998	1028	1057	1087	1116	1146	1175	1205	1235
19	939	969	998	1028	1057	1087	1116	1146	1175	1205	1235	1264	80	29	235	265	294	324	353	383	412	442	471	501	530	560
20	323	353	382	412	441	471	500	530	559	589	618	648	81	589	619	648	678	707	737	766	796	825	855	885	914	944
21	678	708	737	767	796	826	855	885	914	944	973	1003	82	973	1003	1032	1062	1091	1121	1150	1180	1209	1239	1268	1298	1328
22	062	091	121	150	180	210	239	269	298	328	357	387	83	30	327	357	386	416	445	475	504	534	563	593	622	652
23	416	446	475	505	534	564	593	623	652	682	711	741	84	682	712	741	771	801	830	860	889	919	948	978	1007	1037
24	770	800	829	859	889	918	948	977	1007	1036	1066	1095	85	31	066	096	125	155	184	214	243	273	302	332	361	391
25	154	184	213	243	272	302	331	361	390	420	449	479	86	420	450	479	509	538	568	597	627	656	686	715	745	775
26	508	538	567	597	626	656	685	715	744	774	803	833	87	834	863	893	922	952	981	1011	1040	1070	1099	1129	1159	1189
27	863	893	922	952	981	1011	1040	1070	1100	1129	1159	1189	88	32	158	188	217	247	276	306	335	365	394	424	453	483
28	247	277	306	336	365	395	424	454	483	513	542	572	89	513	543	572	602	631	661	691	720	750	779	809	838	868
29	601	631	660	690	719	749	778	808	837	867	896	926	90	897	927	956	986	1015	1045	1074	1104	1133	1163	1192	1222	1252
30	015	045	074	104	133	162	192	221	251	280	310	340	91	33	251	281	310	340	369	399	428	458	487	517	546	576
31	339	369	398	428	457	487	516	546	575	605	634	664	92	605	635	664	694	723	753	783	812	842	871	901	930	960
32	694	724	753	783	813	843	872	902	931	961	991	1021	93	989	1019	1048	1078	1107	1137	1166	1196	1225	1255	1284	1314	1344
33	077	107	136	166	195	225	254	284	313	343	372	402	94	34	344	374	403	433	462	492	521	551	580	610	639	669
34	432	462	491	521	550	580	609	639	668	698	727	757	95	698	728	757	787	817	846	876	905	935	964	994	1023	1053
35	786	816	845	875	904	934	964	993	1023	1052	1082	1111	96	35	082	112	141	171	200	230	259	289	318	348	377	407
36	170	200	229	259	288	318	347	377	406	436	465	495	97	436	466	495	525	554	584	613	643	673	702	732	761	791
37	524	554	583	613	642	672	701	731	760	790	819	849	98	820	850	879	909	938	968	997	1027	1056	1086	1115	1145	1175
38	879	909	938	968	997	1027	1056	1086	1115	1145	1175	1204	99	36	175	205	234	264	293	323	352	382	411	441	470	500
39	263	293	322	352	381	411	440	470	499	529	558	588	100	529	559	588	618	647	677	707	736	766	795	825	854	884
40	617	647	676	706	735	765	794	824	854	883	913	942	101	913	943	972	1002	1031	1061	1090	1120	1149	1179	1208	1238	1268
41	001	031	060	090	119	149	178	208	237	267	296	326	102	37	267	297	326	356	385	415	444	474	503	533	562	592
42	355	385	414	444	473	503	532	562	591	621	650	680	103	622	652	681	711	740	769	799	828	858	887	917	946	976
43	710	740	769	799	828	858	887	917	947	976	1006	1035	104	38	005	035	064	094	123	153	182	212	241	271	300	330
44	094	124	153	183	212	242	271	301	330	360	389	419	105	360	390	419	449	478	508	537	567	596	626	655	685	715
45	448	478	507	537	566	596	625	655	684	714	743	773	106	774	803	833	862	892	921	951	980	1010	1039	1069	1099	1129
46	802	832	861	891	920	950	979	1009	1038	1068	1097	1127	107	39	098	128	157	187	216	246	275	305	334	364	393	423
47	186	216	245	275	304	334	363	393	422	452	481	511	108	452	482	511	541	570	600	629	659	689	718	748	777	807
48	541	571	600	630	659	689	718	748	777	807	836	866	109	836	866	895	925	954	984	1013	1043	1072	1102	1131	1161	1191
49	955	985	1014	1044	1073	1103	1132	1162	1191	1221	1250	1280	110	40	191	221	250	280	309	339	368	398	427	457	486	516
50	279	309	338	368	397	427	456	486	515	545	574	604	111	545	575	604	634	663	693	723	752	782	811	841	870	900
51	633	663	692	722	751	781	810	840	869	899	928	958	112	929	959	988	1018	1047	1077	1106	1136	1165	1195	1224	1254	1284
52	017	047	076	106	135	165	194	224	253	283	312	342	113	41	283	313	342	372	401	431	460	490	519	549	578	608
53	372	402	431	461	490	520	549	579	608	638	667	697	114	638	668	697	727	757	786	816	8					

6. Was Āshāḍha an intercalary month in Chēdi 958, current (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 219)? Deducting by Table 3, Chēdi, column for Āshāḍha, current, the next lower year 923 from the given year 958, we have a remainder of 35; and turning with 35 to Table 4, we find that in that year Āshāḍha was intercalary.

7. As a last example, we will ask, to which date of which northern Vikrama year current, corresponds the 2nd April, A.D. 1036?

Table 1, century 1000, old style 2086 307

Table 2, year 36, April, + 2, 13 242

Sum 2099 549

— Table 3 2060 064 = northern V. 986, current.

Remainder... 39 485, by Table 4 = year 108, Vaiśākha 3.

Sum, north. Vikrama 1094, current, Vaiśākha 3.

Accordingly the 2nd April, A.D. 1036, corresponds to the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the northern Vikrama 1094, current (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 252, No. 24).

For the Hindu solar year it is generally more convenient to use Tables which give directly the beginning of the different months, according to the European calendar, without necessitating the conversion into days. But as it may be sometimes useful to have ready at hand, also for this year, Tables like those for the luni-solar year, our Tables 5 and 6 may not be altogether superfluous. The arrangement of these Tables is exactly like that of the rest, and requires no further explanation. They will be found convenient when we seek the solar date corresponding to a luni-solar date, *e. g.*, the solar date of the beginning of the luni-solar month; and they will also be useful for the computation of Saṁkrāntis. As the new-moon days correspond to the 0th days of the luni-solar months, so the Saṁkrāntis correspond to the 0th days of the solar months; and we have—

0th Vaiśākha = Mēsha-saṁkrānti	८	0th Kārttika = Tulā-saṁkrānti	८
0th Jyāishṭha = Vṛisha „	८	0th Mārgaśīra = Vṛiśchika „	८
0th Āshāḍha = Mithuna „	८	0th Pausa = Dhanuḥ „	८
0th Srāvaṇa = { Karkāṭa „ } ८		0th Māgha { Makara „ } ८	
	{ Dakṣhiṇāyana „ }	{ Uttarāyana „ }	
0th Bhādrapada = Simha „	८	0th Phālguna = Kumbha „	८
0th Āśvina = Kanyā „	८	0th Chaitra = Mina „	८

Two examples may show the application of Tables 5 and 6 :—

1. Which day of the solar Chaitra corresponds to the beginning of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881 expired?

Northern Vikrama 1881, expired;

— next lower year in Table 3....1877.....2385 875

Table 4, 4, Chaitra + 1..... 1 477

Sum 2387 352

— next lower number in Table 52361 429

Remainder... 25 923; by Table 6 corresponds to the 20th Chaitra.

Accordingly Chaitra sudi 1 of the luni-solar northern Vikrama year 1881, expired, corresponds to the 20th solar Chaitra (Warren, *Kāla-Saṁkalita*, p. 315).

TABLES 5 and 6.

Tables for the Hindu Solar Year.

Table 5.

Kaliyuga current.	Day of the Julian period.	Kaliyuga current.	Saka current.	Day of the Julian period.	Kaliyuga current.	Saka current.	Day of the Julian period.
1	588 463	1829		1256 156	3684	505	1933 711
59	609 648	1914		1287 203	3742	563	1954 896
144	640 695	1999		1318 250	3827	648	1985 943
229	671 742	2057		1339 435	3912	733	2016 990
287	692 927	2142		1370 482	3970	791	2038 175
372	723 974	2200		1391 667	4055	876	2069 222
430	745 159	2285		1422 714	4113	934	2090 407
515	776 206	2343		1443 899	4198	1019	2121 454
600	807 253	2428		1474 946	4283	1104	2152 501
659	828 438	2513		1505 993	4341	1162	2173 686
743	859 485	2571		1527 178	4426	1247	2204 733
801	880 670	2656		1558 225	4484	1305	2225 918
886	911 717	2714		1579 410	4569	1390	2256 965
944	932 902	2799		1610 457	4627	1448	2278 150
1029	963 949	2884		1641 504	4712	1533	2309 197
1114	994 996	2942		1662 689	4797	1618	2340 244
1172	1016 181	3027		1693 736	4855	1676	2361 429
1257	1047 228	3085		1714 921	4940	1761	2392 476
1315	1068 413	3170	-9	1745 968	4998	1819	2413 661
1400	1099 460	3228	49	1767 153	5083	1904	2444 708
1485	1130 507	3313	134	1798 200	5168	1989	2475 755
1543	1151 692	3398	219	1829 247	5226	2047	2496 940
1628	1182 739	3456	277	1850 432	5311	2132	2527 987
1686	1203 924	3541	362	1881 479	5369	2190	2549 172
1771	1234 971	3599	420	1902 664	5454	2275	2580 219

Table 6.

Year.	Val.	Jyai.	Ashv.	Shr.	Bhad.	Asvi.	Kartt.	Marg.	Poush.	Magh.	Phalg.	Chai.
00	000	031	062	094	125	156	187	217	246	276	305	335
01	365	396	427	459	491	522	552	582	611	641	670	700
02	730	761	793	824	856	887	917	947	977	1006	1035	1065
03	1096	1271	158	190	221	252	283	312	342	371	401	431
04	461	492	523	555	586	617	648	678	707	737	766	796
05	826	857	888	920	952	983	1013	1043	1072	1102	1131	1161
06	2 191	222	254	285	317	348	378	408	438	467	497	526
07	557	588	619	651	682	713	744	773	803	832	862	892
08	922	953	984	1016	1047	1078	1109	1139	1168	1198	1227	1257
09	3 287	318	350	381	413	444	474	504	533	563	592	622
10	652	683	715	746	778	809	839	869	899	928	958	987
11	4 018	049	080	112	143	174	205	235	264	293	323	353
12	333	414	445	477	508	539	570	600	629	659	688	718
13	748	779	811	842	874	905	935	965	995	1024	1053	1083
14	5 113	144	176	207	239	270	300	330	360	389	419	448
15	479	510	541	573	604	635	666	696	725	754	784	814
16	844	875	906	938	969	1000	1031	1061	1090	1120	1149	1179
17	6 209	240	272	303	335	366	396	426	456	485	514	544
18	575	605	637	668	700	731	761	791	821	850	880	909
19	940	971	1002	1034	1065	1096	1127	1157	1187	1215	1245	1275
20	7 305	336	367	399	430	461	492	522	551	581	610	640
21	670	701	733	764	796	827	857	887	917	946	975	1005
22	8 036	066	098	129	161	192	222	252	282	311	341	370
23	401	432	463	495	526	557	588	618	647	676	706	736
24	766	797	828	860	891	922	953	983	1013	1042	1071	1101

Table 6.—(cont.)

Year.	Val.	Jyai.	Ashv.	Shr.	Bhad.	Asvi.	Kartt.	Marg.	Poush.	Magh.	Phalg.	Chai.
25	9 131	162	194	225	257	288	318	348	378	407	436	466
26	497	528	559	591	622	653	683	713	743	772	802	832
27	862	893	924	956	987	1018	1049	1079	1108	1137	1167	1197
28	10 227	258	289	321	352	384	414	444	473	503	532	562
29	592	623	655	686	718	749	779	809	839	868	897	927
30	958	989	1020	1052	1083	1114	1145	1174	1204	1233	1263	1293
31	11 323	354	385	417	448	479	510	540	569	599	628	658
32	688	719	750	782	814	845	875	905	934	964	993	1023
33	12 053	084	116	147	179	210	240	270	300	329	358	388
34	419	450	481	513	544	575	606	635	665	694	724	754
35	784	815	846	878	909	940	971	1001	1030	1060	1089	1119
36	13 149	180	211	243	275	306	336	366	395	425	454	484
37	514	545	577	608	640	671	701	731	761	790	820	849
38	880	911	942	974	1005	1036	1067	1096	1126	1155	1185	1215
39	14 245	276	307	339	370	401	432	462	491	521	550	580
40	610	641	673	704	736	767	797	827	857	886	915	945
41	975	1006	1038	1069	1101	1132	1162	1192	1221	1251	1281	1310
42	15 341	372	403	435	466	497	528	558	587	616	646	676
43	706	737	768	800	831	862	893	923	952	982	1011	1041
44	16 071	102	134	165	197	228	258	288	318	347	376	406
45	436	467	499	530	562	593	623	653	682	712	742	771
46	802	833	864	896	927	958	989	1019	1048	1077	1107	1137
47	17 167	198	229	261	292	323	354	384	413	443	472	502
48	532	563	595	626	658	689	719	749	779	808	837	867
49	898	928	960	991	1023	1054	1084	1114	1144	1173	1203	1232
50	18 263	294	325	357	388	419	450	480	509	538	568	598
51	628	659	690	722	753	784	815	845	874	904	933	963
52	993	1024	1056	1087	1119	1150	1180	1210	1240	1269	1298	1328
53	19 359	389	421	453	484	515	545	575	605	634	664	693
54	724	755	786	818	849	880	911	941	970	999	1029	1059
55	20 089	120	151	183	214	246	276	306	335	365	394	424
56	454	485	517	548	580	611	641	671	701	730	759	789
57	820	851	882	914	945	976	1007	1036	1066	1095	1125	1155
58	21 185	216	247	279	310	341	372	402	431	461	490	520
59	550	581	612	644	676	707	737	767	796	826	855	885
60	915	946	978	1009	1041	1072	1102	1132	1162	1191	1220	1250
61	22 281	312	343	375	406	437	468	497	527	556	586	616
62	646	677	708	740	771	802	833	863	892	922	951	981
63	23 011	042	073	105	137	168	198	228	257	287	316	346
64	376	407	439	470	502	533	563	593	623	652	682	711
65	742	773	804	836	867	898	929	958	988	1017	1047	1077
66	24 107	138	169	201	232	263	294	324	353	383	412	442
67	472	503	535	566	598	629	659	689	719	748	777	807
68	837	868	900	931	963	994	1024	1054	1084	1113	1143	1172
69	25 203	234	265	297	328	359	390	419	449	478	508	538
70	568	599	630	662	693	724	755	785	814	844	873	903
71	933	964	996	1027	1059	1090	1120	1150	1180	1209	1238	1268
72	26 298	329	361	392	424	455	485	515	545	574	604	633
73	664	695	726	758	789	820	851	881	910	939	969	999
74	27 029	060	091	123	154	185	216	246	275	305	334	364
75	394	425	457	488	520	551	581	611	641	670	699	729
76	760	790	822	853	885	916	946	976	1006	1035	1065	1094
77	28 125	156	187	219	250	281	312	342	371	400	430	460
78	490	521	552	581	615	646	677	707	736	766	795	825
79	855	886	918	949	981	1012	1042	1072	1102	1131	1160	1190
80	29 221	251	283	314	346	377	407	437	467	496	526	555
81	586	617	648	680	711	742	773	803	832	861	891	921
82	951	982	1013	1045	1076	1108	1138	1168	1197	1227	1256	1286
83	30 316	347	379	410	442	473	503	533	563	592	621	651
84	682	713	744	776	807	838	868	898	928	957	987	1016

2. Was there a Saṁkrānti on the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha of Vikrama 1187, current (above, p. 57) ?

Vikrama 1187, current,

— next lower year in Table 3, 1108 2104 625

Table 4, 79, Mārga + 13, 29 129

Sum 2133 754

— next lower number in Table 5 2121 454

Remainder 12 300; by Table 6 corresponds to the 0th of Pausa or the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrānti.

And accordingly there was a Saṁkrānti on Mārgaśīrsha sudi 13 of Vikrama 1187, current.

In conclusion, it may be added that the Tables may be used for finding the weekday in a very simple manner. For, dividing the day of the Julian period by 7, the remainder 0 always indicates a Monday; 1, a Tuesday; 2, a Wednesday; 3, a Thursday; 4, a Friday; 5, a Saturday; and 6, a Sunday. *E.g.*, as 2133 754 divided by 7 leaves remainder 0, the Saṁkrānti spoken of in the last example took place on, and Mārgaśīrsha sudi 13 of the example was, a Monday.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

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(Continued from p. 108.)

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH EDICTS.

(Formerly a seventh and an eighth edict were distinguished, the latter being engraved circularly round the base of the column. Really, as Dr. Bühler has pointed out, these two form only one, and it is convenient to reunite them in a continuous text. A separate enumeration, 1, 2, &c., is however retained for the lines which go round the pillar.)

Prinsep, pp. 597 ff.; pp. 602 ff. — Lassen (p. 270, n. 1; p. 275, n. 3) and Burnouf (p. 749 ff.) have only commented upon or given new translations of short fragments.

TEXT.

- 11 Dēvaṇāmpiyē Piyadasi lājā hēvaṁ āhā [...] yē atikaṁtaṁ
- 12 aṁtalaṁ lājānē husu' hēvaṁ ichhisu kathaṁ janē
- 13 dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍhēyā nō chu janē anulupāyā dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyā
- 14 vaḍḍhithā [...] ētaṁ' dēvaṇāmpiyē Piyadasi lājā hēvaṁ āhā [...] ēsa mē
- 15 huthā atikaṁtaṁ cha' aṁtalaṁ hēvaṁ ichhisu lājānē kathaṁ janē
- 16 anulupāyā dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍhēyāti nō cha janē anulupāyā
- 17 dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍhithā [...] sē kina su' janē anupāṭipajēyā
- 18 kina. su janē anulupāyā dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍhēyāti kina su kani
- 19 abhyuṁnāmayēhaṁ' dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyāti [...] ētaṁ dēvaṇāmpiyē Piyadasi lājā hēvaṁ
- 20 āhā [...] ēsa mē huthā dhaṁmasāvaṇāni' sāvaṭṭapāyāmi dhaṁmānusathini
- 21 anusisāmi ētaṁ janē sutu anupāṭipajisati abhyuṁnamisati
- 1 (a) dhaṁmavaḍḍhiyā cha bāḍḍhaṁ vaḍḍhisati [...] ētāyē mē aṭṭhāyē dhaṁmasāvaṇāni
sāvaṭṭapāyāni dhaṁmānusathini viddhāni ānapitāni [...] yathatiṭṭipā' pi bahunē
janasi āyatā ētē paliyōvaḍḍisanti pi pavithalisanti pi [...] lajūkā pi
bahukēsu pānasatasahasēsu āyatā tē pi mē ānapitā hēvaṁ cha hēvaṁ cha
paliyōvaḍḍhātha

(a) Here commences the so-called viiith Edict.

- 2 janañ dhammayutam⁹ [.] dēvañāpiyē Piyadasi hēvañ āhā [.] ētamēva mē anuvēkhamānē⁹ dhammathambhāni kaṭāni dhammamahāmātā kaṭā dhamma . . . kaṭē [.] dēvañāpiyē Piyadasi lājā hēvañ āhā [.] magēsu pi mē nigōhāni lōpāpitāni chhāyōpagāni¹⁰ hōsañti pasumunisānañ ambāvaḍikā lōpāpitā aḍhakōsiḍāni pi mē adupānāni
- 3 khānāpāpitāni nimsi — ḍhayā¹¹ cha kālāpitā āpānāni mē bahukāni tata tata kālāpitāni paṭibhōgāyē pasumunisānañ [.] sa — ēsa paṭibhōgē nāma¹² [.] ivividhāyā hi sukhāyāyā pulimēhi pi lājihi mamayā cha sukhayitē lōkē imañ chu dhammānupaṭipati anupaṭipajantu tā ētadathā mē
- 4 ēsa kaṭē [.] dēvañāpiyē Piyadasi hēvañ āhā [.] dhammamahāmātā pi mē ta¹³ bahuvīdhēsu aṭhēsu ānugahikēsu viyāpaṭā sē pavajītānañ chēva gihithānañ cha sava . . . ḍēsu pi cha viyāpaṭā sē¹⁴ [.] saṃghaṭhasi pi mē¹⁵ kaṭē¹⁶ imē viyāpaṭā hōhañti ti [.] hēmēva bābhanēsu ājivikēsu pi mē kaṭē
- 5 imē viyāpaṭā hōhañti ti [.] nighaṃthēsu pi mē kaṭē imē viyāpaṭā hōhañti [.] nānāpāsāṇḍēsu pi mē kaṭē imē viyāpaṭā hōhañti ti [.] nānāpāsāṇḍēsu pi mē kaṭē imē viyāpaṭā hōhañti ti [.] paṭivisiṭhañ paṭivisiṭhañ tēsu tēsu tē tē mahāmātā¹⁷ dhammamahāmātā chu mē ētēsu chēva viyāpaṭā savēsu cha amnēsu pāsāṇḍēsu [.] dēvañāpiyē Piyadasi lājā hēvañ āhā [.]
- 6 ētē cha amnē cha bahukā mukhā¹⁸ dānavisagasi viyāpaṭā sē mama chēva dēvañāpiyē cha [.] savasi cha mē ōlōdhanasi tē babuvīdhēna ā . lēna¹⁹ tāni tāni tūṭhāyatanāni paṭi . . . [.] hida chēva disāsu cha dālākānañ²⁰ pi cha mē kaṭē amnānañ cha dēvikumālānañ imē dānavisagēsu viyāpaṭā hōhañti ti
- 7 dhammāpadānaṭhāyē dhammānupaṭipatiyē [.] ēsa hi dhammāpadānē dhammapaṭipati cha yā iyañ²¹ dayā dānē sachē sōchavē madavē sādhavē cha lōkasa hēvañ vaḍhisati ti [.] dēvañāpiyē . . . lājā hēvañ āhā [.] yāni hi kāni chi mamiyā sādhavāni kaṭāni tam lōkē anupaṭipamnē tam cha anuvīdhiyañti tēna vaḍhitā cha
- 8 vaḍhisatñti cha mātāpitisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayōmahalakānañ anupaṭipatiyā bābhanasamanēsu kapanaṇalākēsu āvaḍāsabhāṭakēsu saṃpaṭipatiyā²² [.] dēvañāpiyē . . . dasi lājā hēvañ āhā [.] munisānañ chu²³ yā iyañ dhammavaḍhi vaḍhitā dūvēhi yēva ākālēhi dhammaniyamēna cha nijhatiyā cha [.]
- 9 tata chu lahu sē dhammaniyamē nijhatiyā va bhuyē [.] dhammaniyamē chu khō ēsa yē mē iyañ kaṭē imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni amnāni pi chu bahu . . dhammaniyamāni²⁴ yāni mē kaṭāni [.] nijhatiyā va chu bhuyē munisānañ dhammavaḍhi vaḍhitā avihiṃsāyē bbutānañ
- 10 anālambhāyē pānānañ [.] sē ētāyē athāyē iyañ kaṭē putāpapōtikē chaṇḍamasuliyikē hōtu ti tathā cha anupaṭipajantu ti [.] hēvañ hi anupaṭipajantañ hidatapalātē āladhi²⁵ hōti [.] satavisativasābhisitēna²⁶ mē iyañ dhammalibi likhāpāpitā ti [.] ētam dēvañāpiyē āhā [.] iyañ
- 11 dhammalibi ata²⁷ athi silāthambhāni vā silāphalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ēna ēsa chilaṭhitikē siyā [.]

NOTES.

1. The correct form would be *hushu*. We have already met the two spellings *hushas* (Kh. viii. l. 22) and *ahushu* (G. viii. l. 2), and we shall subsequently come across *husha* (S. l. 2.) and *hushu* (R. l. 2). This word is the form which corresponds to the *abhiṭṭhu* or *abhiṭṭhu* of

(b) The *m* here has both the signs for the vowel *e* and for the vowel *u*.

Buddhist Sanskrit. With regard to third persons in *thā*, like *vaḍhithā*, and in the next sentence *huthā*, cf. *Mahāvastu*, I. p. 378. It is plain that we must supply an *iti* after *vaḍhēyā*, as we see is done when the sentence is repeated lower down, the phrase expressing the intention of these ancient kings. *Anulāpa*, 'conformable,' appears to refer to the wishes of the kings.

2. I strongly doubt if *ēva* should be taken as a pronoun, either here or when the sentence is repeated in line 19. A stereotyped formula, such as we have here, would scarcely be modified, and least of all by an addition of so little meaning. In dealing with Girnār (viii. l. 3) and Khāsi (viii. l. 23), I have mentioned examples of *ēta* representing *atra* (Pāli *ēttha*); I believe that we have here another case of the same use (*ētaṃ*, as we have at Kh. *ētā*, and as we have had *savataṃ*, &c.), and that in both the sentences the word would be exactly represented by our 'now.'

3. The repetition here gives a singularly embarrassed and clumsy turn to the whole idea of the passage. The two formulas *dēvaṇaṇṇipiyē . . . āha* are, so to say, on different levels. The first simply introduces the observations made by the king; the second, the practical solutions and the decisions to which he comes regarding them; for this is the drift of *ēsa me huthā*, 'I have taken this resolution,' as its repetition in line 20 shows. The *cha* which appears in this connection, corresponds to the one which follows in *nō cha jānē*.

4. It is *kinassu* which we should understand here; for the exact form of this instrumental is *kinā*, see *Hémachandra*, III. 69. It is the Pāli *kēnassu*, in Sanskrit *kēna sūt*. The phrase is shortly afterwards completed by the addition of *kāni*, which particle I have already explained in dealing with a former edict.

5. The active form *abhyunnamati* is, as we see from line 21, used here in the sense of 'to rise up,' which in Pāli (*Lotus*, p. 456) is applied to *unnamati*, and which we should only expect to find in the passive. *Abhyunnāmayati* therefore signifies 'to cause to go forward.' We have several times had occasion to refer to the potential in *ēhaṃ*, for *ēyaṃ*.

6. With regard to *sāvana*, cf. l. 1 of the circular part. We shall again come across it at Rūpnāth (l. 5), and at Sahasrām, where it is erroneously written *savanē*. The *ā* must be long, for the word refers to causing to hear, to the promulgation, the preaching of the religion. It is hardly necessary to point out that *anusisāmi*, is a false reading for *anusāsāmi*.

7. This word must be very much defaced on the original stone. The first *facsimile*, 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 , read *yajayapāpi*, marking the first three letters as not clearly apparent. General Cunningham gives 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 , *yathatiyipāpi*, but in the transcription he places the first four characters in brackets, thus signifying that he has not read them with certainty. Anyhow, both the divergence of the two readings and the fact that neither of them gives a satisfactory interpretation, prove that the text is here very doubtful. We are thus compelled to have recourse to conjecture. From the detached edicts of Dhauli and of Jaugada we see, and this is also implied elsewhere, by the very nature of the circumstances, that the king had, with the view to the moral and religious surveillance which so much occupied his attention, distributed over the country his various orders of functionaries by towns or by provinces. I would therefore prefer to read 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 *yathāvisayā pi*,—'several officers have been commissioned, district by district.' *A priori* this restoration would not appear violent, but it is clear that only an attentive revision of the original stone would enable us to judge of the degree of probability which it may possess. Regarding *āyatā*, see above, Edict IV. note 1. *Pavithalati* indicates that the officers should orally 'develop' the advice, which the king, in his inscriptions, can only give in abstract.

8. Regarding this phrase see above, Edict IV. note 4. As for the form of the Imperative in *dātha*, it is known in Pāli, cf. also *Mahāvastu* I. 499.

9. Regarding the orthography of *anuvēkhamāna*, see above, Edict III. note 3. Between *dhaṇḍa* and *kaṭṭhē* there is a lacuna of about three *aksharas*, happily without any serious influence on the general sense. We might suggest that the stone, in its integrity, originally bore the words *dhaṇḍasāvane kaṭṭhē*. I must, however, state that General Cunningham, in his transcription, writes a *kha* in brackets after *dhaṇḍa*. I conclude that this reading is far

from clear. If it is really the true one, I confess that I can think of no expedient for completing the word.

10. For the commencement of this sentence, compare Girnar, II., l. 5, and following. I have elsewhere given my reasons for considering the sign \pm in the words *ambāvaḍikā* and *adhakōsikāni* to be a simple variant in form of +. We actually meet the former word again in the Queen's Edict, under the usual form *ambāvaḍikā*. This word, indeed, puzzles me more as regards its derivation,—at least, as regards the derivation of its second term. The first, *amba* = *āmra*, gives no room for doubt. Burnouf, following the example of Prinsep, translates the whole compound by 'plantations de manguiers,' without stopping for a detailed explanation. It is, I presume, by a simple inadvertence that he applies the epithet *adhakōsikāni* to it. The paṇḍits of Prinsep translate the compound by 'mango-trees,' transcribing it on one occasion as *āmraṇṇiksha* which is inadmissible, and another time as *āmraṇṇikāh*, from which I can draw no meaning. An analysis into *āmra* + *āvali*, would give 'lines' or 'rows of mango-trees,' but this is excluded by the spelling *vaḍikā* common to the two passages. The word might be taken as a popular spelling for *vaḍikā*, *vāḍi*, (as we have *libi* = *lipi*) being equivalent to *vāḍa*, the whole meaning 'mangos and fig trees.' But then we fall into a new difficulty; for in the Queen's Edict this translation does not fit properly into the sentence; there the word being co-ordinated with *ālāmē*, *ārāmāh*, could scarcely be anything but a singular with a collective meaning. On the other hand, an inscription at Junnar (Burgess and Indraji, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 47, No. 15) has *ābikābhati*, which must be compared with, in the neighbouring inscriptions, *jābubhati* (p. 46, No. 14) and *karajabhati* (p. 48, No. 17). The last two expressions are rendered by Burgess and Bühler as 'plantation of *jambus*,' and 'plantation of *karanjas*,' respectively (*Archæological Survey West. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 97); and for the first Burgess and Indraji suggest 'mango-field.' I suppose that, in either case, it is the transcription *bhṛiti* which is thought of. Although, at least so far as I am aware, the word is not commonly used in such a meaning, still this translation is possible from its etymology. But, however tempting the apparent connection between *ābikābhati* and *ambāvaḍikā* may be, it seems to me to be difficult to admit their complete identity. Such an orthography as *vaḍi* for *bhṛiti*, beside the usual one of *bhati*, could hardly occur on our monuments; and hence this analogy, if it has appeared to me to be sufficiently curious to demand attention, does not bring our perplexity to a close. On the whole, it appears to me to be almost certain that we must explain *ambāvaḍikā* as a feminine substantive meaning some such thing 'as a mango plantation' or 'mango grove;' and that most probably we must seek in *vaḍikā* for *vāḍikā* a popular spelling of *vāḍā*, *vāḍi*, in its sense of 'enclosure' and hence 'park' or 'orchard.'

11. Although General Cunningham marks no lacuna between *si* and *ḍha* in his transcription, and although the line immediately above shows a fault in the rock which existed previously to the engraving, it appears to me to be indubitable that several characters are missing here. The reading as given *nimsiḍhayā* gives no meaning; but it is the more difficult to complete the imperfect word or words with likelihood, as, owing to the fault in the stone, we are unable to calculate the exact number of missing letters. One single point appears to me to be extremely probable, that the characters *ḍhayā* ought to be read *ḍhayē*, or *ḍhiyē*, and should form the concluding syllables of the word [*pō*]*ḍhiyē* or [*pō*]*ḍhayē*. This form *pōḍhi*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *prahi*, continually reappears in the cave inscriptions; it is sufficient to refer the reader in general terms to the work cited in the preceding note. These 'springs' are exactly what *a priori* we should expect here. As for the former portion of the word I have nothing positively convincing to propose. Before going further, we must know with more precision the exact condition of the stone. I do not know whether the characters read as *nimsi* are subject to doubt or not. If it is allowable to correct them, the expression *sinānapōḍhi*, equivalent to *śānaprahi*, which an inscription (*Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 16, No. 21) appears to use, is suggested to us. In that case we might restore it here as *nahā*[*napō*]*ḍhiyē*, and tanks would be here referred to. A future revision of the monument will decide as to the lot which this provisional hypothesis deserves.

12. As far as *pasumunisānān* the phrase develops with entire clearness. Thereafter the lacuna which follows *sa* throws us into uncertainty. About one thing there can be no doubt,—that hitherto the following words have been wrongly divided into phrases. Following Prinsep and Lassen, Burnouf connects *ēsa paṭibhōgē nāma* with the succeeding proposition; but the *hi* which accompanies *vividhāyā* proves that a new sentence begins with this word. This sentence stands by itself, the particles *pi* and *cha* being correlatives, and means, 'in fact, former kings, as much as I myself, have favoured the happiness of their subjects in various ways.' The rest, *īmaṇ chu, &c.*, is marked by the particle *chu* as forming a kind of antithesis with the former portion of the sentence, such as would ensue from the following translation, 'but the great wish, which has inspired me, has been the desire of developing the practice of the Religion.' It hence follows, on the one hand, that one sentence is completed by *pasumunisānān*, and, on the other, that another, equally complete, commences with *vividhāyā*. The words *sa...ēsa paṭibhōgē nāma* must therefore, for their part, form a complete proposition. One of the turns of style most commonly employed by the king consists, as we have seen from several examples, in taking up a term, which has just been used in an ordinary and familiar sense, in order to transfer it by some addition or allusion into the domain of morals and religion, *e.g.* 'traditional practices are a very good thing, but the great object is the practice of the Religion' (G. 9); the giving of 'alms is very praiseworthy, but his true alms are the alms of religious exhortation' (*ibid.*); 'there is only one conquest which is worthy of the name, the conquest of souls to the Religion, only one real pleasure, the pleasure found in practising and favouring the Religion' (13th Edict), &c. Here we have a similar rhetorical figure. The king has just been speaking of 'enjoyment' (*paṭibhōga*) in a material and physical sense, as in the 2nd Edict; and immediately he goes on,—'but this is the true enjoyment' (*paṭibhōga nāma*), to do that which I do, in regard to the Religion and its progress among the people. At the same time, as this enjoyment does not fall to the lot of everyone, I presume that here the king opposes his peculiar form of enjoyment to the vulgar enjoyments of beings in general (*pasumunisānān*), and I would be willing to admit that the lacuna ought to be filled up as *sa [tu mama] ēsa* or some such phrase. Whatever be the value of this suggestion, the way in which the sentences should be divided, and the meaning of the whole, appear to me to be sufficiently certain. We should, of course, read *sukhtyanāya*. On a former occasion (Vol. I., 135, 136) I have referred to the instrumental *mamayā*, which we meet again lower down in line 7 as *mamiyā*. We must certainly take *ēṭadathā* as equivalent to *ēṭadathan*, and *anupaṭi-paṭi* as equivalent to *anupaṭipatiṇ*. If the reading of the facsimiles were less plain, we might be tempted to return to the analogy of most of the passages where this phrase occurs, and read *ēṭadathāyē ēsa°*, but I do not consider the change indispensable.

13. As we have the text delivered to us, we can only consider the words *dhaṇmamahā-mātā pi mē* as forming a complete sentence, and correct the *ta* following into *tē*. But it is curious that the king does not return here to his usual phraseology which would be *°mē kaṭā*, and all the more so because the pronoun *tē* is repeated in its equivalent *sē* which follows *vyāpaṭā*. We have previously met this phrase *vyāpaṭasē*, and I have already (Vol. I. 131), given reasons which scarcely allow us to take *sē* as anything but a parallel form of *tē*. These reasons are strengthened by a fact which we can remark here, where we see *imē vyāpaṭā* and *vyāpaṭā sē* used as interchangeable, and supplementing each other. Under such circumstances, the concurrence of *tē* and *sē* in the same sentence would be hardly probable.

14. For the second member of the sentence, see G. V. l. 4, which allows us to fill it up with certainty as *sava[pāsaṇ]dēsu*.

15. We could easily construe the locative *saṅghaṭṭhān* with *kaṭa*, and in the sense 'with regard to, looking to, the interests of the *saṅgha*.' But this construction becomes less probable in the phrase which follows, for *nigāṇṭhēsu, &c.*, and is altogether inadmissible in line 6 for *dālakānān*. Besides, everywhere here, *vyāpaṭa* necessarily requires an object. I therefore conclude that, in this series of propositions the words *mē kaṭē* represent a kind of parenthesis, and the *kṛita* is hence to be taken, as we have seen *kichcha* at Girnār (IX. 9), in the sense

of 'thinking,' 'desiring,' — 'they will occupy themselves, such is my thought, such is my aim, in the interests of the *saṅgha*, &c.' With regard to this duty of surveillance over the clergy entrusted by the king to his officers, compare Girnār VI., l. 7-8.

16. The letter which follows *tē* appears to have been still legible at the time when the first fac-simile was taken. At any rate we cannot hesitate to read, with it, *tē tē*, a distributive repetition corresponding to *tēsu tēsu*, each *mahāmātra* finding himself thus charged with some special sect (*paṭivisaṭṭha*). Moreover, a distinction is made between the *mahāmātras* charged each with one of the particular sects who have just been mentioned, and the *dhaṇḁmahāmātras* to whom a general surveillance, both over these corporations and over all others, is entrusted.

17. I do not think that there can be any doubt as to the division of the words *bahukā mukhā*. The figurative sense of *mukha*, 'means,' seems sufficient to warrant the only interpretation which is possible, that of 'agent,' 'intermediary.' We may, in a manner, compare the use of *devā* (*devā*) in the detached edicts of Dhauli, i. 3; ii. 2. 'These, with many others, are my agents. Their duties will be to distribute the alms which come from me and also those which come from the queens.' As to what comes from the latter we have an express allusion to their intervention in the fragment of the Allahābād Edict.

18. It is certain that we must complete to *ā[kā]lāna*. *Tuṣṭāyatanāni* gives no admissible sense, and the word is certainly incorrect. I think that it is easy to suggest the remedy, and to read *yathāyatanāni*: *𑀧𑀸* for *𑀧𑀹* is a very easy correction. The verb is unfortunately incomplete, but whatever it was in its integrity, whether *paṭivēkhaṇṭi*, or *paṭijaggahṭi*, or what not, there is no doubt about its general meaning. The officers put in charge by the king of the interior of his palace (cf. the fifth of the Fourteen Edicts) 'are each to supervise the rooms to which he is detailed.' *Āyatana* designates a portion of the *brōdhana*, the inner apartments taken as a whole.

19. I confess that I have some difficulty in ascertaining the exact shade of meaning which separates *dālaka* from *dēvikumāra*. The first designates, in general terms, 'the children' of the king. As for *dēvikumāra*, as we have just above been dealing with the subject of the alms of the queens (*dēvināṃ cha*), it is extremely probable that we should take the compound, not as a *deandva*, but as a *talpurusha*. On the other hand, if we translate literally, 'our children and the other princes, sons of the queens,' it will become necessary to admit that the *dārakas* form a special category among the *dēvikumāras*; but this is just the opposite of what we should expect; the sons of the recognised queens should form a particular and privileged class amid the offspring of the king. I only see one way out of the difficulty,—to admit here for *anya* the same appositional use which we find in Greek (*οἱ ἄλλοι ξέμμαχοι*, the others, that is to say, the allies); *dālaka* would mean specially those sons of the king who were not assured an official title by the rank of their mothers, while *dēvikumāra* would be those who had the rank of princes. I have remarked above that the genitive *dālakānāṃ*, substituted here for the locative which appears in the earlier phrases can only be construed with *dānavisaṭṭesu*. In *dhaṇḁmāpadāna*, I take *apadāna*, in its Pāli sense of 'action,' 'noble deed,' and as equivalent to the Sanskrit *avadāna*. Even in Sanskrit *apadāna* is sometimes met in this sense (*St. Petersburg. Dict. s. v.*). The meaning would therefore 'be in the interests of religious practices.'

20. For *yā iyaṇ*, equivalent to *yad idam*, see above, Edict I., note 6. As for the enumeration which follows, it strongly recalls that in the 2nd Edict, l. 12. We must read *sōchēvē*, for *sōchēyē*, instead of *sōchavē*. We have already (Kh. xiii. 2) met *mādvā*, i.e. *mārdavaṇ*, in an analogous meaning. We should of course read *sādhavē* not *sādhavāmē*; especially as the first facsimile indicated the letter read as 8 by dots only, thus showing that the reading was already then indistinct and hypothetical.

21. The whole of this sentence has been perfectly explained by Burnouf; he has made a mistake about one word only. He translates *kapaṇavalākēsu*, 'the poor and children,' as if he had before him *bālakēsu*, but this transcription is inadmissible. We must here substitute the Sanskrit *kṛpāṇavarākēṣu*, the exact form supposed by our text, i.e. 'the poor and the miserable.'

22. The particle *chu* can very well commence the sentence: we have seen (I. note 3) that it implies slight opposition, 'but,' 'now,' a statement which is immediately verified once more in the following sentence. The only difficulty which exists, is in the words *dhammaniyama* and *nijhati*. The first is sufficiently defined by the sequel. It means the 'rules, the prohibitions inspired by the Religion,' such as the forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals. *Nijhati* is less clear. However, after what has been said above (IV. note 10) about the verb *nijhapayati*, I think that we need not hesitate to derive from it the substantive *nijhatti*, as we do *vijñapti* from *vijñāpayati*. It would, in that case, mean 'the action of calling the attention, reflexion.' If this is correct, the two conditions of progress which the king distinguishes would be, on the one hand, positive prohibitions, duly enumerated, and on the other, the personal feelings awakened by the prohibitions, and, in general, by religious instruction. It seems to me that what follows confirms this interpretation. Twice does Piyadasi warn us that it is the *nijhati* which alone gives all its importance and all its development to the *niyama*, which by itself is but a small thing. Regarding the meaning thus given to *lahu*, *laghu*, we may compare not only *lahukā* in the sense of 'contempt' in the 12th edict of Girnār, but especially the adjective *lahukā* in the 13th edict of Khāsi, l. 12, note w. The meaning appears to me to be very clear: it is natural that the king should attach less importance to the material observance of a few necessarily limited rules, than to the spirit which he would propagate among his people and which would inspire them, for example, with a still wider and more absolute respect for life (*avivimsāyē bhūtānaṃ anālambhāyē pānānaṃ*).

23. It is doubtful how many characters are here missing. At first sight one would be inclined to read *bahu*[*vidhāni*]; but the facsimile of the *Corpus* appears to have traces of a horizontal mark which hardly belong to anything but a +, so that an almost certain restitution would be *bahu*[*kāni*], which has, however, the same meaning.

24. The construction here is extremely awkward; it exactly corresponds to a difficulty which has already been considered in the 11th (Rock) Edict; I refer to what I have said there (Vol. I. 245-47). If we had not this precedent, we should be tempted to take the accusative *paṭipajantāṃ* as governed by the verbal idea contained in the substantive *āladha*. But in the other passage, neither the form *karu* at G., nor the pronoun *sō* at Kh. and at K., allow us to have recourse to this. We must therefore take it here either as an accusative absolute (cf. Trenckner, *Pāli Miscellany*, l. 67 note) equivalent to the nominative absolute, as I have concluded above, or take the spelling *paṭipajantāṃ*, as equivalent to *paṭipajantā* (cf. Edict IV. note 7; *saṃtāṃ* = *saṃtā*, *santāḥ*) and as consequently representing a nominative. I incline rather to the second solution.

25. At the time of the first facsimile, the correct reading **vasābhāsītēna* was still distinct.

26. It is unnecessary to remark that *ata* represents *yatra* and not *atra*, and that it has its correlative in the *tata* following. *Silāthambhāni vā silāphalakāni vā* is in apposition to, and explains, *dhammalibhi*, and comes to this 'these edicts, whether they are carved on pillars, or inscribed on rocks.' We see, I may remark, here, in *iyam dhammalibhi, ēsa chilathitike*, what confusion reigns in the use and application of the genders.

TRANSLATION.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—How can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? But men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires]. Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Thus have been my thoughts,—because kings who ruled in the past did have this wish,—how can we secure that men shall make progress in the Religion? and because men did not make progress in the Religion according [to their desires], by what means can I bring men to walk in the Good Way? By what means can I secure that men shall make progress in the Religion according [to my desires]? By what means can I cause them to advance in the Religion? Now, thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas:—Thus have I resolved; I will spread abroad religious exhortations, and I will publish religious

teachings. So, when they hear [these words], will men walk in the Good Way, will advance [in welfare], (*Circular edict commences*) and will make rapid progress in the Religion. It is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, and that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people, each having his own jurisdiction, that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develop [my wishes]. I have also appointed *rajjúkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas : — It is with this object alone that I have erected columns, [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations (?).

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas : — Along the roads have I planted *nyagródhas*, that they may give shade to men and animals; I have planted mango-orchards; at every half *krōṣa* have I sunk wells; I have had tanks (?) dug; I have had many inns built for the enjoyment of men and animals. But to me the true enjoyment is this, that, while former kings and I myself have contributed to the welfare of men by various benefits, they should also be led to walk in the path of the Religion. It is to this end, therefore, that I direct my actions.

Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas : — I have also appointed overseers of the Religion whose duty it is to busy themselves with all matters of charity, and their duties will also extend to all the sectaries, whether those of monks or of householders. I have also borne in mind the interests of those in holy orders, with whom the duties of these officers will lie; the interests of the *brāhmaṇas* and religious ascetics, with whom their duties will lie; the interests of the *nirgranthas*, with whom their duties will lie; and the interests of all the sectaries, with whom their duties will also lie. The *mahāmātras* will deal with only one or other of these, each to each body, but the overseers of the Religion will occupy themselves in a general manner both with these sectaries, and with all others.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas : — These and many other officials are my agents, and it will be their duty to distribute my alms and those of the queens. In my entire palace they [will employ themselves] in various ways, each according to the apartments confided to him. I purpose that, both here and in the provinces, they should employ themselves in the distribution of the alms of my children, and especially of those of the royal princes, so as to encourage the Religion, and devotion to the practice of the Religion. For devotion to the Religion means practice of the Religion, mercy, charity, truth, purity of life, gentleness, and goodness.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas : — Now, whatever acts of goodness have been performed by me, so in these the people follow after me, these they take as their examples. Therefore have they grown up, and will they grow up, in obedience to their parents, in obedience to their teachers, in reverence to those advanced in age, in consideration towards *brāhmaṇas*, *śramaṇas*, the poor, the miserable, and even to slaves and servants.

Thus saith the King Piyadasi, dear unto the Dēvas : — But this progress of the Religion among men is promoted in two ways; by positive rules, and by the sentiments under which they are practised. Of these the positive rules have only a moderate importance, and it is the sentiments under which they are practised which give them a high value. The positive rules are such as when I forbid the slaughter of such and such kinds of animals, and the other religious precepts which I have issued in great numbers. But it is only by the change of personal sentiments that the progress of the Religion really takes place, in the [general] respect for life, and in the exercise of care not to kill any living being. It is with this object that I have set up this inscription, for my sons and for my grandsons, to endure as long as the sun and moon, that they may follow my instructions; for by so doing they will obtain happiness both here below and in the world to come. I have had this edict engraved in the twenty-eighth year of my coronation.

Thus saith the [King], dear unto the Dēvas : — Where this edict exists, whether on columns of stone or on walls of rock, there care must be taken that it may long endure.

THE QUEEN'S EDICT AT ALLAHABAD.

Prinsep, p. 966 and ff.

TEXT.

- 1 Dēvānampiyasa vachanēna savata mahāmatā
- 2 vataviyā [.] ē hēta dutiyāyē dēviyē dā[?]nē
- 3 ambāvaḍikā vā ālamē va dāna ē hēva ētasi amnē
- 4 kichhi ganīyati tāyē dēviyē sē nāni sava
- 5 dutiyāyē dēviyē ti tīvalamāta kāluvāniyē

NOTES.

Although General Cunningham does not express himself on this point with all the clearness which one would desire, it appears to me to be certain, as Prinsep practically admitted, that these five lines preserve for us the commencement only of an inscription which the detrition of the stone interrupts from the sixth line. Has this detrition made itself felt in the fifth line? We shall at least see that, according to my opinion, and so far as one can judge from a single portion of a sentence, the reading of the last few words require much more correction than the rest of the fragment. On the other hand, I see no necessity for assuming that the lines which have come down to us are themselves incomplete, as Prinsep supposed with regard to the fourth. In any case, there can be no hope here of a really certain translation, but there are at least some details which can be rectified with confidence, and the Queen Kichhigantī, for example, re-enters into that non-existence, from which she should never have emerged.

The first phrase is clear enough: it closely follows the commencement of the detached Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Of what follows, we have only the beginning. The verb is missing, so that we cannot construe the sentence. However, as far as *tīvalamāta*, &c., the functions of the different sub-phrases appear to be pretty clear. We have two relative propositions: *ē hēta*, &c., and *ē hēva*, &c., but is the *sē* of *sē nāni*, &c., their antecedent, so that the *tī* refers back to the whole of this first portion of the sentence? I think not. The meaning hardly lends itself to this construction; for then the thought attributed to the ideal interlocutor, rendered indeterminate by the mutilation of the stone, would come to something like this: 'All the alms given by the second queen belong to the second queen' or 'come from the second queen,' an observation the purport of which it is not easy to discover. I have therefore no hesitation in considering that the two relative propositions, contain the subject of the principal proposition, the verb of which has been lost, and that the *tī* refers only to the proposition *sē nāni*, &c. This admitted, the division of the words presents no exceptional difficulties. *Hēta* is for *ētiha*, *atra*. In the last word of the second line, read *dānē* by Prinsep, the first character is curiously wanting in clearness. It looks something like a ३, and the reading *dānē* suits the meaning well. We have discussed *ambāvaḍikā* (Ed. VIII. l. 2) above; and this word gives a useful basis for the correction of *ālamē* to *ālāmē*, 'garden, grove.' There can be no doubt about the words which follow: *ē amnē kichhi*, which must certainly be transcribed *yadanyat kiñchit*, and *ganīyati*, which is the passive of the verb *ganīyati*, in the meaning of 'to prize,' 'to esteem.' *Ētasi* is doubtless to be taken adverbially, and gives a meaning equivalent to the *ētarahi* of Pāli, and the *ētarhi*, *etarahi* of Buddhist Sanskrit. Instead of seeking for an imaginary general in *sēnāni*, we can remind ourselves that we have already had twice to correct *nāni* into *kāni*, so as to restore a particle hitherto always misunderstood, and we shall thus write *sē kāni*, that is to say, in Sanskrit, *tat khalu*. The last words, — those which follow *tī*, — are unfortunately obscure. Although Prinsep's attempted interpretation requires no formal refutation, it is by no means easy to substitute anything which would be accepted as probable. I can only offer a conjecture. The first word appears to be *tīva*, which we have already met (G. XIII. 1; Kh. XIII. 35) as marking the activity of the religious zeal. This comparison leads me to suggest the correction of *lamā* to *dhamā*, ३ to ३. In the following

characters there is a variant between the two facsimiles; that of Prinsep has clearly *kiyē*, while that of the *Corpus* has *niyē*. It seems most probable that we have here the feminine termination of some adjective agreeing, for instance, with *dēviyē*, and I therefore read *kālunikāyē*, from *kārunikā*, 'full of compassion.' The correction of *ḍ* to *ṛ* is sufficiently easy. When we have once adopted this division of words, the correction of the character *ta* necessarily follows. The first word must be, like the second, an epithet of the queen, and I complete it by reading *-dhamāya*, or, more accurately, *-dhamāyē*. I cannot bring together these observations into a kind of translation, without conjecturally supplying a word on which *tāyē dēviyē-kālunikāyē* can depend. I need hardly say that this restitution is entirely hypothetical, and is only an outline taken at hazard, to bring together the disjointed fragments.

TRANSLATION.

Here followeth the order directed by command of the [king] dear unto the Dēvas to the Mahāmātras of all localities:—For every gift made by the second queen, a gift of a mango-orchard, of a garden, as well as of every article of value found therein, [it is right to do honour] to the queen, whose religious zeal and charitable spirit will be recognised, while one says, — 'all this comes from the second queen * * *'

KAUSAMBI EDICT.

This fragment is so designated by General Cunningham, because it is addressed to the Mahāmātras of Kausāmbī. This is the only positive fact which we are entitled to draw from it. I can make nothing of the remainder of the transcription, which is too incomplete, and too imperfect to serve as a basis for useful conjectures. I only reproduce it here, as given in the *Corpus*, for the sake of completeness.

TEXT.

- 1 Dēvaṇāmpiyē ānapayati Kōsambiya mahāmata
- 2 ———ramari (?) . . saṃghasī nilahiyō
- 3 i ṭatibhiti . bhamti nita . . chi
- 4 ba pinam dhapayita ata saṭha amvasayi.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 183. — KALBHAVI JAIN INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, was discovered in 1882 by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitray, who then held the post of Māmlatdār of the Sāmpgaum Tāluka. I edit it from the ink-impression made by my own copyist.

Kalbhavi is a village about nine miles to the south by east from Sāmpgaum, the chief town of the Sāmpgaum Tāluka or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency; in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 41, it is entered as 'Kulbavee,' in Lat. 15° 41' N., Long. 74° 53' E. It seems to be mentioned in lines 8, 15, and 21, under the older name of Kummudavaḍa. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, outside a temple of Rāmalinga in the village.

The emblems at the top of the stone are:—In the centre, inside a small shrine, an officiating priest, standing by a *līṅga* on an *abhiśhṛka*-stand; on the proper right side, inside another shrine, a Jain figure, squatting cross-legged, with two attendants standing beside him, and, above the shrine, the sun; and on the proper left side, a cow and a calf, with the moon above them. — The writing covers a space of about 2' 9½" broad by 3' 8" high. It is in a state of very good preservation, and is legible, without any doubt, almost throughout. — The characters are the so-called Old-Kanarese characters, of the regular type of about the eleventh century A.D. and of the locality to which the record belongs. They include, in

line 14, the decimal figures 1, 2, and 6. The *virāma* is represented in both ways, as noted at page 35 above in respect of the Guḍigere Jain inscription. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The engraving is bold and excellent. — The language is Old-Kanarese, with five Sanskrit verses in lines 1 f. and 29 to 33; and the inscription is mostly in prose. — In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the preferential use of the *anusvara* instead of the proper nasal, e.g. in *gaṁbhāra* and *lāṁchhana*, line 1; *baṁdha*, line 4; and *koṅguṇi*, line 3; but not in the case of the lingual nasal in *maṇḍalēśvara*, lines 3, 4, and 24; and (2) the repetition of *bh*, instead of its doubling by *b*, in *śr-bhbbhāgadiṇa*, twice, in line 20.

The inscription recites that, a king named Amoghavarsha having washed the feet of a Jain teacher named Dēvakīrti who belonged to the Mailāpa lineage and the Kāreya *gaya* or sect, his feudatory, the Gaṅga Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Saigoṭṭa-Permānadi or Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permānadi, otherwise named Sivamāra, built a temple of Jinendra at the village of Kummudavāḍa, and granted the village to it; making also other grants to the *dāna-sāle* or almshouse. The date of this grant is given as Śaka-Saṁvat 261, the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*. But this, of course, is a spurious date. And the real record is contained in lines 24 to 26; where we learn that the grant, which in the meantime evidently either had been confiscated or had lapsed from neglect, was restored by another Gaṅga Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara named Kañcharasa. Of course it may be argued that the whole inscription is a spurious one. But I am inclined to think that the fact recorded in the latter part of it is genuine; and that the introduction of a spurious date for the grant itself, is to be attributed to a loss of the original charter, so that it was not known which of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings named Amoghavarsha was reigning at the time, coupled with the desire to claim as great an antiquity as possible. The composition of the record may be referred to about the eleventh century A. D. Probably its exact period can be determined hereafter through the mention of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kañcharasa. And in the same way, the period of the original grant may perhaps be established through the mention of the teachers Guṇakīrti, Nāgachandra, Jinachandra, Śubhakīrti, and Dēvakīrti, of the Mailāpa lineage and the Kāreya sect. Another record mentioning this sect and family, is the Saundatti inscription, which, referring to a grant made in Śaka-Saṁvat 797 by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II., gives us the names of Muḷlabhagāraka, a teacher in "the Kāreya sect of the holy Mailāpatirtha;" his disciple, Guṇakīrti; his disciple, Indrakīrti; and his pupil, the Rājā Mahāsāmanta Prithvirāma (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 199.)

Of the local places mentioned in this record, Kummudavāḍa would seem to be an older name of the modern Kalbhavi itself; though the record of the boundaries does not contain any details that actually prove this. At least, I can find no other name in the neighbourhood resembling it. Kadalavalli, the chief town of a circle of thirty villages which included Kummudavāḍa, is the modern Kādarōlli, — the 'Kadurwullee' of the map, — about seven miles to the south by west from Sampgaum; the name appears elsewhere as Kādaravalli (e.g., *ante*, Vol. I. p. 142). In this name, *l* has changed into *r*; we have had an instance of the opposite change, from *r* to *l*, in the names of Pērūr and Bēlūr, at page 271 above.

The real record of the restoration of the grant is not dated. The date that is given, in decimal figures, for the original making of the grant, is not only spurious, but also incorrect in its details, which are Śaka-Saṁvat 261, the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, Pausha kṛishṇa 14, Sōmavāra or Monday, and the Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti or winter solstice. But the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* coincided, by the southern luni-solar system, with Śaka-Saṁvat 231 current; and by the mean-sign system, which is the one that would apply for this period, it commenced on the 8th March, A.D. 314, in Śaka-Saṁvat 237 current, and ended on the 4th March, A.D. 315, in Śaka-Saṁvat 238 current. In Śaka-Saṁvat 231 current, the *pūrṇimānta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended, by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, on Sunday, 28th November, A.D. 308, at about 52 *ghaṭis*, 10 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bombay;¹ the winter solstice, as represented by the Makara-Saṁkrānti, occurred at about 19 *gh.* 41 *p.* on Friday, 17th December; and the *amānta* Pausha kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 28th December, at about 37 *gh.* 48 *p.* And, in the

¹ The times here are for Bombay, all through.

duration of the *sahvatsara* by the mean-sign system, in Saka-Saṃvat 237 current, the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 23rd November, A.D. 314, at about 12 gh. 56 p.; the Makara-Saṃkrānti occurred at about 52 gh. 50 p. on Friday, 17th December; and the *amānta* Pausa kṛishṇa 14 ended on Wednesday, 22nd December, at about 40 gh. 36 p. Thus, a correct result cannot be obtained for the given *sahvatsara*. Nor can a correct result be obtained for the given Saka year, irrespective of the *sahvatsara*. For, in Saka-Saṃvat 261 current, though the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa kṛishṇa 14 ended on Monday, 27th November, A.D. 338, at about 10 gh. 6 palas, yet this was twenty-one days before the *sahkrānti*, which occurred at about 5 gh. 27 p. on Monday, 18th December; while the *amānta* Pausa kṛishṇa 14 ended on Tuesday, 26th December, at about 44 gh. 41 p. And in Saka-Saṃvat 262 current (261 expired) the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa kṛishṇa 14 ended on Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 339, at about 13 gh. 35 p.; the Makara-Saṃkrānti occurred at about 20 gh. 58 p. on Tuesday, 18th December; and, though the *amānta* Pausa kṛishṇa 14 ended on Monday, 14th January, A.D. 340, at about 43 gh. 47 p., yet this was twenty-seven days after the *sahkrānti*.

TEXT.²

- 1 Ōm³ 1(11) Śrīmat⁴-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāṃchhanam jiyāt=[t*]raiḷōkya-nāthasya śāsanam Ji-
- 2 na-śāsanam || Svasty-Amōghava[r*]shadēva-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-vijaya-rājyav(m)=uttarōttar-ābhivṛi-
- 3 ddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chaṃdr-ārka-tāram baram saluttam-ire [1*] tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi samadhigatapamchamahāsabda-mahāmaṇḍa-
- 4 lēsvaram Kuvalāla-puravar-ēsvaram Padmāvatī-labdha-vara-prasāditam Koṃguni-paṭṭabamḍha-virājitaṃ śāsanadēvi-vijaya-bhēri-nirghōsha-
- 5 nam bhagavad-Arhan-mumukshu-pimchhadhvaja-vibhūṣaṇam sakala-bhūpāla-mauli-māṇikya-chūdāratna-raṃjita-charaṇam vidviṣṭa-manōram-ālam-
- 6 kāra-haraṇam sāravata-janita-bhūṣātraya-kavitā-lalita-vāglalanā-lilā-lālamam gaja-vidyā-dhāmam śrīmat-Sivamār⁵-ābhi-
- 7 dhāna-Saigoṭṭa-Gaṃga-Permmānadigaḷ maradalumetey-āge Gaṃgavāḍi-tombhattāru-sāsiramam sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadiṃ pratipālisutt-i-
- 8 jdu Kādalavalli-mūvattar-ōḷagaṇa Kummudavāḍadoḷ Jinēndra-maṃdiramam māḍisidan=adē dorey=ad=emdoḍe || Vṛi⁶ || Idū⁷ Gaṃg-a-
- 9 dhēsvara-śrī-griham=idu viḷasat-Gaṃga-bhūpālar=āmnāyada kirttiśrī-vihār-āspada-karam=idu Gaṃg-āvanināthar=audā-
- 10 ryyada janma-sthānam=emb-ant-ire vibudha-jan-ānāḍdamam bhavya-saṃpat-padamam Saigoṭṭa-Permmānadi Jina-grihamam māḍidam bhaktiyimdam ||
- 11 Ā Jina-maṃdirakke | Vṛi | Vimala⁸-śrī-Guṇakirtti-dēvar=avar=anōtēvāsigaḷ=Nāga-chaṃdra-munimdrar-tad-apatyar=udgha-Jinachaṃdr-ākhyar=ttā-
- 12 diy-ātmajar=ddamit-āghar=Śubhakirttidēvar=esedar=ttach-chhi s h y a r = u d y a d - v a c h ō - r a m a ṇ i y a r = s s a l e D ē v a k i r t t i - g u r u g a ḷ = v ā d - i b h a - k a ṇ ṭ h i r a v a [r ||]
- 13 Ā paramēśvarar=ppara-vādi-vidhvamsigaḷum vidit-āsēsha-śāstrarum Mailāp-ānvayam=enisida [K]āreya-gaṇa-gagana-chū-
- 14 ḍamaṇigaḷum=appa Dēvakirtti-paṃḍita-dēvara kēlam karchchi || Ōm Saka-varsha 261neya Vibhava-saṃvatsarada Pausya(sha)-bahuḷa-
- 15 chaturddasi-Sōmavāram=uttarāyana-saṃkrāntiy-amdu Saigoṭṭa-Gaṃga[m*] Kummudavāḍam=emb-ūram biṭṭan=Alliye mattam
- 16 dāna-sālege polanumam Kummudabbeya dēguladiṃ baḍaga pōgi mūḍa mukham kērivumam basadiyim mūḍalu dā-

² From the ink-impression.³ Represented by a symbol throughout. Here, and at the end of the record, there is used an elaborately decorative symbol, of which the basis or essential part is the plain symbol itself as it occurs in lines 14, 23, 24, and 29.⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁵ Metre, Sragdhara.⁶ Read śrīmach-chhivamār.⁷ Metre, Mattēbhavikṛiḍita.⁸ i. e. vṛitta, 'metre.'

- 17 na-sālege panni[r*]-kkayi-nivēṣaṇamumam | ūrim mūḍa Sapasi(?)ṁge-ga[r*]ddeyam
bayalumam bitta- || -n=Ā° grā-
- 18 mada śimey=em̐-e[m*]dode | āligom̐ḍadiṁ | Siḍilanerilim | Sameyadātana-kereyīm |
malappa-būdanim | tolappa-
- 19 baḷappa-biḷiyāḷariyīm | Gaṁgarolāduva-sam̐kiya-kereyīm | Hichchalagereya kōḍiyīm |
nim̐dabeliṁ | Siṁdagiri-vo-
- 20 r-bhbhā(bbhā)gadiṁ | Sām̐digereya nira taṭav-ōr-bhbhā(bbhā)gadiṁ | Siṁgasa-
gereyīm | Kadikoṭṭa-Baḷivaḷi-garddeyīm- | -d-oḷag¹⁰=uḷḷa bhūmi
- 21 Kummudavāḍakke || Maṭṭam=ūrim teṁka dāna-sāleya polakke Erappa-kereya
mūḍaṇa kōḍiya baḍagaṇa
- 22 guttiya teṁka mukhade mūḍal=mēre | teṁka[lu*] Baḷivaḷi-garddeyam |
āligom̐ḍamum mēre | baḍagal=Iṁvina-kereya
- 23 madhyam̐ mēre | paḍuvalu Bikkīya-beṭṭada teṁkaṇa bāg-oḷag-āgi mēre ||(1)
illim̐d-oḷag=uḷḷa bhūmi dāna-sālege || Ōm [11*]
- 24 Ōm Svasti Samadhiḡatapaṁchamahāśabda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaraṁ Kuvalāḷa-puravar-
ēśvaraṁ Padmāvati-labdha-va-
- 25 ra-prasāditam̐ Koṁguṇi-paṭṭabandha-virājitaṁ sā(sā)śanadēvi-vijaya-bhēri-nirgghōsha-
ṇam̐ bhagavad-Arhan-mumukshu-piṁ-
- 26 chhadhvaja-vibhūṣaṇanum=appa śrimat-Kaṁch-arasar-Ssaigoṭṭa-Gaṁganim̐ baṁda
dharmaṁmamam̐ sam̐ddharisidan=Idan=tappa-
- 27 de pratipāḷisid-ātam̐ Vāraṇāsiyoḷ¹¹ sāsirvvaru brāhmaṇargge sāsira kavileya[m*]
koṭṭa pha-
- 28 laṁ | idan=aḷid-ātam̐ Vāraṇāsiyoḷ¹² sāsira kavileyumam̐ sāsirvvar=ttapōdhanarumam̐
sāsirvvar=brāhma-
- 29 paṇuman=aḷida pātakam=akku [11*] Ōm [11*] Sāmānyō¹³=yam̐ dharmma-sētuṁ
nripāṇām¹⁴ kaḷē-kāḷē pāṇaṇyō bhavadbhis=sa-
- 30 rrvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārtthivēṁdrān bhūyō-bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ ||(11)
Sva¹⁵-dattām̐ para-dattām̐ vā yō
- 31 harēta vasuṁdharām̐ shashṭir-basha¹⁶-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi viśṭhāyām̐ jāyatē krimiḥ ||(11)
Na viśam̐ viśam=ity-āhul̐ dēva-
- 32 svaṁ viśam=uchyatē viśam=ēkākinaṁ hanti dēva-svaṁ putra-pautrikam̐ ||
Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā
- 33 rājabbhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalam̐ ||
Ōm [11*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After a verse in praise of the doctrine of Jina, the lord of the three worlds, the inscription proceeds to record that, in the reign of the *Paramāśvara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Amōghavarshadēva* (line 2), his feudatory (*pādapaḍm-ōpajivā*), the illustrious *Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permānadi* (l. 7), who also had the name of *Sivamāra* (l. 6), — who was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, invested with the *pañchamahāśabda* (l. 3); who was the lord of *Kuvalāḷa*, the best of cities (l. 4);¹⁷ who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) *Padmāvati*; who was decorated with the binding on of the *Koṁguṇi* fillet of sovereignty (*paṭṭa-bandha*); who was entitled to (*be heralded in public by*) the sounds of the victorious drum of a *Sāśanadēvi*;

⁹ Read *bittan* || *A*.¹⁰ Read *garḍdeyīm̐d-oḷag*.^{11, 12} The use of the two forms *Vāraṇāsi* and *Vāraṇāsi* in one and the same inscription, is rather exceptional.¹³ Metre, *Śālini*.¹⁴ Read *sttur-nripāṇām̐*.¹⁵ Metre, *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*); and in the following two verses.¹⁶ Read *śaśṭī-varsha*, or *śaśṭīm̐ varsha*.¹⁷ This is a hereditary *Gaṅga* title; and does not necessarily imply that *Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga-Permānadi*'s seat of government was actually at the city in question.

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(The inscription is a single column of text in an ancient script, likely Pali or Sanskrit, written on a dark, textured surface. The text is arranged in approximately 32 horizontal lines, with line numbers 2 through 32 marked on the left margin. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher without specialized knowledge. The text appears to be a religious or philosophical inscription, possibly related to Jainism as indicated by the title. The characters are small and closely packed, with some variations in size and shape. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but aged manuscript or stone inscription.)

who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers,¹⁸ which was the banner of the divine *Arhat*, desirous of emancipation (l. 5); who was the principal place for the sportive play of the charming goddess of speech, in the form of poetry, in three languages,¹⁹ composed by eloquent people (l. 6); and who was the dwelling-place of the science of (*training and managing*) elephants, — was governing the *Gaṅgavādi* Ninety-six-thousand (l. 7)²⁰ with the delight of pleasing conversations (*sukha-saṅkathā-vinōda*).

At the village of *Kummudavāḍa*, in the *Kādalavalli* Thirty (l. 5), he, *Saigoṭṭa-Permānadi* (l. 10), caused to be built a temple of *Jinendra*, which was the delight of learned people, through being the very abode of the fortunes of the *Gaṅga* rulers (l. 8); the very pleasure-ground of the goddess of the fame of the succession of the *Gaṅga* kings (l. 9); and the very birth-place of the greatness of the *Gaṅga* lords of the earth.

There was (*a saint named*) *Guṇakīrtidēva* (l. 11). His disciple was *Nāgachandramunindra*. His son was *Jinachandra*. His son was *Subhakīrtidēva* (l. 12). And his disciple was *Dēvakīrtiguru*. The *Paramēśvara* (*i.e.* *Amōghavarshadēva*) (l. 13) washed the feet of *Dēvakīrtipaṇḍitadēva* (l. 14), who was the ornament of the sky that is the *Kāreya gaṇa*, which is also known as the *Mailāpa* lineage (l. 13); and then, — at the time of the *Uttarāyana-Saṁkrānti*, (on) Monday, the fourteenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of (the month) *Pauṣa* of the *Vibhava saṁvatsara*, which was the 261st Saka year, — to that temple of *Jina* (l. 11), *Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga* granted the village named *Kummudavāḍa* (l. 15). Also, to the almshouse (*dāna-sāle*) at that place (l. 16), he granted a field; and a street, facing to the east as one goes to the north from the temple (*dēgula*) known as the temple of *Kummudabbe*; and a courtyard (*nivēsaṇa*), measuring twelve cubits, on the east of the Jain temple (*basadi*); and the rice-land called *Sapasiṅgarde*, and the waste land, on the east of the village.

Lines 18 to 23 specify the boundaries of *Kummudavāḍa*, and of the field that was given to the almshouse. But no village-names now to be found in the map, occur here. Nor are all the terms intelligible. The words which are recognisable as appellatives, are those which give the names of *Siḍḍilāneril* ('the refuge of, or from, the thunder-bolt'); the tanks called *Sameyadātana-kere*, *Gaṅgarolāduvasaṅkiya-kere*, *Hichchalagere*, *Sundigere*, *Siṅgasagere*, *Erapakere*, and *Imvina-kere*, ('the sweet tank'); the hills called *Sindagiri* and *Bikkiyabetta*; and the rice-lands called *Kadikoṭṭa-garde* and *Baḷivalli-garde*.

Lines 24 to 26 record that the illustrious *Kaṇcharasa* (l. 26), — who was a *Mahāmaṇḍa-lēśvara* invested with the *pañchamahāśabda* (l. 24); who was the supreme lord of *Kuvalāla*, the best of cities; who was favoured with a boon acquired from (the goddess) *Padmāvatī*; who was decorated with the binding on of the *Koṅguṇi* fillet of sovereignty; who was entitled to the sounds of the victorious drum of a *Sāsanadēvi*; and who had for an ornament the banner of a bunch of feathers, which was the banner of the divine *Arhat*, desirous of emancipation, — raised up, *i.e.* restored, this religious grant that had come down from (the time of) *Saigoṭṭa-Gaṅga* (l. 26).

And lines 27 to 33 contain the customary benedictive and imprecatory sentences; followed by four of the usual Sanskrit verses of the same purport.

THE NAMES OF THE COINS OF TIPU SULTAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; BANGALORE.

In the fifth year of his reign, A. H. 1201 or A. D. 1786-87, *Tipu Sultan* of *Maistūr* replaced on his coins the era of the *Hijra* by a new one of solar years, called the *Maulūdi*

¹⁸ Here, in line 5, and again in line 25-26, the original has *piṇchha*, *i.e.* *piṇchha*, which is given by Monier-Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, as meaning 'a wing;' and by Sanderson, in his Kanarese Dictionary, as meaning 'a peacock's tail.' But Mr. K. B. Pathak, in shewing how this word was arrived at, by a particular method among the Karpātaka Jains of writing the word *piṇchha*, in such a way that the *ch* was represented by a sign which resembles and eventually came to be mistaken for the *anuvāda*, has explained that it means 'a bundle of feathers carried about by a Jain ascetic' (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 273, note 1.)

¹⁹ *i.e.* Sanskrit, Old-Kanarese, and probably *Mahārāṣṭri-Prākṛit*.

²⁰ *maradaluṁtey-Age*, line 7, requires explanation.

era, which commenced from the birth of the Prophet in A.D. 571, and which, at that particular point, was 14 years in advance of the lunar era of the *Hijra*.¹ One year later he invented a series of new names for his gold and silver coins. These names are well-known; but so far as I can ascertain, they have not yet been satisfactorily explained. Most of the explanations which are given below were suggested to me by a Muhammadan gentleman, Mr. Ḥabībū'd-dīn, of the Ḥaidarābād Civil Service, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make on a short holiday-trip to Maisūr and Srīraṅgaṭṭayam.

The names of Ṭīpū's series of copper coins, which, with one exception, appear first on part of the issue of his eleventh year, the Maulūdi year 1221 or A.D. 1792-93, present no difficulty. They are nothing but the Persian or Arabic designations of certain stars.

Ṭīpū's gold *muhr* (vulgo, *môhar*) is called احمدی *Aḥmadi*, his half gold *muhr* مدبقي *Ṣiddiqi*, and his pagoda فاروقی *Fārūqī*. His silver coins are:—The double rupee or حیدری *Ḥaidarī*, the rupee or امامی *Imāmī*, the half rupee or عابدی *Ābidi*, the quarter rupee or باقری *Bāqirī*, the two-anna piece or جعفری *Ja'fari*, the one-anna piece or کاظمی *Kāzīmī*, and the half-anna piece or خضری *Khizrī*.

Among the silver coins, the rupee or Imāmī is undoubtedly called after the twelve Imāms. This fact gives us a clue to the derivation of the names of the remaining silver coins. Each of them, except the smallest, refers to the name of a single Imām. The largest coin, the double rupee or Ḥaidarī, is derived from حیدر *Ḥaidar*, a surname of the first Imām علی *Alī*. The fractions of the rupee are successively named after the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Imāms, viz., the Ābidi after زين العابدين *Zaynu'l-Ābidīn* or عابد بيمار *Ābid Bimār*; the Bāqirī after محمد باقر *Muḥammad Bāqir*; the Ja'fari after جعفر صادق *Ja'far Ṣādiq*; and the Kāzīmī after موسی کاظم *Mūsā Kāzīm*. The name of the half-anna piece or Khizrī² is derived from خواجه خضر *Khawja Khizr*, a prophet who is said to have drunk of the fountain of life and is considered as the saint of the waters.

The names of Ṭīpū's gold coins likewise refer to Muhammadan saints. The gold *muhr* or Aḥmadi is derived from احمد *Aḥmad*, one of the designations of the Prophet himself; the Ṣiddiqī from ابوبکر صدیق *Abū Bakr Ṣiddiq*, the first Khalifa; and the Fārūqī from عمر فاروق *Umar Fārūq*, the second Khalifa.

The name of Ṭīpū's copper coins is the double *paisā*.³ It bears two names, عثمانی *Uṣmānī* and مشتری *Mushtarī*. The first of these names is met with on coins of the Maulūdi years 1218 and 1219. It is derived from عثمان بن عفان *Uṣmān ibn 'Affān*, the third Khalifa, and is thus connected with the above-mentioned series of the names of gold coins. But when, in the Maulūdi year 1221, Ṭīpū had started a series of names for his smaller copper coins, which consisted of the names of different stars, the designation Uṣmānī did not agree with the rest. Accordingly, the double *paisā* of the Maulūdi year 1222 and of the following years bear a new denomination, viz., Mushtarī, the Arabic name of the planet Jupiter. The name of the *paisā* is زهرة or زهره, and that of the half *paisā* بهرام. *Zuhra* and *Bahrām* are the Persian designations of the planets Venus and Mars respectively. The quarter *paisā* is the اختر *Akhtar*, which means "a star" in Persian.

Marsden⁴ notices "a minute coin intended for a half Akhtar, or eighth part of a *paisā*, on one side of which is the elephant, with the letter ت, and on the other, the denomination of the money, being a word that may be read تطیب *Qaṭīb*, but is by no means distinct." My

¹ Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Part II. p. 700 f.

² A copy of this rare coin is in the Bangalore Museum. It is mentioned in Dr. Buchanan's *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 123, note.

³ Moor's *Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment*, p. 475.

⁴ The Persian spelling زهرة is found on the coins struck at Paṭṭan (Srīraṅgaṭṭam), the Hindūstānī spelling زهر on those struck at Nagar.

⁵ *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Part II. p. 725.

collection contains two different varieties of this coin.⁶ Both have on the obverse an elephant facing the right, and on the reverse the legend ضرب پٹن, "struck at-Paṭṭan," and over it the designation which is clearly not قطيب, but قطب Qutb, the Arabic name of the Pole-star, which fits the whole system followed by Ṭipū in naming his other copper coins. The first of the two coins has the letter ا over the elephant on the obverse, and the date 1224 over the legend on the reverse; the second coin bears the letter ب and the date 1225 in the corresponding places. As on Ṭipū's larger copper coins the letters ا, ب, ت and ث are combined with the dates 1224, 1225, 1226 and 1227 respectively,⁷ Marsden's coin, which had the letter ت, must have been struck in the Maulūdī year 1226 or A.D. 1797-98.

When introducing his new era, Ṭipū made another innovation by reversing the order of the Arabic numerals on the dates of his coins. On the coins of the Maulūdī year 1215, we find both the old order ١٢١٥ and the new one ٥١٢١. In 1216 the only exceptions from the new rule are the paisā, half paisā and quarter paisā struck at Beṅgaḷūr. From the year 1217 to the year of Ṭipū's death, the Maulūdī year 1227 or A.D. 1798-99, the dates on all the coins run from right to left.⁸ There are a few specimens, on which the engraver of the die did not only reverse the order of the numbers, but turned the numbers themselves. Thus a quarter paisā struck at Faiz-ḥiṣār (Gutti)⁹ and one struck at Khālīqābād (Chandagāl) bear the date ١٦١٥, which is meant for ١٢٢٥; and two quarter paisās struck at Faiz-ḥiṣār have the dates ١٦١١ and ١٦١٢. These are both meant for ١٢٢٢; in each case the two middle figures are reversed, and in the second the unit has undergone the same process.

THE FATE OF ST. MARK ACCORDING TO AN ARAB HISTORIAN OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

BY MAJOR J. S. KING, B.O.S.C.

The following is a translation from Chap. xxviii. of *Al Mas'ūdī's* historical encyclopedia, entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems";¹ a remarkable work, in which he describes the state of the nations and countries of the East and West as they were in his age, that is to say, in A. H. 330 (A. D. 941). The chapter in which occurs the passage here selected is devoted to the history of Rām.

"The disciples of Jesus of Nazareth dispersed themselves over all the surface of the earth. Mārī betook himself to the neighbouring part of 'Irāq, and died in the town of Dair Kunnā² and As-Ṣāfiya, on the bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and Wāsiṭ, which is the country of 'Alī bin Dā'ūd bin Al Jarrah, of Muḥammad bin Dā'ūd bin Al Jarrah, and other learned men. The tomb of Mārī is there, in a church, where it remains up to the present year 332 (A. D. 943); the Christians hold it in great veneration.³ Thomas, who was one of the twelve disciples, went to India, where he called the people to the law of the Messiah, and where he died. Another disciple penetrated to the most remote parts of Khurāsān, and died there.

⁶ In his valuable *Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Madras Museum*, Mr. Thurston figures a½-paisā struck at Beṅgaḷūr in 1218 and one struck at Salmābād (Satyamaṅgalam) in the same year. I possess three other ½ paisās, of which one was struck at Paṭṭan in 1218 and the second at Beṅgaḷūr in 1219. The third bears the date 1222, and on the reverse the two words قطب ضرب; the name of the mint-town seems to be omitted by the engraver.

⁷ The only exception is a quarter paisā struck at Faiz-ḥiṣār, which bears the letter ب but the date 1224.

⁸ A solitary instance of a relapse is a half paisā struck at Paṭṭan with the date ١٢٢٠ (1220). The engraver of a paisā struck at Faiz-ḥiṣār in the same year has not completely succeeded in reversing the figures from ١٢٢٠ to ٢٢٢١, but has written them as ٢٠٢١.

⁹ Instead of أختر, this coin bears the denomination إبرام, which the engraver seems to have copied by mistake from a half paisā.

كتاب مروج الذهب و معادن الجواهر^١

دير قني والصافية^٢

¹ No such person as Mārī is mentioned in the Bible; but I think we may take this passage as sufficient authority for determining that Mārī was the name of one of the "other seventy" (or seventy-two) mentioned in Luke X. 1. According to Johnson (*Arabic-Eng. Dictionary*) "Mār Y'akūb" was the name of a heretical teacher of Christianity.

The site of his tomb is known and venerated by the Christians; but others say that he died in the country of Daḡūḡa, Khānījār and Karkh Hudān, on the confines of 'Irāḡ. The place of his sepulture is known.

"Mark died at Alexandria, in Egypt, where is his tomb. He is one of the four disciples who have composed the Gospel. Strange particulars are related of that which passed between him and the Egyptians at the moment when he was put to death. We have already stated on what occasion that took place, in our Middle History,⁴ to which work the present is a sequel. There we have related in detail how Mark, when on the point of starting for the land of the West,² charged them, saying:—'Whosoever shall present himself to you in my likeness, kill him; for you will see, coming after me, men who will resemble me; but hasten to put them to death, and do not accept their teaching.' Then he left them. After having been absent a long time, being unable to reach the place where he wished to go, he returned to the Egyptians. When he saw that they were about to kill him, he said to them:—'Woe unto you! I am Mark.'—'No,' replied they; 'verily our father, Mark, told us to kill whoever should come to us in his likeness.'—'But it is I myself who am Mark.'—'We cannot let you go, and it is absolutely necessary that we put you to death.' So they killed him.

"Formerly they had demanded of him some proofs in support of his statements, and had begged of him to work some miracles. Some among them had said to him:—'If that which you affirm to us is true, ascend to heaven before our eyes.' Then they stripped him of his pontifical robe (زربالقم),⁶ and clothed him in a dress of camel's hair, so that he might ascend to heaven. But many of his disciples attached themselves to him, saying:—'If thou departest, what will remain to us after thee, for thou art our father?' Then happened to him that which we have related above.

"The disciples of the Messiah are seventy-two in number, besides whom twelve more have to be counted. Those who have transmitted the Gospel are:—Luke, Mark, John, and Matthew. Luke and Matthew are ranked among the seventy-two; the latter is also classed among the twelve, but I know not the reason of it.⁷ The two who make part of the twelve are:—John, son of Zebedee, and Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. The third, who arrived at Antioch, where he had been preceded by Peter and Thomas, is Paul. He is the person alluded to in the *Ḳur'ān* under the title of the 'third,' when God says:—'Wherefore we strengthened them with a third.'⁸

"Of all the Christian Monks, those of Egypt are the only ones who eat meat; because Mark permitted them to do so."

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 30.

In the stone inscription of the Mahāsamanta Bappuvarasa, on a pillar inside a temple at Mahākūṭa, Mākūṭa, or Makūṭa, near Bādāmi, in the Kāḷādgi District, Bombay Presidency,

published by me, with a lithograph, in this journal. Vol. X. p. 104 f., No. 96, the date (line 6 ff) is —Śaka-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-sataraṅgaḥ eṇu-nḍra ayivatta āṇanya Jaya-samvatsarada Kārtika-sūddha-pañchamiyūṁ Budhavārad-andurū, —"the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of (the

⁴ The work here referred to is probably Mas'ūdī's "*History of Time*," (في اخبار الزمان), mentioned in the opening of the first chapter.

⁵ ارض المغرب

⁶ The word زربالقم of the text has no apparent meaning; it is probably a misprint either for the Persian gold-embroidered, زر بافته, or the Arabic زي نقابة, a robe of office.

⁷ There has always been a tradition that St. Luke was one of the seventy; and this is mentioned as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries by Origen and Epiphanius: so Mas'ūdī may be right in his case, but from what he says regarding Matthew (منا) it seems likely that he confounded him with Matthias. Eusebius, as well as Epiphanius, says that the latter was one of the seventy; and we know that he became one of the twelve after the Ascension. The "Gospel of Matthias" is one of the thirty-four Gospels rejected by the Christian Church as being uncanonical.

⁸ Vide *Kur'ān*, Sale, Chap. xxxvi. page 361-62, notes. It is necessary to read this in order to understand the allusion.

month) Kārttika of the Jaya samvatsara, which is the eight hundred and fifty-sixth (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Saka king, and on Wednesday." And the inscription records that on this day Bappuvarasa came to the place, and made a grant of (an image of) Nandikēśvara, i. e. Nandi, and of some rice-land.¹

Here the mention of the Jaya samvatsara would permit us to take the given year either as current or as expired. For, by the mean-sign system, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's Tables, Jaya commenced on the 10th December, A.D. 932, and ended on the 6th December, A.D. 933. And in this period Kārttika śukla 5, of Śaka-Samvat 856 current, ended on the 26th October, A.D. 933, at about 18 *ghaṭa*, 26 *palas*, after mean sunrise, for Bādāmi.² This day, however, was a Saturday. And the details of the date cannot be explained in this way.

On the other hand, by the southern luni-solar system the Jaya samvatsara coincided with Śaka-Samvat 857 current, i. e. with the given year 856 as an expired year. And in this year, with Prof. K. L. Chatter's Tables, Kārttika śukla 5 began at about 5 *gh.* 15 *p.* and ended at about 59 *gh.* 55 *p.* on Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 934. With these results, it would be an expunged tithi. But the ending-time is so very close to the following sunrise, that most probably a calculation by any of the Siddhāntas would make it end after sunrise on the Thursday; as is the case with Prof. Jacobi's Tables, according to which it began at about 2 *h.* 33 *m.* = 6 *gh.* 22.5 *p.*, on the Wednesday, and ended at about 34 *m.* = 1 *gh.* 25 *p.*, on the Thursday. And I think it may safely be taken for granted that the tithi did end on the Thursday, according to the almanac consulted by the person who drafted the record. Consequently, the date of Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, can be accepted only if the tithi was used as a current tithi.

Now, as regards the application of the given tithi, the *Nirṇayasindhu*, pari. i., p. 7 b, line 13 f., gives the general rule that the fifth tithi is to be used or celebrated when it is joined by the sixth tithi, i. e. on the day on which it ends. Whereas the *Dharmasindhusdra*, pari. i., p. 5 a, line 5 f., states that the fourth and fifth tithis form a couple; as a consequence of which the fifth tithi may be used when it is joined by the fourth, i. e. on the day on which it begins. But, in the more detailed rules, the *Dharmasindhusdra*, i., p. 8 a, line 11 ff., states explicitly that, except in the case of the *Skandōpavāsa* and the *Nāgavratā*, "in any ceremony whatsoever the fifth tithi, both in the bright and in the dark fortnight, is to be taken when it is cleft by the fourth tithi;" and the *Nirṇayasindhu*, i., p. 13 b, line 12 ff., though seeming on the whole to maintain the correctness of its own rule, quotes several precepts to the same effect. Also, Prof. Kielhorn has given me the following quotation from the *Kālamādhava*, — *Skandōpavāse pañchamī para-viddhā, anyatra pūrva-viddh-ēti sthitam*, — "it is established that at the *Skandōpavāsa* the fifth tithi (is to be used) when it is cleft by the following; on other occasions, when it is cleft by the preceding." In the present instance the details of the date distinctly refer, not to the writing of the record, but to the occasion on which the ceremony of making the grant was performed. Consequently, it appears that the tithi would be properly connected with the Wednesday, on which day it began; and that the correct English date is Wednesday, 15th October, A.D. 933, as found above.

In addition to this illustration of the use of a current tithi, this date is of interest in giving an instance of the use of the southern luni-solar system of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter, for a time not very long after the period that I have indicated for its introduction (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 142, 143.)

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

VENKATACHALAPATI; A MADRAS LEGEND.

Every now and then, throughout Madras, a man dressed up as a buffoon is to be seen leading about a bull as fantastically got up as himself with cowries and rags of many colours from door to door, for the purpose of procuring religious alms. The operation is accompanied by such music as the man can command.

The bull is called in Tamil *Perumāl erudu* and in Telegu *Gaṅga eddu*, the former meaning

Vishnu's bull and the latter Gaṅgā's bull. The origin of the first is given in a legend, but that of the last is not clear.

The conductors of these bulls are neatherds of high caste called Pāidaiyan, i. e. Flower Neatherds, and come from villages in the North and South Arcot (Arkāt) districts. They are a simple and ignorant set, who firmly believe that their occupation arises out of a command from the great god Venkatchalachapati — the Lord of the Venkatcha-

¹ I think that in line 10 f., instead of *nandikēśvara-mu(mū)-nellu-geyucam*, "three rice-fields at (the village

of) Nandikēśvara," as published, we should read *nandikēśvaramu(mū)-nellu-geyucam*.

² The times here are for Bādāmi, all through.

chala Hills near Tirupadi in the North Arcot District.

Their legend is as follows:—Among the habitual gifts to the Venkātāchala temple at Tirupadi were all the freaks of nature of the neighbourhood as exhibited in cattle such as two-tailed cows, five-legged bulls, four-horned calves, and so on. The Pūḍaiyans, whose original duty was to string flowers for the temple, were set to graze these abortions. Now to graze cows is an honour, but to tend such creatures as these the Pūḍaiyans regarded as a sin. So they prayed to Venkātāchalapati to show them how they could purge it away. On this the god gave them a bull called after himself the Perumāl bull, and said—“My sons, if you take as much care of this bull as you would of your own children and lead it from house to house, begging its food, your sin will be washed away.” Ever since then they have been purging themselves of their original sin!

The process is this. The bull-leader takes it from house to house and puts it questions, and the animal shakes its head in reply! He then abuses it and it butts at him in anger! This is proof positive that it can reason!

The fact is the animal is bought when young for a small sum and brought up to its profession. Long practice has made its purchasers experts in selecting the animals that will suit them. After purchase the training commences, which consists in pinching its ears whenever it is given bran, and it soon learns to shake its head at the sight of bran. I need hardly say that a handful of bran is ready in its conductor's hands when the questions are put to it. It is also taught to butt at any person that speaks angrily to it.

As regards the offerings made to these people, one-sixth goes to feeding the bulls and the

remaining five-sixths to the conductors. They look upon it as a “good work,” but the village boys and girls think it the greatest fun in the world to watch its performances, and the advent of a Vishṇu's bull is hailed by the youngsters with the greatest delight.

The demeanour of the bulls has led to a well known South Indian proverb:—“As mild as Vishṇu's (or Gaṅga's) bull.” In Tamil it is *avan Perumāl mādū appa*: in Telugu *vādu Gaṅgi eddu vāle sādhu*.

Madras.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

KALI NAG; A KASHMIR LEGEND.

Just outside (on the river side of) the Shāl Hamādān mosque in the heart of Srinagar city, is a little stream constantly running. The stream is sacred to Kālī and is called Kālī Nāg. A Brāhmaṇ is generally to be seen sitting near to offer the prayers and receive the presents of worshippers. The water emerges from the ground inside the mosque. On this account several Hindū rulers have tried to get the place and offered large sums of money for it, but without avail. Colonel (?) Miyaṇ Singh determined to raze the mosque to the ground, but being afraid of a rebellion on the part of the Musalmāns, he changed his mind.

It is said that nobody can look upon the spring itself without losing his sight. Some curious folk essayed to do so, and came away blind. Afterwards, in order that others might not come into the like misfortune, a great stone was placed over the *adg*, which remains there to this day. The spring is said to have appeared here when Rāvaṇa's house was destroyed by Rāma, and is therefore supposed to have come from Ceylon.

J. HINTON KNOWLES.

Srinagar.

BOOK NOTICES.

ALBERUNI'S INDIA. An account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India, about A.D. 1030. Edited in the Arabic Original by Dr. EDOUARD SACHAU. Published by the Secretary of State for India. London: Trübner and Co. 1887. 4to; pp. xlii., 365.

Upwards of three years ago, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 31f, we had the pleasure of publishing a preliminary notice by Dr. Bühler of this mighty work, and we have now to notice its actual production.

We have at last before us the Arabic text of the great original. But the book as it stands is consequently available only to Arabic scholars. For this reason the publishers have extensively advertised it in vernacular papers in India, but whether this will repay them is doubtful; as

Natives of India usually either can not or will not buy expensive works, such as this necessarily is. If we may be allowed to express an opinion on such a matter as this, we should say that the outlay would be more likely to be profitable if made in freely advertising it in English papers and journals, and in sending copies of it liberally for notice in the same.

As all the world knows, the peculiar value of Al-Bērdūnī's work is that it is practically almost the only authority we possess for Indian history and mode of thought at a period which is otherwise as a sealed book to us. To have, therefore, made available a text, which is as accurate as we can reasonably expect, is a matter of no small

importance, and the thanks that we owe to Dr. Sachau should be proportionately great.

Alb r ni flourished in the time of Ma m d of Ghazni, when the Br hmagical civilization, which had superseded the Buddhistic, was in its turn about to be overshadowed, first by that of the Musalm n and eventually by that of the Christian. And it is, indeed, fortunate for the world, that, at the very commencement of the epoch of destruction inaugurated by Ma m d, there should have been living and writing a scholar gifted with sufficient breadth of view to enable him to study sympathetically the system that was passing away; sufficiently endowed with the critical faculty to appreciate modes of thought so opposed to those with which he had been himself imbued from his birth; and possessed of sufficient energy and skill to record what he had learnt for the benefit of his contemporaries and successors. He wrote in A.D. 1030, and among his predecessors in the description of India were the Greek diplomatist Megasthen s about B. C. 295, and the Chinese monks in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries A.D. But Alb r ni is incomparably, as far as we are concerned, the most important writer of them all. Of Megasthen s we have but fragments, and the Buddhist monks from China are as babes compared with the highly cultivated and well-informed scholar whose work we are now considering.

There are three MSS. of the great book in Europe:—(1) in the library of M. Schefer, Membre de l'Institut; (2) in the Biblioth que Nationale in Paris; (3) in the library of the Mehemet K pr l  Medrese at Constantinople. The last two are copies of the first, which purports to be a copy of the author's autograph, "with which it has been collated as carefully as possible" by some unknown hand long ago. With the exception of some lacun e and blunders, probably resulting from partial illegibility or from worm-holes in the autograph, and of the misplacement of the leaves at the end, Dr. Sachau considers M. Schefer's MS. to be "of very rare merit, one of the most accurate I have ever known." This is the MS. Dr. Sachau has followed, and on which, with the advantage of emendation where necessary by the light of modern Arabic and Sanskrit learning, his text is based. The nature of Alb r ni's work has prevented its being copied and treasured up in the libraries of the East, and so far it has not been found there. This fact, however, while it renders us all the more grateful to the European scholars who have saved Alb r ni from the fate which has overtaken Megasthen s, does not, Dr. Sachau thinks, lead us to suppose that, should more MSS. be found hereafter, the

text, as he has given it, will have to be materially altered.

Dr. Sachau enters at some length into the probable date of the book, and arrives at the conclusion that it was written between 30th April and 30th September A.D. 1030, meaning by "writing" the final composition of a work, the various parts of which had long previously been completed. It appears to have been composed at Ghazni during the troubled period which succeeded the death of Ma m d, and Alb r ni probably got most of his information from Hindu residents of that place, who were then, no doubt, very numerous. His actual travels in India do not seem to have extended beyond the Pa j b; the districts about P    war, J    m, Si      , L    r, and Mult  n, being familiar to him.

But it is not so much from his record of what he saw, as from his record of what he read, that Alb r ni has become of world-wide fame. His learning in Sanskrit literature was for his time wonderful, because it was against his religious teaching to study systems foreign to Isl  m, and in the few cases where this prejudice has been overcome no other instance exists of a Muhammadan trying to procure his foreign learning at first hand. As a translator, he rendered from Sanskrit into Arabic, Kapila's *S        *, the book of Pata  jali, the *Pauli  a-Siddh  nta*, the *Brahma-Siddh  nta*, the *Brihat-S        *, and the *Laghu-J      *; while from Arabic into Sanskrit he rendered Euclid's *Elements*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and a book of his own on the construction of the Astrolabe.

This list of works raises the questions as to how much he acquired of Sanskrit, and as to how far he was a real translator, or merely the mouth-piece or supervisor of those who explained or translated for him. Dr. Sachau gives reasons at some length for considering that he really knew enough of Sanskrit to enable him to go alone in the language to a small extent without blundering, but that he read his Indian books with the aid of Pa      s and made his translations into Arabic from their dictation; while his translations from Arabic into Sanskrit meant that he explained to Pa      s, who converted his explanations into *      s* of approved form. All this involves the assumption that Alb r ni and his Pa      s spoke or understood well some common vernacular, and there seems to be abundant internal evidence in the *Indica* that Alb r ni was well acquainted with the vernacular of the period, whatever it was, then current in the extreme north-west of India.

In explaining the extent of Alb r ni's Sanskrit scholarship, Dr. Sachau has to tread along

the dangerous and delicate path of testing it by his transliteration of Sanskrit words. And in doing so he shows where Sanskrit compounds have been wrongly divided and so mistranslated, e.g. *सान्वनीपोज्जिहान* into *سَانِي* and *پوجھان*; and where parts of compounds have been misunderstood, e.g., *समावर्तितचपयः*, in which Albérūni thought that *चपयः* was the name of the 7th Rishi, *چرشي* as he calls him. In this connection Dr. Sachau prints in this volume an "index of words of Indian origin" in 42 pp. double column,¹ and he promises a comparison of Albérūni's Indian names with those in his Sanskrit sources. It need hardly be said that this comparison will be looked for with much interest.

Like all scholars from his time downwards Albérūni was oppressed with the difficulty of transliterating Indian words into his own character, and like all scholars of all countries he adopted a system of special diacritical marks combined with a deferential acquiescence in existing custom in the case of well-known words. So his *بند* (*वेद*) and his *بهارت* (*भारत*) have formed a puzzle on their own account, as no doubt will our English "coolie" (*قلى*) and "boy" (*دوہ*) in the dim future. Dr. Sachau has treated this part of his subject with conspicuous skill, and he well explains the difficulty of getting at Albérūni's meaning in his transliterations. Thus, he evidently endeavoured to write in Arabic the sounds of the Indian words as he heard them, and since he took them down sometimes orally and sometimes from books, he at one time would transliterate from bad and variant pronunciations and at others from the written words. We then get two or more forms of the same word; e.g. *منس* and *مَس* for *मस्य*. Then again, while purporting to transliterate he would be really rendering some vernacular form; e.g. *بہادریت* for *भाद्रपद*. Sometimes he mixed up the vernacular with Sanskrit; e.g. when he says *شَدِيد* = 60 years. Like many another scholar, too, Albérūni, after devising a system of diacritical marks, based in his case on those in Persian, did not stick to them; e.g. while adopting *پ* for *p* he would write *پ* for *b* and *ب* for *p*, and so on. The diacritical markings in the MS. of M. Schefer are also rendered all the more uncertain from the fact that at the time it was written the modern system of marking Arabic was hardly yet in vogue. The old and the then new system of marking were

both at times followed by the scribe in some cases, as in *س* and *ش*, resulting in much ambiguity. Lastly, Albérūni, in quoting or adapting from old works as from Al-Erānshahri on Buddhism, follows the old corrupt spelling, whereby we get *چرم* for *चर्म*! However, it is gratifying to find that Dr. Sachau can nevertheless confidently assert that "the consonantal skeletons of the words are very trustworthy and offer a sufficient basis for their reconstruction."

The value of Albérūni's work to the student of things Indian, can be seen by a mere reference to its contents. He opens with an account of Hindu religion and philosophy, including a disquisition on caste. He then proceeds to describe the literature of the Hindus, their science, metrology, and mathematics. The chapter on "Hindu sciences which prey upon the ignorance of the people" should attract attention. Then we have a description of Hindu geography and cosmogony; and much astronomy and computation of time, — the most valuable part of the work, — which will be much appreciated by students of this Journal. And finally Hindu manners, customs, customary law, and astrology have a fair share of attention. There are chapters here in which the folklorist and anthropologist should alike revel.

THE MSS. IN THE LIBRARY AT COLOMBO. Ceylon Administration Reports, 1887. Pt. IV. Miscellaneous, Colombo Museum, by Mr. F. H. M. CORREY, Librarian.

It is a comfort to find from the date of this Report that other people besides Indian officials are apt to be behind time in recording the practical work performed by them. However, there is much to interest us in the short report on Sinhalese MSS. now before us, as the collection of these in the Colombo Museum Library, — an institution which does not otherwise seem to be of any note, — is no doubt in a fair way of becoming very valuable.

The old manuscripts, consisting of original texts of the Buddhist Canon, commentaries, histories, philological, poetical, scientific and medical works, are worth serious attention.

The Canonical Books, however, are themselves incomplete, but the commentaries are in a much better condition. Of histories there are fifty, and of philology and poetry there are 76. In science and medicine there is only a beginning of what no doubt will become a valuable collection later on.

It is satisfactory to note that the arrangement of the MSS. is systematic and practical.

follow the order of the Roman alphabet. It is only Dictionaries that require to be arranged according to the alphabet of the language to which they belong.

¹ It is a pity that this Index loses much if not all of its value for Sanskrit students, to whom chiefly it is of interest, through being arranged according to the order of the Arabic alphabet. All such indexes ought to

THE COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.

BY CAPTAIN R. C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., M.B.A.S.

I.—GENERAL REMARKS.

THE coins which form the subject of this monograph, were collected mostly by myself in the Pañjāb about eight years ago, with the kindly personal assistance of the Chiefs of the Pañjāb Native States, one of whom has since died. These coins I had the pleasure of presenting to the British Museum. The remainder are taken from former presentations to the Museum, and I am indebted to the courtesy of the Keeper of the Coins for being enabled to represent them in the plates attached hereto. I am also specially indebted to Mr. Grueber, of the Numismatic Department, for the trouble he has taken in having both the coins I collected and those previously presented to the Museum properly reproduced for me. In the detailed description attached to this paper the coins given by myself to the British Museum and those of other donors are carefully distinguished. There is, as far as I am aware, no other collection of these coins in existence.

Properly speaking, the Coins of the Modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjāb should include those of the Mahārājās of Lāhōr and of the Mahārājās of Jammūn and Kāśmīr. But the Sikh coinage is a study in itself, and so is the ancient coinage of Kāśmīr. This paper is therefore confined to the productions of the mints of the Chiefs of the Pañjāb, that have now, or have had in recent times, the right to issue coins of their own. These are the Mahārājās of Pañjālā, the Rājās of Nābhā and Jind, the Sardārs of Kaīthal, and the Nawābs of Kōtla-Mālēr (more commonly called Mālēr-Kōtla). Of these the Mahārājās of Pañjālā, the Rājās of Nābhā and Jind and the Sardārs of Kaīthal,¹ belonged to one great family of Chiefs known in the Pañjāb as the Phūlkiān.

To the student of numismatics the coins of these chiefs have a special interest, as affording valuable examples of the principles governing the evolution of the coinage of partially civilised peoples. The theory of the evolution of coins, first made known by Mr. Evans² in his well-known work, has been applied with great acuteness and ability by Mr. Keary in his *Morphology of Coins* (1886) to Oriental coins. It is in support or criticism of its application to the coins of semi-barbarous peoples that the following pages will be found to be chiefly valuable.

Mr. Keary makes two remarks in his little book which the reader will do well to bear in mind throughout his perusal of this article. At page 9 he says:—"There is a peculiar sort of morphology (of coins) shown when a barbarous or semi-barbarous people, incapable of inaugurating or much modifying a coinage of its own, takes as a model the money of some other State and makes either imitations or reproductions of it in a descending order of degradation. Examples of this class take generally one of two forms: a.—If the nation is not very barbarous, it sometimes invents for itself a new type founded on the parent type, and adheres to that for a long succession of years. Such people are not artistic enough or original enough to produce variations of importance on this fixed type. b.—A much more barbarous people, who are incapable of either inventing any type for themselves or of copying correctly that which is before them, produce a series of successive degradations which are very curious and interesting to trace." At page 13 he further remarks:—"The local issues of different (Greek) cities may be regarded as a kind of token money, not acceptable except by weight outside a narrow area." How far the semi-barbarous coinage of the modern Native Chiefs of the Pañjāb bears out these observations the reader will be able to judge for himself.

In the year A.H. 1184, or A.D. 1751, being the fourth year of his reign, the famous Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (or Abdālī) made a raid into the Pañjāb and overran the greater part of it; and it is a common historical statement³ in the Pañjāb, that in that year he granted to the

¹ As distant connections only.² *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864.³ But see below, p. 225.

chiefs of Paṭiālā, Nābhā, Jind, and Kōṭlā-Mālēr the right to coin within their respective States. The now extinct State of the Sardārs of Kaiṭhal also seems to have acquired the right to use the same coinage within its territories, but how or when I have been unable to ascertain. Besides these the Sikh State of Kapurthalā and the extraordinary adventurer, George Thomas, Rājā of Hānsi, are said to have each had an independent coinage, of which more anon.

Now the coins of Aḥmad Shāh bear a distinctive legend, as is well known. It runs thus :—

obverse

حکم شد از قادر بیچون باحمد بادشاه

سکه زن بوسیم و زر ازواج ما بهی تابعا

reverse

منه جلوس میمنت همانوس ضرب

The words and figures following the words جلوس and ضرب naturally vary with the year and place. In plate I., figure a, I, give a fine specimen of the full legend, bearing the date 1173, i.e., A.H. 1173, (A.D. 1761), and the year of the reign 14, and showing the mint as دارالخلافه شاه جهان آباد that is, Dehlī.*

In the fourth year of his reign Aḥmad Shāh coined at Sarhand, better known as Sirhind, now a town in the Paṭiālā State. The exact form of his coin I do not know, but, for reasons given further on, it can be guessed from the impressions of the die given below, which is that now in use at Kōṭlā-Mālēr, and which I am able to introduce here through the kindness of the Khān Sāhib, 'Ināyat 'Alī Khān, brother of the Nawāb of Kōṭlā-Mālēr.



Now the point for the present argument is this :— from that day, nearly 140 years ago, to this, the coins of all these States — Paṭiālā, Nābhā, Jind, Kaiṭhal and Kōṭlā-Mālēr, with the exception of some of the issues of the Nābhā mint, have never changed either the legend, the date, or the mint. The dies have been cut and re-cut over and over again, but no material change has ever taken place beyond adding, in some cases only, the mark or sign of the particular chief issuing the coin. To all outward appearance they are all — even those of a year ago — the coins of Aḥmad Shāh minted in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 1751)! Nābhā alone has had the originality to vary the type to a limited extent, using for that purpose, of later years, the ordinary legend of the Sikh coins of the late Mahārājās of Lāhōr. The issues of the Sardārs of Kaiṭhal show a falling off in the artistic capacity of the moneyers of this distinctly "Minor State" in comparison with the others above noticed, that will be found to be specially valuable and interesting in the present connection.

The History of the modern Native States of the Panjāb, being of so recent a character, is to a certain extent well known^b and is therefore of much value as evidence for

* This is a large thin gold coin which belongs to the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the reproduction. It may not be a real coin at all, but one of those medals that used to be struck in India to be thrown amongst the populace on special occasions, or it may have been struck in commemoration of the capture of Dehlī in that year, for 1173 A.H. was the year of the notorious massacre he caused to be committed there.

^b I say to a "certain extent" advisedly, for it is much more obscure than one would suppose possible.

or against the theories of Messrs. Evans and Keary, — for we now have the advantage of studying a semi-barbarous coinage of precisely the same nature as that which has flourished throughout the East any time these thousand years, side by side with otherwise verifiable historical facts regarding the coiners.

II. HISTORY.

The Phûlkiân family of chiefs are Siddhu Jatts and claim, as is usual in the Pañjâb, among persons of importance, a Râjpût origin: — in this case from Jaisal, the founder of Jaisalmêr in the twelfth century A.D. The descent from Jaisal through Siddhu, the eponymous founder of this now great clan of the Pañjâbî Jatts, is legendary in the extreme.⁶ However, whatever may have been their origin, the ancestors of the Phûlkiân house must have been people of much consideration, for in A.D. 1526 the emperor Bâbar created the son of Saughar, the head of the family, a Chaudhari⁷ for services rendered in that year by his father at the battle of Pânipat, where he was killed. The headship or *chaudhariyat* thus won was confirmed by the emperor Humâyûn on Saughar's grandson in A.D. 1554, and a hundred years later we find Saughar's descendant Phûl, the direct founder of the Phûlkiân, succeeding his father in the *chaudhariyat* about A.D. 1618, and dying as the great Chaudhari Phûl in 1652.⁸ Phûl left six sons — the two eldest of whom we may call the major and the rest the minor sons. From the two major sons, Tilôkhâ and Râmâ, spring the present great chiefs of the Siddhu Jatts, and from the rest the Jîundân Sardârs and what are called the Landghariâ, or "Minor Branch," Sardârs. All are personages of high standing in the Pañjâb. From Tilôkhâ, who succeeded to the *chaudhariyat*, come the Râjâs of Nâbhâ and Jind, and from Râmâ the Mahârâjâs of Patialâ, the Sardârs of Bhadaur (absorbed by Patialâ) and the Malaudh families. At the present day they rank as follows, Patialâ, Jind, Nâbhâ, Bhadaur, Malaudh; — but by descent their seniority is Nâbhâ, Jind, Bhadaur, Patialâ, Malaudh, while their originally absolute equality is proved by the fact that the village of Bhâi Rûpâ, founded by Tilôkhâ and Râmâ jointly, is still owned in equal shares by all the above chiefs. There are seventeen great Sikh families in all sprung from Chaudhari Phûl, and of these three have become "royal" and have still the right to issue their own coinage. It is with these three, Patialâ, Jind and Nâbhâ, that we have now to do.

At the present day by far the most powerful of these families is that of Patialâ, and we will take it first into consideration. Râmâ, the second son of Phûl as above described, carved out for himself by the sword, after the manner of the time, a small semi-independent territory, and after a turbulent career, was murdered in extreme old age in A.D. 1714. Some 15 years later (A.D. 1729) on the death of his second son, Sabhâ, his third son, Âlhâ Singh, came into possession of Râmâ's residence and petty principality of Hôdiânâ; the eldest son, Dûnâ, having obtained another estate, now held by his descendant, the Sardâr 'Atar Singh of Bhadaur. From this small beginning, to which he added certain other little territories won by the sword, Âlhâ Singh, in the course of a warlike career, before his death in A.D. 1765, had founded Patialâ Town and State, had been a prisoner of Ahmad Shâh (in 1762), had then been petted by that monarch, receiving from the Afghân the title of Râjâ (1762), had next destroyed and annexed the great Muhammadan provincial capital of Sarhand or Sirhind,⁹ and had finally been created chief of the whole of his district (*chalka*) by Ahmad Shâh. The right to coin given by Ahmad Shâh to the Phûlkiân States was therefore clearly given in his time and the coins depicted

⁶ Sir Lepel Griffin, *Râjâs of the Pañjâb*, p. 9, gives 21 generations between Saughar (c. 1526) and Jaisal (c. 1168), which is an apparent impossibility, and at p. 3 there is a legend to account for the birth of Siddhu in "as Râjpût's house."

⁷ Chief local revenue authority: always chosen from among the local magnates.

⁸ It is to be observed that in the genealogy above alluded to we again get 6 generations in 100 years between Saughar and Phûl, when dates are admitted by the tribe to be vague, and only 8 generations in over 200 years between Chaudhari Phûl and the present Mahârâjâ of Patialâ, when dates have been accurately recorded.

⁹ Sarhand سرهند is the proper spelling of this word on the coins and in MSS., not سهرند "Sahrind" as Mr. Rodgers states, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I., Vol. LIV., p. 73.

in figs. 1 and 2 are universally attributed by the local bankers (*mahājan, Srāf*) to him, his mark being the *kalghā*, or aigrette plume.¹⁰

Ālhā Singh was succeeded by his grandson, **Amar Singh**, after a struggle for the chiefship with his elder half-brother Himmat Singh, the offspring of an irregular marriage, known in the Pañjāb as the *karwad*, and which is in fact the levirate. This chief reigned till 1781 and was in his turn petted by Ahmad Shāh, during the latter's last irruption into India in 1767, being given the title of Rājā-i-Rājgān Bahādūr in addition to that of Rājā already conferred on his grandfather. Like Ālhā Singh he was a great soldier, and made Patialā the most powerful of the Cis-Satluj states. He is represented in the coins by fig. 3; his mark being like that of Ālhā Singh, the *kalghā*.¹¹

He was succeeded by **Sāhib Singh**, his son, then but six years old, who reigned till 1813. This chief, who was more or less a madman, injured his State almost as much as his predecessors had improved it, and although he secured the title of Mahārājā from the Dehli Emperor, Akbar II., in 1810, he left Patialā in such a condition that no one respected its authority. His days saw the rise of Rañjīt Singh of Lāhōr, and his court was much concerned in the diplomatic struggles between that great ruler and the British Government, in the course of which it became entirely subservient to the latter. Sāhib Singh's coinage is represented in fig. 4; his mark being the same as his predecessor's.¹²

Sāhib Singh's successor was his son **Karm Singh**, who reigned on till 1845, his last act in joining the British against the Lāhōr Government on the outbreak of hostilities doing much towards wiping out the injury done to his State by his wild and imbecile predecessor. He did not, however, live to reap the reward of his loyalty, for he died on 23rd Dec. 1845, the day after the battle of Phērūshahr (Ferozeshah). His coin is shown in figs. 5 and 6, the special mark being a *saif* or two-handed sword.¹³

The next chief was **Narindar Singh**, the son of Karm Singh, who died in 1862, after doing as much for his State as the ablest of his predecessors had done, and whose comparatively loyal action in the Sikh War and whole-hearted loyalty in the Mutiny enlarged its borders to their present extent. His coin is shown in fig. 7 with a spear-head as his special mark.¹⁴

Narindar Singh was succeeded by his son, **Mahindar Singh**, who did nothing remarkable during his 14 years of rule up to his death in 1876. His coin is depicted in fig. 9 with a halberd head for the distinguishing sign.¹⁵

Rājindar Singh, the son of Mahindar Singh, is the present Mahārājā of Patialā, to whose kindness, through his Minister — for he was a small boy when I procured the collection — the bulk of the Patialā coins reproduced in the plate attached to this paper are due. His peculiar sign is the well-known *kaṭār* or dagger of India. His coin is represented in figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. No 14, a gold coin, was specially struck for me on the occasion of my visit to the Patialā mint in 1884. In this connection I should draw attention to a curious coin represented by Mr. Rodgers as fig. 17, Plate II., of his *Coins of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī*, in Vol. LIV., Part I., (1885), of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. It is reproduced here for reference.



Rodgers's Coin of Rājindar Singh of Patialā.

¹⁰ But see post, pp. 325, 335, 336.

¹¹ Griffin, op. cit. p. 286, seems to argue that Amar Singh was the first Patialā Rājā to use Ahmad Shāh's coins but I hardly think this is likely under the circumstances and it is against the testimony of the local bankers.

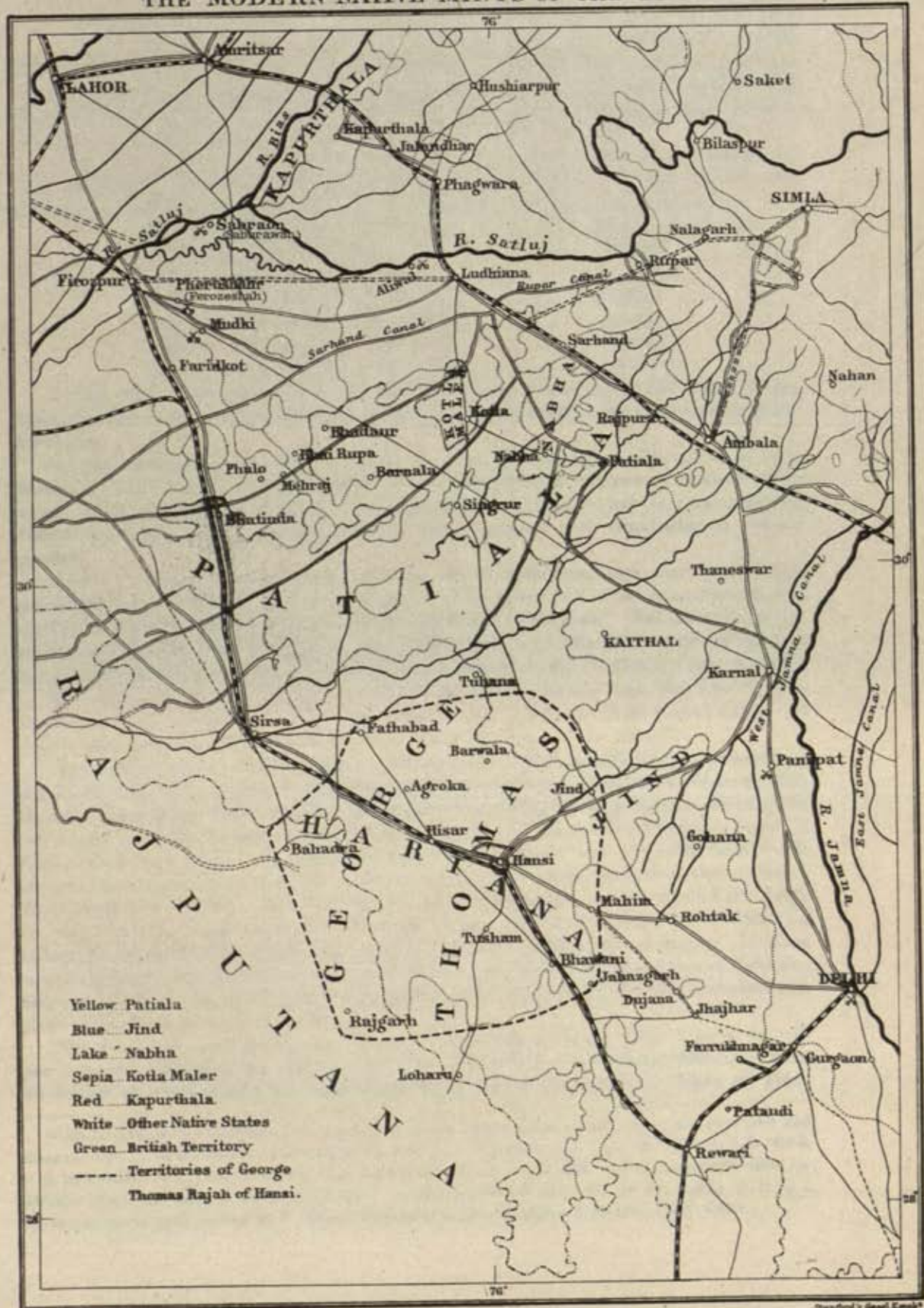
¹² But see post, pp. 325, 336.

¹³ But see post, pp. 325, 336.

¹⁴ But see post, pp. 335, 336.

¹⁵ But see post, pp. 325, 336.

MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MODERN NATIVE MINTS OF THE PANJAB.



At p. 75, in describing it he calls it "a modern **Paṭiālā** rupee presented to me by the Foreign Minister of the State." It is, however, doubtful whether any such coin was ever current, as it is much larger and must be very much thinner than the regular **Paṭiālā** rupee. Most likely the Minister had a medal struck for him exhibiting the whole die or nearly all of it. Its chief value is that it gives the whole legend for all practical purposes.¹⁶

We have therefore before us, as regards the **Paṭiālā** State, a specimen of the coinage of each ruler that has had the right to coin in his own name, or rather on his own account, and so can trace the coins from generation to generation. These rulers reigned as follows:—

Rājā Ālhā Singh A.D. 1729-1765	36 years.
Rājā Amar Singh 1765-1781	16 years.
Mahārājā Sāhib Singh 1781-1813	32 years.
Mahārājā Karm Singh 1813-1845	32 years.
Mahārājā Narindar Singh 1845-1862	17 years.
Mahārājā Mahindar Singh 1862-1876	14 years.
Mahārājā Rājindar Singh 1876 to date	—

I think the fair inference to be drawn from these coins is that in the 140 years during which they have been issued no material change has taken place in the artistic merit of the die-cutters.

Another interesting result from the study of this set of coins is that, although all of them are modern and many of them quite recent, there is a conflict of competent opinion as to which ruler the various types are to be assigned. This shows how very uncertain and difficult is accurate enquiry into the historical facts connected with semi-barbarous oriental peoples.

Griffin, *op. cit.* (p. 286, footnote), quoting official documents, says that Amar Singh established the **Paṭiālā** mint and was the first to coin rupees:—"in fact in another place in the **Paṭiālā** Reports *Sahvat* 1820 (A.D. 1763) is mentioned as the year." But Amar Singh did not succeed till 1765. And though it is quite possible that in minting the first coin, an old coin (*i.e.* of the year 4) and not a current coin (*i.e.* of the year 14 or 16) of Ālmad Shah was taken as the sample, yet the **Paṭiālā** and indeed all the **Paṭiālā** Rupees bear the date ۴ جلوس or the year 4, *i.e.*, A.D. 1751. Either date, 1751 or 1763, falls within Ālhā Singh's reign. So I agree with the native bankers in saying that Ālhā Singh initiated the currency.

Again says Griffin:—"Mahārājā Amar Singh's rupee is distinguished by the representation of a *kalghī* (small aigrette plume); Mahārājā Sāhib Singh by that of a *saif* (or two-edged sword); Mahārājā Karm Singh had a *shamshér* (bent sabre) on his coin; Mahārājā Narindar Singh's coin had a *kaffā* (or straight sword) as his distinguishing mark. The present Mahārājā's rupee is distinguished by a dagger." At **Paṭiālā** I found that the officials knew very little, but that the bankers knew a great deal, and traditionally knew to whom to assign the various rupees at once. Their statements were that Ālhā Singh, Amar Singh, Sāhib Singh all used the *kalghī*, Karm Singh the *saif*, Narindar Singh a spear-head, Mahindar Singh, (the "present Mahārājā" of Griffin,) a halberd-head, and Rājindar Singh, subsequent to the date of Griffin's book, a dagger. It seems to me to be hardly possible that the bankers could err on so recent a coinage as that of Mahindar Singh and Narindar Singh when confronted with it, and I have preferred their statements, as given to me direct, to those of the books.

The next set of coins on the plate belongs to the **Rajas of Jind**, whose history we will now examine. **Tilōkhā**, the eldest son of Phūl, had two sons, Gurdittā and Sukohain, from the former of whom sprang the **Rājās of Nābhā** and from the latter the **Rājās of Jind**.

¹⁶ Mr. Rodgers gives a hand-drawn illustration, which may not be quite correct. After the word **سکر** and above the word **زر** on the obverse is an inexplicable date **۷۲**. This might mean A. H. 1272 which = A.D. 1855-6, or St. 1872 which = A.D. 1815, or Śaka S.E. 1772 (very unlikely) which = A.D. 1850. All are impossible dates for Rājindar Singh, who came to the throne in 1876. Perhaps we should read **۷۳** for **۷۲**, taking **۷** to be a misreading for the latter portion of **۷**, which would make the date St. 1902 = A. H. 1292 = A.D. 1875-6.

Sukchain died in 1751 without doing anything remarkable, leaving three sons — Alam Singh who died in 1764, Gajpat Singh, the founder of the Jind State, and Bulaki Singh, the founder of the Diālpuriā family. Alam Singh was a good soldier and took part in the capture of Sarhand already mentioned, getting a large accession of territory in consequence. But he died childless a year or so afterwards, Gajpat Singh succeeding to his estates. Gajpat Singh was a remarkable man and a prominent figure in those troublous times. Like all the Sikh chiefs of the day he underwent many ups and downs, alternately fighting and serving the feeble Court of Dehli, being sometimes its prisoner, sometimes its petted official, and sometimes its open foe. In 1772 he received the title of Rājā from the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and according to Jind History began to coin as an independent prince in that year. If this be correct — and it would seem to be so — his coinage and that of his State is exceedingly interesting, as showing that he actually borrowed the die in use in the Patialā State in its entirety, although it showed Ahmad Shāh to be suzerain, whereas his own suzerain was Shāh 'Ālam. Ordinarily, of course, if he borrowed a coinage at all it would have been that of Shāh 'Ālam.¹⁷ Gajpat Singh died in 1786 and was succeeded by his son, Bhāg Singh. His coin is shown in fig. 15.

Bhāg Singh was also a prominent ruler and had a long reign, dying in 1819. He was distinguished as being the first Sikh Chief to seek an alliance with the British Government. This was in 1803. He was also the uncle, but hardly the friend, of the great Rājīt Singh of Lāhōr, whose mother, the ill-starred Bibi Rāj Kanwar, was his sister. He did much for his State, though his later years were clouded by illness and family troubles. He is represented by figs. 17 and 18, his coins being peculiar in having the reverse quite blank.

Bhāg Singh was succeeded by his son Fath Singh, who had a short and uneventful reign, dying in 1822. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, Saugat Singh, an extravagant debauchee, who thoroughly misgoverned his State and died childless in 1834. His coin is that shown in fig. 16.

On the death of Saugat Singh, under Sikh law the state lapsed to its suzerain, the British Government; but after some consideration the collateral heir, Sarup Singh, was allowed to succeed to the major portion of it. A fine and gallant soldier, a just and honest man, a truly loyal feudatory of the British Crown, — doing signal service in the Mutiny, — he greatly increased the importance and prestige of his State during his long and prosperous reign. He died in 1864. His coin is represented in fig. 21.

His successor, Raghbīr Singh, who died as lately as 1885, was worthy of his illustrious father. It is to him that I owe the two specimens of his coinage given in figs. 19 and 20.

¹⁷ As a commentary on the above and on the fact of all the Patialā coins even to the present day purporting to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ahmad Shāh, I may here quote the following remarks regarding the Jāypūr State coinage, made by me in *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. II., note No. 695.

"A quantity of gold mohars of the Jāypūr Rājās that lately (1883) passed through my hands, exhibited that numismatic falsification of history which appears to be the rule in the modern coins of the petty States of India.

All the Jāypūr specimens bore the name of Muhammad Bahādur Shāh, the last Mughal Emperor of Dehli, dethroned by the English in 1857 A.D., and they exhibited every year of his reign from 1 to 19, and some had in addition the *Samsat* year clearly legible, it being added in intention to every coin. The die, as usual, had been larger than the coin, but from the whole collection the legend was legible in full, being the same in each case, except that the coin of the year 1 had ا ح د in full, instead of merely the date in figures. It ran thus:—

obverse,

سکہ مبارک ۱۲۶۳ بادشاہ غازی محمد بہادر شاہ

reverse,

نوب سوائی جالی بور ۱۰ سنہ جلوس میمنت مانوس

These dates correspond exactly to facts, for Bahādur Shāh succeeded in 1837, so that his year 10 is 1847, which is also A.H. 1263. The coin of the year 19 is interesting as being one of the very last coins struck under the Mughal Dynasty. [It afterwards passed into the collection of the late Mr. Gibbs].

These coins then clearly show Bahādur Shāh as suzerain of the Jāypūr Rājās, but such was never the fact. The British Government took over Jāypūr as suzerain in 1818, vigorously asserted its rights in 1835, when the management of the State until 1857.

Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, 1834, Part I., pp. 2 to 4, may be usefully read in connection with the above remarks.

The coins therefore of the Jind State show those of rulers who reigned as follows:—

Rājā Gajpat Singh, A.D. 1764-1786	22 years.
Rājā Bhāg Singh „ 1786-1819	33 years.
[Rājā Fath Singh „ 1819-1822	3 years.] ¹⁸
Rājā Saugat Singh „ 1822-1834	12 years.
Rājā Sarāp Singh „ 1834-1864	30 years.
Rājā Raghbīr Singh „ 1864-1885	21 years.
Rājā Ranbīr Singh „ 1885 to date.	

I think the same inference may be drawn from this set as from that given of the Mahārājās of Patialā — that the type has not materially changed throughout 120 years.

We must pass on to the history of the owners of the next set of coins shown in figs. 22 to 26, viz., the Sardārs, or more popularly, the Bhāis of Kaithal. The State is now extinct, and I have not found it possible to refer the individual coins to particular rulers, though distinctions were apparently made between their issues.

The Kaithal family traces its descent direct from the eldest son of Siddhu, whereas the Phūlkīān descent springs from the second son. Its connection with the Phūlkīān Rājās is therefore a very distant one, but it has always been recognized, and a short time before the State lapsed to the British Crown under the Sikh law of inheritance, the Bhāis of Kaithal were most important chiefs; — the last, Bhāi Udai Singh, being received at a Governor General's Darbār in 1828, as of equal rank with, and senior to, the Rājās of Jind and Nābhā.¹⁹ The loss of their State to the family under the operation of the law was directly due to the action of its own representatives; for on the death of Saugat Singh of Jind in 1834, as above described, without heirs, a plain opportunity was given by the British Government to the principal Sikh Chiefs to choose between the payment of a fixed tribute, or the existing freedom from payment coupled with the chance of lapses to Government on the failure of direct heirs. The chiefs finally “preferred the easy terms which they enjoyed in the present to a more secure future which involved some present sacrifice.” The result was the almost immediate lapse of a part of Jind and the total lapse of Kaithal within nine years.²⁰ The folly of the decision of the chiefs becomes the more apparent when it is considered that failure of direct heirs has always been a common occurrence in great Sikh families, owing to the intemperance and private vices so frequent, at any rate at that time, among them.

The founder of the Kaithal Chiefship was Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh, friend and contemporary of Rājā Ālhā Singh of Patialā (1729-1765). He was succeeded by his fourth son, Bhāi Dēst Singh, who actually conquered Kaithal town from some Afghan Chiefs in 1767, and afterwards much enlarged his borders. He died in 1781, and was practically succeeded by his second son, Bhāi Lal Singh, after the latter had murdered the heir, his elder brother, Bhāi Bahāl Singh. An able, utterly untrustworthy, violent and unscrupulous man, he greatly enlarged his estate in those troubled times, and became the most powerful Cis-Satluj Chief after Patialā. He died an old man in 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Bhāi Partāb Singh, and then in 1824 by his younger son, Bhāi Udai Singh, a prominent figure in his day, who died childless in 1843. Upon this all but an insignificant part of the State became British territory.²¹

The Bhāis of Kaithal therefore ruled as follows²²:—

Bhāi Dēst Singh, A.D. 1767-1781.....	14 years.
Bhāi Bahāl Singh, 1781-1781.....	—
Bhāi Lal Singh, 1781-1819.....	38 years.
Bhāi Partāb Singh, 1819-1824	5 years.
Bhāi Udai Singh, 1824-1843	19 years.

¹⁸ No coin of this Rājā has been found.

¹⁹ Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 370 n.

²⁰ Griffin, *op. cit.* p. 330.

²¹ Bhāi is the title of a Sikh saint or holy man, and is used as a prefix by his descendants. The Kaithal Chiefs got their title of Bhāi from Bhāi Rāmdīāl, the father of Gurbakhsh Singh, a personage of great sanctity in his time.

²² As an instance of the great difficulty of dates when writing of such histories as this, I may say that Ibbetson's *Gazetteer of the Karnal District*, pp. 38-40, differs somewhat from Griffin's *Rājās of the Panjāb*, pp. 48-49, and that both authors worked on the best original sources of information procurable on the spot.

The coins of these chiefs are very rough but interesting, as showing a falling off in artistic merit from those of the surrounding Rājās. They are all of one type, but the "minor marks" differ considerably.²³

We must now turn to the history of the Afghāns of Kōtlā-Mālēr, because their coins follow the general type of those of the chiefs already discussed, although, properly speaking, the history of the Phūlkīān State of Nābhā should come next.

The history of Kōtlā-Mālēr has been written in a useful little book—*A Description of the Principal Kōtlā Afghāns*, by Khānsāhib 'Ināyat 'Alī Khān of Mālēr-Kōtlā, (Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1882.) The Khānsāhib is the brother of the present Nawāb Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān, and the book was kindly sent to me by him. It is somewhat confused, but we may take it to be the best public information on the subject in existence.

The founder of the Kōtlā family at Mālēr was Shēkh Sadr Jahān, a Sarwānī Afghān, who was a Sūfī saint of much celebrity in his time, and who came into prominence from his connection with Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī. This ruler, in fulfilment, it is said, of a vow, gave him a daughter in marriage in 1454 A.D. with, of course, a suitable dowry in the shape of land. After this the Shēkh contracted a second wealthy marriage into the family of a local magnate. He left three sons—Hasan, 'Isā and Mūsā. Hasan by the Lōdī Princess, and 'Isā and Mūsā by the local lady. The present Kōtlā-Mālēr family is descended from 'Isā, the descendants of Hasan being nowadays merely the *mujawirs*, or attendants at the shrine of Sadr Jahān.

Originally the property acquired by Sadr Jahān was equally divided amongst his sons, and this gave rise to a pernicious custom which was, that every scion of the house got his own share of the State, with full rights, fiscal, judicial and administrative over it, the eldest living member being the Ra'īs or Chief. The Chief was thus really only *primus inter pares*, and the State never had much power in consequence. The rule of primogeniture as regards the chiefship was introduced in course of time through the action of the British Government, but the rights of sovereignty were not vested in the Chief alone until quite recently. Much of the revenue of the State is still split up amongst the collaterals of the Chief.

The fifth in descent from Sadr Jahān, Bazīd Khān, was the first to considerably enlarge the family estates, and founded Kōtlā, near Mālēr, in 1657. His grandson, Shēr Muḥammad Khān, was a prominent general of his time, and in his days began that incessant fight with the Sikhs, under Gurūs Tēgh Bahādur and Gobind Singh, which lasted up to quite modern times and almost wiped out the State of Kōtlā-Mālēr. He did not, however, suffer much himself, and died in 1712, after converting the State into one of some importance. The next Ra'īs was his son, Ghulām Ḥussain Khān, a timid man, and on his death his sons were excluded from the chiefship for what was considered to be pusillanimity. His successor was his brother, Jamāl Khān, a great chief in his day and the ancestor of all the present Kōtlā Afghāns of any importance.

On the death of Jamāl Khān, the principality was split up into five sections among his five sons, of whom the eldest, Bhīkan Khān, became Ra'īs under the law above explained. He seems to have been a temporizer and to have been a friend of the Sikhs and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī alternately. From the latter he received the right to coin in his own name, and was killed by the former in 1763. I have no specimen of his coin unfortunately.

Bhīkan Khān left two sons, Wazīr Khān, and Faṭh Khān, but his brother, Bahādur Khān, succeeded under the local law of seniority. I have no specimens of his coin.

Bahādur Khān also left two sons, Himmat Khān and Dalīl Khān, but again the chiefship went to the next eldest brother, 'Umr Khān. His coin is shown in figs. 27 and 28, being the best from an artistic point of view of the whole series.

²³ See post, pp. 337, 338.

Asadu'llah Khân, the fourth brother, next became Râ'is and lived amicably with his neighbours until his death in 1782. His coin is represented in fig. 29.

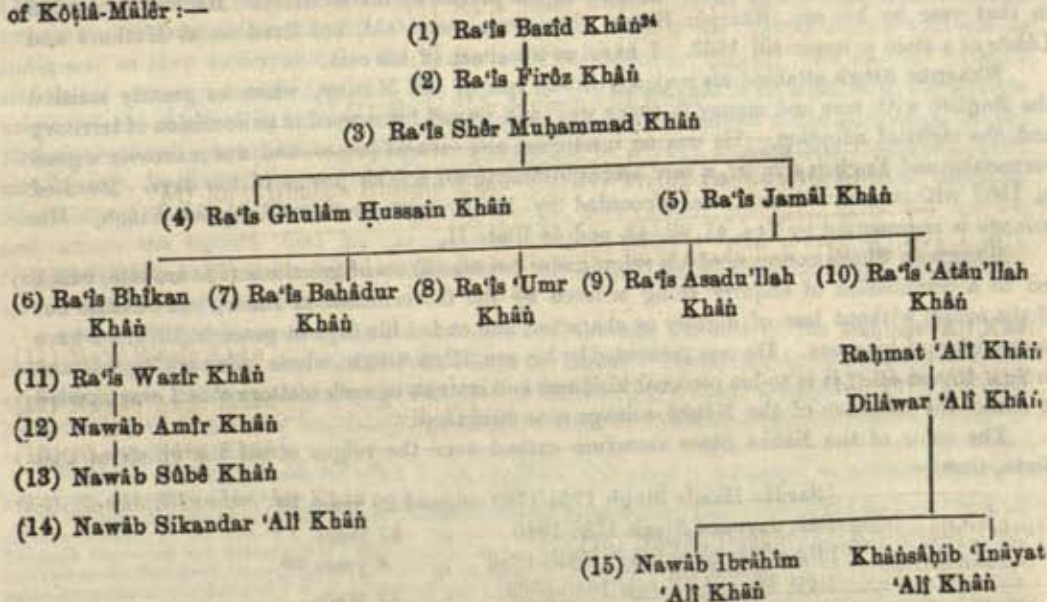
'Atân'llah Khân, the last of the five sons of Jamâl Khân, succeeded him. He lived in troublous times and practically lost his State to that arch-devourer, Rājīt Singh of Lāhōr, but it was restored him in part under British protection by Sir David Ochterlony. He died in 1809, leaving three sons, Rahmat 'Alī Khân, Fazal 'Alī Khân and Imām 'Alī Khân, but the family law of seniority made the title of Râ'is revert to **Wazir Khân**, the eldest son of Bhikan Khân. This was the last time it was applied, for the British Government now stepped in, and no doubt taking advantage of the fact that Wazir Khân happened to be the eldest son of the eldest son directed that the law of primogeniture should apply in future. I have no coin of 'Atân'llah Khân. Wazir Khân led an uneventful life, dying in 1821. I have no specimen of his coin.

He was succeeded by his son, **Amir Khân**, and was the last to bear the title of Râ'is, for the British Government conferred on him the title of Nawāb. He died in 1845 (?). Three specimens of his coins are figured in the plate, Nos. 30, 31, 32.

His son was **Mahbūb 'Alī Khân**, better known as **Sūbē Khân**. Like his Sikh neighbours, he was on our side in the Mutiny and died in 1859. His coin is shown in fig. 34.

His son was **Sikandar 'Alī Khân**, who is said to have been an hermaphrodite and seems to have spent all his time in quarrelling with his relatives. He was credited with two sons, Ghaus Muḥammād Khân and Roshan 'Alī Khân, who both died early and so saved the dispute as to legitimacy, which was contemplated, had they outlived their reputed father. He died in 1871, and on his death there was a dispute as to the succession, which was decided in favour of the present ruler, **Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khân**, the eldest surviving descendant of 'Atân'llah Khân. Advantage was taken of this decision to make the holder of the title of Nawāb, already made hereditary by strict primogeniture, the head of the State in every way, instead of allowing his collaterals to exercise independent powers within their own shares of the family possessions. Fig. 33 represents the coin of Sikandar 'Alī Khân, and figs. 35 and 36 that of Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khân.

The following table may help to explain the complicated succession of Râ'ises and Nawābs of Kōṭlā-Mālēr :—



* The figures in brackets show the order of succession to the chiefships.

As regards the coins of these chiefs they extend over the following reigns:—

[Ra'is Bhikan Khān	A.D. 1761-1763	reigned 2 years.] ²⁵
[Ra'is Bahādur Khān	1763-1768	" 5 years.]
Ra'is 'Umr Khān	1768-1778	" 10 years.
Ra'is Asadu'llah Khān	1778-1782	" 4 years.
[Ra'is 'Atāu'llah Khān	1782-1809	" 27 years.]
[Ra'is Wazīr Khān	1809-1821	" 12 years.]
Nawāb Amīr Khān	1821-1845	" 24 years.
Nawāb Sūbē Khān	1845-1859	" 14 years.
Nawāb Sikandar 'Alī Khān	1859-1871	" 12 years.
Nawāb Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān	1871	to present time.

We have no coins of the chiefs before 'Umr Khān; but from his time to the present, about 100 years, we find no great difference in type, except that his coin, *i.e.* the oldest coin, is the best cut of all.

We must now turn to the last set of coins on the plate, those of the **Rajās of Nābhā**. As above explained these chiefs are sprung from **Gurdittā**, the eldest son of **Tilōkhā**, the eldest son of **Phūl**. He founded **Sangrūr**, long the head-quarters of the **Nābhā State**, but now included in **Jind**. He died in 1754, his estates passing to his grandson, **Hamīr Singh**, who was a brave and energetic chief, and practically the founder of the **Nābhā State**.

Hamīr Singh established a mint, how is not exactly known, and became independent. He died in 1783, and was succeeded by his son, **Jaswant Singh**, then a boy. I have unfortunately no specimens of his coin.

Jaswant Singh ruled all through the troubled days of **Ranjīt Singh** of **Lāhōr**, during which he managed to uphold the honour of his State. He obtained the title of **Rājā** by patent from the Court of **Dehli**. Grasping and unscrupulous as regards rival potentates, he was a good administrator and ruled his State well. He died in 1840, and throughout his career was a firm friend of the English Government. Figures 37, 38, 39, and 40 represent his coinage.

He was succeeded by his son, **Dēvīndar Singh**, a vain, foolish, and arrogant prince, whose unfriendly conduct during the Sikh war of 1845-6 ended in his deposition by the British Government in the latter year, and the confiscation of one-fourth of his territory. He was succeeded in that year by his son, **Bharpūr Singh**, then seven years old, but lived on at **Mathurā** and **Lāhōr** as a state prisoner till 1865. I have no specimen of his coin.

Bharpūr Singh attained his majority in the year of the Mutiny, when he greatly assisted the English with men and money in every way, and reaped his reward in an accession of territory and the right of adoption. He was an intelligent and earnest prince, and was moreover a good vernacular and English scholar, a rare accomplishment for a Sikh prince in his days. He died in 1863 without issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, **Bhagwān Singh**. His coinage is represented by figs. 41, 42, 43, and 44 Plate II.

Bhagwān Singh commenced his reign under circumstances of great domestic trouble, which led to a commission of enquiry being ordered by the Government of India; but he came out of the ordeal without loss of dignity or character, and ended his days in peace in 1871. I have no specimen of his coins. He was succeeded by his son, **Hirā Singh**, whose coins are represented in figs. 45 and 46. It is to his personal kindness and interest in such matters that I was enabled to obtain the specimen of the **Nābhā** coinage now published.

The coins of the **Nābhā State** therefore extend over the reigns of all the chiefs of that State, thus:—

[Sardār Hamīr Singh	1754-1783	reigned 29 years.] ²⁶
Rājā Jaswant Singh	1783-1840	" 57 years.
[Rājā Dēvīndar Singh	1840-1846	" 6 years.] ²⁶
Rājā Bharpūr Singh	1846-1863	" 19 years.
[Rājā Bhagwān Singh	1863-1871	" 8 years.] ²⁶
Rājā Hirā Singh	1871	to date

²⁵ I have no coins of the chiefs whose names are in brackets. ²⁶ I have no specimens of the coins of these rulers.

The Nābhā coins are remarkable for an attempt to vary the stereotyped form of the coinage of these Pañjāb chiefs, but it will be observed that originality has not gone beyond imitating the legend of the overshadowing State of Lāhōr. In one instance (No. 40) the year of the reign has dropped out to make way for the date of the era in use. The Nābhā legend runs thus:—

Obverse *دیع تیغ فتح نصرت ے درنگ یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگ*

Reverse *جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب نا بها*

Griffin, who had never seen the coins, and writing from information, says, p. 288, footnote, that the words *جلوس ضرب نا بها* should be *سرکار نا بها*, but the coins themselves have obviously on them what is above given. The above is the ordinary Sikh or Nānakshāhī legend, and the change in legend seems to take place with the reign of Bharpūr Singh; but as there are no specimens of Dēvīndar Singh it is not possible to say whether the change should be ascribed to the Sikh fanaticism of Dēvīndar Singh or to the scholastic tendencies of Bharpūr Singh. There is no appreciable change otherwise in type to be observed in these coins between the earlier and the later specimens.

Some reference should here be made to the coinage, real or mythical, of the Kapurthala State. This state was founded by Jassā Singh Ahlūwālīā (1718-1783 A.D.) one of the most prominent Sikh chieftains of his day. He is said to have struck a coin, a story widely spread all over the Pañjāb, with the following extraordinary legend:—

*سکر زد درجهان بفضل اکال
ملک احمد گرفت جسا کلال*

Griffin, in his *Rājās of the Pañjāb*, p. 460, note 2, remarks that the coin could not have been struck before 1762, (whereas Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, makes out they were struck in 1757-8,) that he had never seen one himself, and that the Rājā of Kapurthala did not possess one. He then goes on to say:—“The *Tawārīkh-i-Pañjāb* of Ganēś Dās states that the Sikhs did not strike the coin, but that the Qāzis and Mullas in 1764, after the famous Nānakshāhī [Lāhōr] rupee had been struck, desiring to anger Ahmad Shāh against the Sikhs, coined twenty rupees with this inscription themselves and sent them to the Shāh at Kabūl, who was as indignant as they anticipated at the insolence of the Distiller, (*kaldā*), who claimed to have seized his country, *mulk-i-Ahmad*! The title or term *Jassā Kalāl* is an allusion to the humble origin of the Ahlūwālīā family. Cunningham, p. 97, 2nd ed. quotes Browne, *Tracts*, ii. 19; Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 93 [wrongly, should be p. 95]; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, ii. 289; and Murray, *Runjeet Singh*, p. 15; and he no doubt took his information direct from Malcolm. Mr. Rodgers, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, part I., 1881, pp. 77-8, gives the couplet and makes the remark that he has never been able to find the coin. I may add that I have frequently made similar attempts myself without success. It seems that the Kapurthala Rājās never had a coinage otherwise.

Among the more notorious Indian adventurers towards the end of the last century was the whilom able seaman, George Thomas, Rājā of Hāhāl. The authority on the subject of his exploits is the *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, by William Francklin, and they have been dealt with in more or less detail by several writers.²³ Thomas originally came to India in

²³ *دیع* is a mock Arabicism for *دینگ*, a pot, cauldron, and refers to the *laṅgar* or public kitchen then kept up by every Sikh Chief.

²⁴ *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, who by extraordinary talent and enterprise, rose from an obscure situation to the rank of a general. In the service of the Native powers in the North-West of India—Through the work are interspersed geographical and statistical accounts of several of the states composing the interior of the Peninsula, especially the countries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajputaneh, the Selks of Punjab, the territory of Beykaneer and the country adjoining the great desert to the westward of Hurrianeh. Compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas' original documents. By William Francklin, Captain of Infantry. Member of the Asiatic Society. Author of a tour to Persia. And the History of Shah Aulum. *Mores, populos et praelia dicam*. Calcutta. Printed for the author at the Hukaru Press. A.D. 1803. entered at Stationer's Hall.

a man-of-war in 1781-2, and entered the service of various chiefs in Southern India, and by 1787 had found his way into the far North-West to the Court of the **Bogam Samrū** at **Sardhana**, whose service he entered. This he quitted in 1792, for that of **Āpā Khandā Rāv**, with which **Marāṭhā** chief he quarrelled in 1795. He was now a personage of importance in possession of a *jāgīr* granted by his late chief and was able to help **Bēgam Samrū** when in distress. Upon **Āpā Khandā Rāv**'s suicide in 1797, Thomas seems to have been on uniformly bad terms with his successors, and spent most of his time in defending his *jāgīr* from their attacks. In 1798, taking advantage of the troubles of the times, he appears to have given up the lands he held from the **Marāṭhās**, and to have seized the district round **Hisār** and **Hānsi**, known as **Hariānā**. The latter town he made his capital and established himself as **Rājā** thereof. His territory, according to **Francelin**, comprised 253 villages and paid a revenue of about Rs. 3,00,000. Again, according to **Francelin**, p. 93, to quote the remarkable words he has put into Thomas's mouth, "here, says **Mr. Thomas** (with that energy and spirited animation which distinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life), 'here I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country, etc.' " After establishing himself at **Hānsi**, the rest of Thomas's life, like that of the neighbouring chiefs, was one of perpetual war: in his case, against the **Marāṭhās** and the **Sikhs**, as represented chiefly by the chiefs of **Paṭiālā**, **Nābhā** and **Jind**. In his case also, it ended in a general combination against him, his flight into British Territory and his death at **Berhampore** (**Bahrāmpūr**) in 1802.

The *Tārīkh Makhsan Panjāb* of **Mufti Ghulām Sarwar Qurēshī** of **Lāhōr**, published by **Nawal Kishōr** at **Lucknow** in 1877, repeats the assertion about the coinage of **George Thomas**, in its account of him, pp. ۲۳-۲۵. ذکر جارج طامس صاحب عرف جہاز صاحب انگریز کا. The actual words at the bottom of p. ۲۴ are بعد النظام قرار واقعی کے طامس صاحب نے سکداپنے نام کا جاری کیا "after completing his administrative arrangements **Mr. Thomas** issued coins in his own name." Thomas, it is true, ruled only for a very short time, and all trace of his coins may have been lost; but, if issued in any quantity, this seems hardly possible. He built a fort, due east of, and not far from, **Dehli**, which he named after himself **George-garh**, but which is now known as **Jahāzgarh**, just as he is known as **Jahāz Sāhib**, apparently in conscious recollection of his origin, for says the *Tārīkh Makhsan Panjāb* :

جارج طامس صاحب انگریز بھی بعد عہداری مرتھوں کے ایک رئیس خود مختار ضلع ہریانہ وغیرہ میں ہو گذرا ہی پہلے یہ شخص انگریزی جہازوں میں ذلیل عہدہ پر لوگوں تھا.

In his territory also were the towns of **Hānsi**, **Hisār**, **Bhawānī**, **Fatḥābād**, **Jind** and **Tuhānā**. In some of these places therefore there may be coins belonging to him lurking in money-changers boxes. It is worth while searching. I have never myself been able to make a personal search for Thomas's coin, nor have I ever heard of any one who has possessed or seen one, though I have frequently enquired in likely directions.

III. MINOR MARKS.²⁹

It will have been observed already that the only method of distinguishing the coin of one chief from another's is by the special mark each ruler puts upon those issued in his time. Thus, **Ālā Singh** of **Paṭiālā** had a *kālghī*, **Karm Singh** a two-handed sword, **Narindar Singh** a spear head, and so on. Again, the **Malēr-Kōṭlā Nawābs** used the initials of their names as their distinguishing marks. But there is another possible method of separating out the coins of the rulers in cases like the coinage under consideration. Each would start a new die as he succeeded, which die would have to differ in some respects from that of his predecessors, and hence it might be possible to detect each ruler's coins by the minor marks and ornaments on it. These would then become important as the chief, and in many cases the only, method of

²⁹ The importance of noting these on Indian coins was pointed out by **Prinsep** more than 50 years ago, but seems to have been lost sight of by numismatists. See his remarks, *Useful Tables*, Part I, pp. 35, 36 and 53 to 56; and Plate III.

identifying the coins. In the following detailed description I have therefore very carefully considered the minor marks on the 46 coins of the plates. The result shows that the minor marks are a good, though not complete, indication of the ownership of a particular coin, because some rulers used more than one die and the moneyers were not always careful to preserve the ornaments intact in duplicating the die. *E.g.*, the two coins of Ālhā Singh of Paṭiālā (figs. 1 and 2) are from different dies, and exhibit different marks. The same remark holds good of the two specimens (figs. 19 and 20) of coins of Raghbir Singh of Jind, of 'Umr Khān of Mālēr-Kōṭlā (figs. 27 and 28) and of Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān of Mālēr-Kōṭlā (figs. 35 and 36). Again, as to the coins of Nābhā, which are dated and thus distinguished, of the four specimens of Jaswant Singh of Nābhā (figs. 37, 38, 39, 40), all are of different dies and have different minor marks; while the four specimens of Bharpūr Singh of Nābhā (figs. 41, 42, 43, 44) are from three dies,³⁰ each die differing in its marks. On the other hand, Rājindar Singh of Paṭiālā has apparently only used one die (figs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14), Bhāg Singh of Jind two dies without alteration of marks (figs. 17 and 18), as have also Karm Singh of Paṭiālā (figs. 5 and 6), Amīr Khān of Mālēr-Kōṭlā (figs. 30, 31, and 32),³¹ and Hirā Singh of Nābhā (figs. 45 and 46). And in all the cases of single specimens, the dies and marks are both peculiar to each ruler; *e.g.*, Narindar Singh and Mahindar Singh of Paṭiālā; Gajpat Singh, Saughat Singh, and Sarop Singh of Jind; Sikandar 'Alī Khān and Sūbe Khān of Mālēr-Kōṭlā.

A complication in using the minor marks for the purposes of identification is caused by the facts that successive rulers, such as Amar Singh and Sālīb Singh of Paṭiālā, have used apparently the same die (figs. 3 and 4), and that the coin of Asadu'llah Khān differs from that of his successor Amīr Khān of Mālēr-Kōṭlā only in the form of the distinguishing initial letter {.

The coins of Kaiṭhāl are too crude to help us much here: but figs. 22 and 24 seem to be from the same die; while figs. 23, 25, and 26 have all distinctive marks, are struck from different dies, and belonged (?) to separate chiefs of that line. Indeed, one is almost tempted to apportion the coins respectively to Bhāl Dēsā Singh, Bhāl Lāl Singh, Bhāl Partāb Singh, and Bhāl Udai Singh.

IV. METHOD OF MINTING.

Griffin, *Rājās of the Panjāb*, in a long footnote extending over pages 286-289, gives the detailed report of General R. G. Taylor, at one time Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb for the Cis-Satluj States, on the mints of those States, which is of much value in connection with this paper, and, indeed with the study generally of the methods of Oriental mints. Any one who has entered into Indian or Oriental numismatics generally, must be convinced that, where the European method of minting has not been adopted, Orientals coin now as they have done at any time these 2,000 years. Any knowledge, then, that we can gather now of the working of a genuine Eastern mint will no doubt explain what has occurred in Eastern mints as a rule since the days that coins began to be used.

General Taylor asked the authorities at Paṭiālā, Jind, and Nābhā, six questions, *viz.*:—

- (1) The political condition of the coinage.
- (2) The nature, title, and character of the coinage.
- (3) The annual outturn of the establishment and value of the coinage as compared with that of the British Government.
- (4) The process of manufacture and any particulars as to the artificers employed.
- (5) The arrangements for receiving bullion and the charges (if any) levied for its conversion into coin.
- (6) The extent of the currency.

³⁰ Figs. 43 and 44 have been struck from the same die.

³¹ Figs. 31 and 32 are from the same die.

Paṭiālā, as might be expected, gave the best answers; and as regards the first question we may pass over all the replies, as recapitulating what has been already written herein, except to note that in 1857 Paṭiālā very nearly succeeded in ousting her old coinage for a modern English rupee on the plan that Alwar adopted later, and as Mindôn Min of Burma succeeded in doing for his country about the same time. Passing on, we find that the Paṭiālā rupees are called **Rajashahi**, the Jind rupees **Jindīā**, and the Nābhā rupees simply **Nābhā**.

Only silver, and occasionally gold, is coined. The Paṭiālā rupee weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ māshas of pure silver and is of the full value of a rupee. The weight of the Jind rupee is the same, but its value is only about 12 ānās ($\frac{1}{4}$ rupee). The Nābhā rupee is also of the same weight, and is valued at 15 ānās ($\frac{1}{6}$ rupee).

The Paṭiālā mohar is a valuable coin, being $10\frac{1}{2}$ māshas of pure gold. Jind does not coin gold, but the Nābhā Government sometimes strikes a mohar of $9\frac{1}{2}$ māshas of pure gold.

In none of these States is there any regular outturn of coinage. Special occasions and sometimes economical necessities oblige the mint to become active by fits and starts. In fact the moneyers only work when "necessity drives." In Jind and Nābhā, royal marriages and great state functions are practically the only occasions when money is coined in any quantity.

Jind apparently keeps up no establishment for its mint, but Paṭiālā and Nābhā do so. The Paṭiālā establishment consists of a superintendent, a clerk, two assayers, one weigher, ten smiths, ten moneyers, four refiners and one engraver. The Nābhā establishment is on a still smaller scale, viz., one superintendent, one assayer, one smelter, one refiner, one smith. The refining is carefully performed in both cases, and the silver and gold kept up to standard.

Jind has never received bullion for coining, but Paṭiālā receives both silver and gold, and Nābhā silver. For silver Paṭiālā charges the public $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and for gold Rs. 24 per 100 coins, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Nābhā charges less, only $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. for coining silver.

Jind rupees are current only within the State, but the Paṭiālā coins find currency both in the State and in its immediate neighbourhood in some quantity; while only a few Nābhā coins find their way outside the State.

The Mālēr-Kōṭlā mint issues its coins apparently on precisely the same lines, the rupee going by the name of the **Kōṭlā** rupee. Extensive frauds on the part of the mint masters, twice detected of late years in fraudulently alloying the silver, has depreciated the value of this rupee to 12 ānās ($\frac{1}{4}$ rupee).²²

It is also very interesting to watch the steady depreciation in weight of the coins of the successive chiefs of Mālēr-Kōṭlā in connection with the general theory of the evolution of coins. Thus:—

	weight of coin
'Umr Khān, 1768-78	9 māshas 4 rattīs
Amīr Khān, 1821-45	9 " 2 "
Maḥbūb 'Alī (Sābā) Khān, 1845-1859	8 " 4 "
Sikandar 'Alī Khān, 1859-1871	8 " 2 "
Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān, 1871 to date	8 " 1 "

No wonder the Khānsāhib 'Ināyat 'Alī Khān in the passage just quoted remonstrates against the practices of the Kōṭlā mint!

The present writer, as has been already noted, had the good fortune some five years ago to be escorted over the Paṭiālā Mint, and to have been given an opportunity of noting what occurred.

The Mint is an ordinary Pañjābī Court-yard, about 20 feet square in the open part, entered by a gateway leading into a small apartment doing duty as an entrance hall, the remainder of the courtyard being surrounded by low open buildings opening into it. These buildings, which looked like the "rooms" of a sarāī, are the workshops.

²² Principal Kōṭlā Afghāns, p. 19, footnote.

The method of coining in this very primitive "Mint" is as follows:—³³

The silver after being assayed is cast into small bars (*rēnī*) by being run into grooved iron moulds. The melting is done in the courtyard in very small quantities in little furnaces improvised for each occasion. The thickness of the bars is about the diameter of the rupees (*vide* the plate attached), and when cold they are cut up by a hammer and chisel by guess work into small weights, (*gēlṛā*), and weighed in small balances as accurately as hand-weighing will permit. These *gēlṛās* are afterwards heated and rounded by hammering into discs (*mutallis*) and again weighed by hand and corrected by small additions of silver hammered in cold, or by scraping. After this the disc is handed over to the professional weigher (*vazankash*) who finally weighs it by hand and passes it. It is then stamped by hammering, being put between two iron dies placed in a strong wooden frame. The lower die (reverse) is called *pāṭī* and the upper (obverse) *bālā*. These dies are very much larger than the coins, so that only a portion of the legend can come off, and the coiners are not at all careful as to how much appears on the coin. The only thing they look to is to try and make the particular mark of the reigning chief appear. If they do not succeed it does not matter much.

Sir Richard Temple mentions in his diary kept in Kasmir, that in 1859³⁴ he visited the mint at Srinagar, and this is what he saw: "In the afternoon we went to see the Mahārājā's mint on the banks of the Nahari Mār. The building and the whole workshop are very rude. The process of coining was as follows:—The silver and the alloy of base metal was first melted and fused. A piece of the required weight was then separated, made as nearly round as a rough hand could make it, and struck with a hammer over a die! Thus was a rupee worth about 10 *ānās* ($\frac{1}{2}$ rupee) of the East India Company's money produced!"



V. DETAILED DESCRIPTION.

Paṭiālā.³⁵


No. 1.—Coin of Ālhā Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.³⁶



Obverse:—Legend

[ح] کم شد [با] حید بادشا [ا] = [کر] زن بره [یم] اوج [م] [ی]

Marks:— over با and  over سر.

Reverse:—Legend




[غر] ب [جل] وس  [میمنه] ت [مانو] س

Marks:— after س in جلوس and  between the و and the س.

No. 2.—Coin of Ālhā Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.³⁷




Obverse:—Legend, badly cut

[با] مد بادشا [ا] = [کر] از اوج

Marks:— over احمد  between با and بادشا;  after د in بادشا. What read like ۲۳ are really not figures, but the apparent ۲ is the tail of م in حکم, as can be abundantly seen throughout the coins and the ۱ is part of the ornament.

Reverse:—Legend

[غر] ب [جلو] س  [میمنه] ت

Marks:— after the س of جلوس, being the *kalghī* or full sign of Ālhā Singh, and  over the ; part of the border also appears in this coin.

³³ See *Pañjāb Notes and Queries*, Vol. II. note 188.

³⁴ *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, Vol. II. pp. 75-76.

³⁵ Only the words actually visible on the coins are given. The letters of these words which are not actually visible owing to rubbing or cutting off are shown in brackets. All the coins are silver unless otherwise specially stated.

³⁶ That is *ex coll.* R. C. Temple.

³⁷ That is *ex coll.* British Museum. These coins are added to the plates to complete the evidence available.

No. 3.—Coin of Amar Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

[قا] در [بیچ] ون [با] د شاه سکر زن برسیم و زر

Marks:—Obscure.

Reverse:—Legend










[مور] ب [ج] لوس [میمذ] ت [مانو] س

Marks:—Apparently the same as those of Âlâ Singh, but coin recognized without hesitation as that of Amar Singh by local dealers.

No. 4.—Coin of Sâhib Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

[حک] م [ب] احمد بادش [ا] [م] [کم] زن بر [ا] ز اوج [م] [ا] [ي]

Marks:— over  and  after . It is to be observed that the tail of the  in  comes clearly down between  and  in  in this coin, as in No 1. This is the key to an otherwise inexplicable letter throughout these coins.

Reverse:—Legend: same letters visible as on the preceding coin.

Marks:—The same as on the preceding coin; but coin recognized by dealers as Sâhib Singh's. It would seem therefore that the first three Pañjâlâ Râjâs did not vary their coins.


No. 5.—Coin of Karm Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.






Obverse:—Legend

[ش] داز [بیچ] ون [باد] شاه [م] [کم] زن برسیم و زر

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

[جلو] س  [میمذ] ت

Marks:— between the  and the  of  and a fine two-handed sword (*saij*) after the  being the full sign of Karm Singh.

No. 6.—Coin of Karm Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend: same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks:—None.



Reverse:—Legend. Same letters visible as in the previous specimen.

Marks:—The same also, but the sword is not nearly so well cut.


No. 7.—Coin of Narindar Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.










Obverse: Legend

[شد] [با] احمد بادش [ا] [م] [کم] زن برسیم [م] [ا] [ي]

Marks:— over 

Reverse:—Legend

[جلو] س  [میمذ] ت [مانو] س

Marks:— after the  and  before it and  between the  and the  of . It is to be observed that these particular marks do not thenceforward change. There is also after the  of  a spear-head—the full sign of Narindar Singh.

No. 8.—Coin of Râjindar Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

This coin has got into the wrong order in the plate and will be considered below with Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.


No. 9.—Coin of Mahindar Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.






Obverse:—Legend, unfortunately much rubbed but still visible:

[ش] داز [قاد] ر [بیچ] ون [ز] ن برسیم [م]

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

[جلو] س  [میمذ] ت [مانو] س

Marks:—In addition to those in No. 7  after the  of  and  over it;  or halberd-head—the full sign of Mahindar Singh.

Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.—All coins of Rājindar Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

No. 14 is gold. The marks on the reverses of these coins are those on No. 7 as above noted, and the full sign of Rājindar Singh comes out very clearly. It is the short dagger well known in India as the *kafūr*. There is also under the ب of عرب a cross. These specimens are chiefly useful in helping us to read the full legend. The mint mark سرهند Sarhand (commonly known as Sirhind) comes out on No. 10. Just as No. 9 shows where the قادر of the first line of the couplet حکم شد از قادر بیچون came on the die, so No. 10 shows حداد clearly. No. 11 shows مای in full, and in No. 13 we get تاباء the remainder of this line indicated.

Jind.³⁸

No. 15.—Coin of Gajpat Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse: Legend roughly cut [حکم شد از قادر بیچون] زن بوم [م]

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

Marks:—Not clear, but over ج in جلوس ✓; over و in same word ✕; and ୨ before و; also ୨ over the ت of میمنت.

No. 16.—Coin of Saugat Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend roughly cut

[با] د [شا] [م] زن بوم

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend clearer

[عرب] ب [جلوس] [م] میمنت

Marks:—✕ over the و of جلوس; ୨ before و; ୨ inside س of the same word.

Nos. 17 and 18.—Coins of Bhāg Singh: No. 17, *ex coll.* R. C. T., No. 18 *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—same Legend visible on both

[باحم] د باد [شا] [م] زن ب [و]

Marks:—The tail of the م very plain between the ٤ and د of بادشاه

Reverse:—Blank.

Nos. 19 and 20.—Coins of Raghbir Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Legends well cut and clear, though coins are rubbed, and useful for completing couplets. On No. 19 حکم شد comes out quite clearly, as also does the شاه of بادشاه, not usually visible on these coins. On both reverses سرهند is clear, as also is the word میمنت which is not usually found in full.

No. 21.—Coin of Sarup Singh: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend

[حکم] شد از [با] حمد باد [شا] [م] زن بوم [م]

Marks:—୨ above باحمد

Reverse:—Legend

[عرب] ب جلوس ୨ میمنت مانوس

Marks:—✕ over the و of جلوس

Kaithal.

No. 22. Coin of the Sardār of Kaithal: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend

[باحم] د باد [شا] [م] [م] ازج

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

[عرب] ب [جلوس] ୨ [م] میمنت

Marks:—None.

No. 23. Coin of the Sardār of Kaithal: *ex coll.* B. M.

Obverse:—Legend, very rough.

باد [شا] [م] [م] زن

Marks:—Obscure.

³⁸ The coins of these Rājās are unfortunately not given in the order of reigns, which really occurred as follows, —Gajpat, Bhāg, Fatḥ (no specimen), Saugat, Sarup, Raghbir.

Reverse:—Legend, very rough

ضرب [ب] [جل] وس [پ] [مید] ت

Marks:—None.

No. 24.—Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal; *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend, rough but better than the two preceding.

[با] حمد بادشاه [ا] = [کر] زن

Marks:— over باحمد.

Reverse:—Legend


ضرب [ب] [جلو] س [پ] [مید] ت

Marks:— 8 before the س of جلوس

No. 25.—Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal; *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend, badly cut and worn

بادشاه [ا] = [کر] ز [ن] [م] [یم]

Marks:—None, but the mark  is apparently meant for the tail of the م of حکم.

Reverse:—Legend

ضرب [ب] [جل] وس [پ]

Marks:—None.

No. 26.—Coin of the Sardar of Kaithal *ex coll.* B. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend, very rough

شد [با] حمد [د] [باد] ش [ا]

Marks:— after باحمد.

Reverse:—Legend

[جل] وس [پ] [مید] ت







Marks:—8 before the س of جلوس

Kôṭlā-Mâlêr.

No. 27.—Coin of 'Umr Khân; *ex coll.* R. C. T.




Obverse:—Legend, finely cut






[حک] م شد از [با] حمد بادشاه [ا] = [کر] زن برسيم [ا] وج [م] [بی]

Marks:—Numerous and peculiar to this coin:  over باحمد;  under it;  under شاه بادشاه;  inside the و of زن;  under سیم;  after اوج.


Reverse:—Legend

ضرب [ب] [سرزد] د [ج] [لوس] [مید] ت [ما] [وس]

Marks:— after the س of جلوس;  between the و and س of this word; and over و .

after سرزد  and over it the same mark. In the س of جلوس instead of  we have the letter ح the initial of 'Umr Khân's name as his sign. All the Kôṭlā-Mâlêr coins have such an initial as a distinguishing mark. The omission of the  in this place is very rare in these series. About  and  as marks.


No. 28.—Coin of 'Umr Khân; *ex coll.* B. M.

Identical with the preceding specimen, except that the rare words تابما on these coins are indicated on the obverse, and  is obviously used as an ornament in the س of مانوس on the reverse.

No. 29.—Coin of Asadu'llah Khân; *ex coll.* R. C. T.





Obverse:—Legend

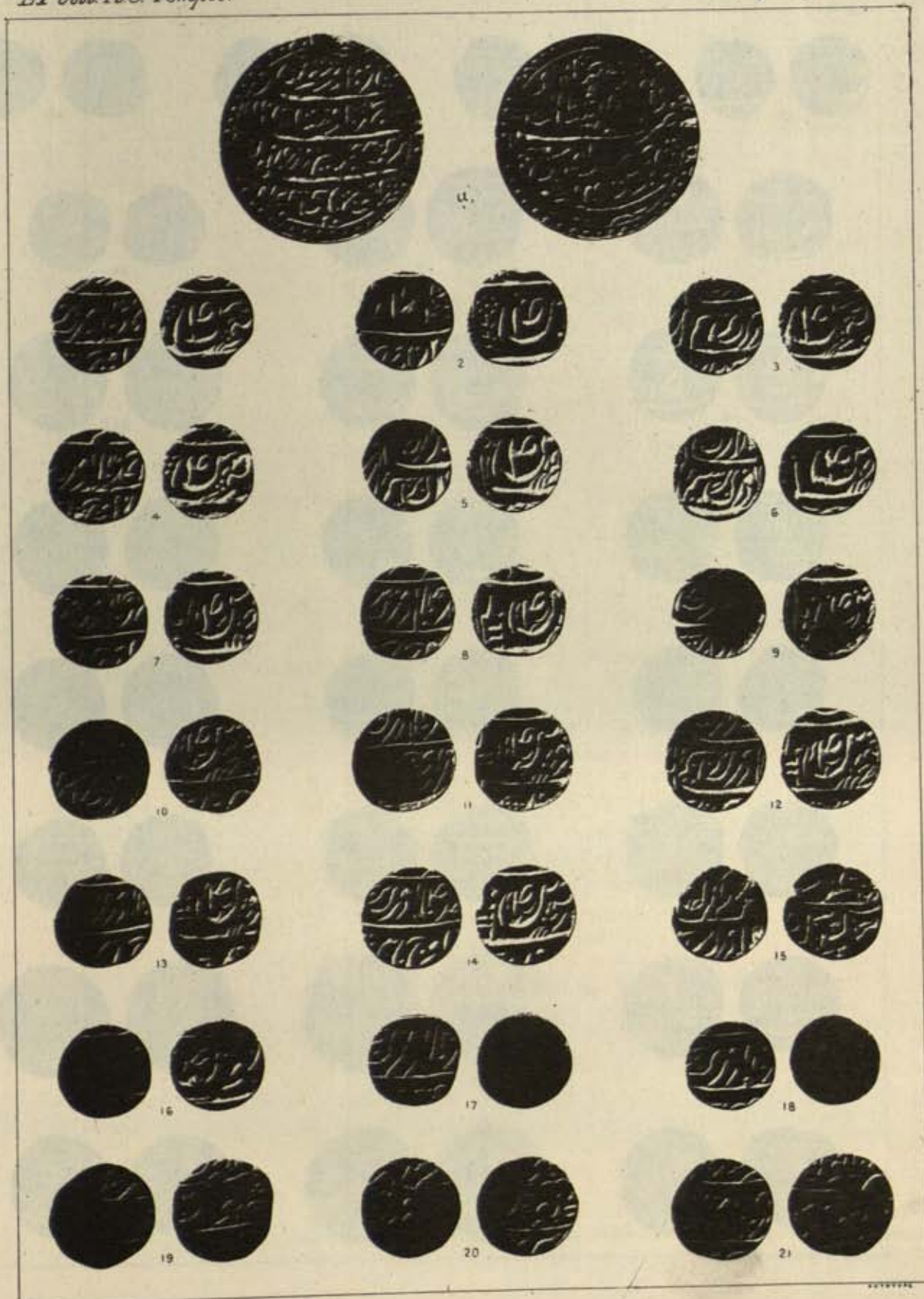
[حک] م شد از [بیچو] ن [باحمد] د بادشاه [ا] = [کر] زن برسيم [م]

Marks:— over باحمد.

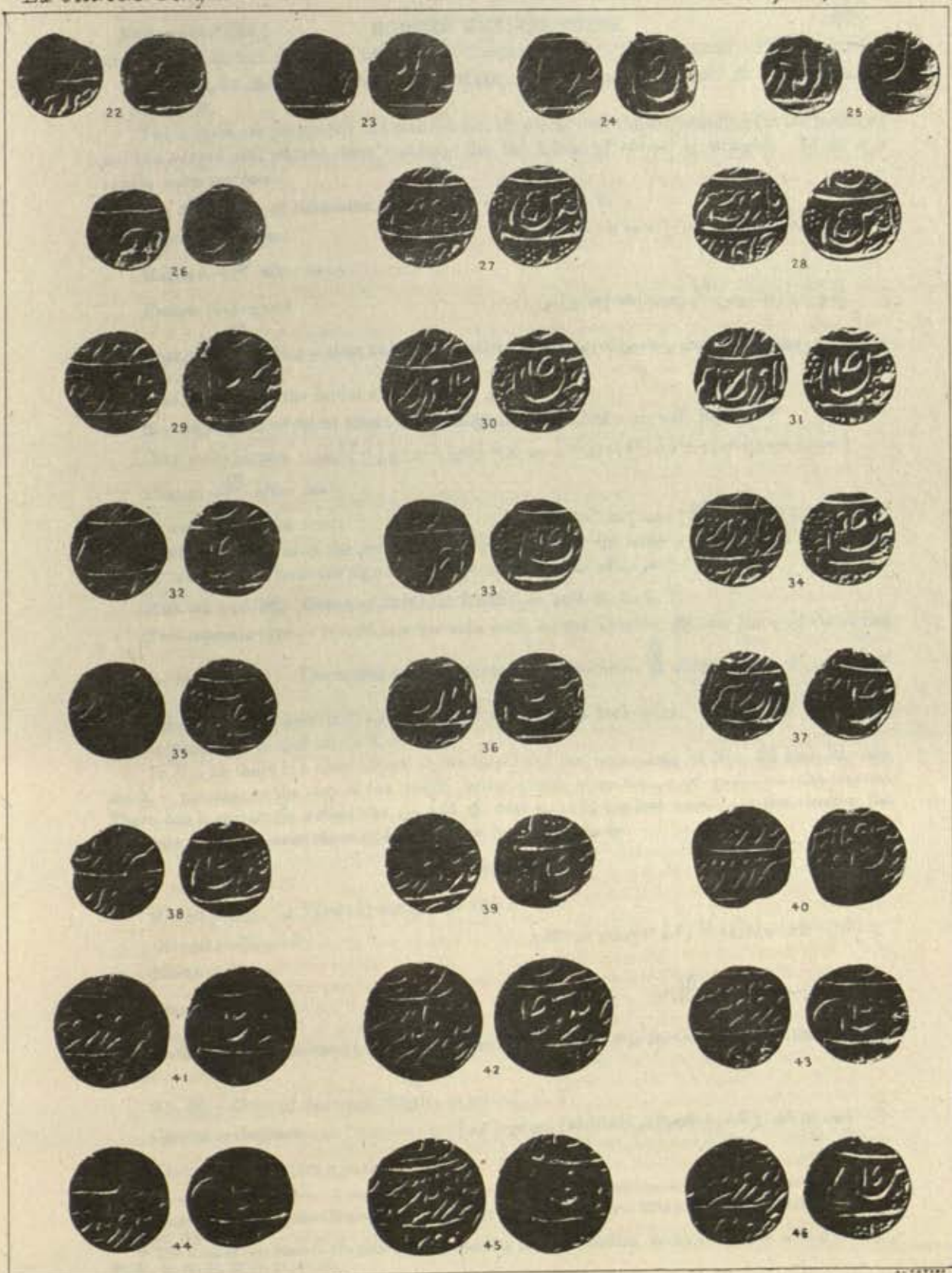
Reverse:—Legend

ضرب [ب] [جل] وس [پ] [مید] ت [ما] [لوس]

Marks:— between س and و in جلوس;  over و in the same word; indications of the same flower ornament as in No. 27 and of a trefoil ornament in the س of مانوس. The distinguishing sign of this ruler is a straight  after the  in the س of جلوس.



COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.
Full size.



COINS OF THE MODERN NATIVE CHIEFS OF THE PANJAB.
Full size.


Nos. 30, 31 and 32.—Coins of Amir Khān: Nos. 30 and 31 *ex. coll.* R. C. T.; No. 32 *ex. coll.* B. M.

These coins are practically the same as No. 29, except that the *alif* standing for the initial of *امیر* is a curved one, whereas that standing for the initial of *اسدالله* is straight. No. 32 is a rough, worn specimen.

No. 33.—Coin of Sikandar 'Alī Khān: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.


Obverse:—Legend


حکم شد از [بیچون] [د] احمد بادش [ا]

Marks:— after *باحمد*.

Reverse:—Legend


[ضر] ب [جلو] س [م] [م] [ت] [مانو] س

Marks:— (being a clear *kalghī* or crest) after the *س* of *جلوس*; and within the *س* of that

word the letter *س* as the initial of *سکندر* over 



No. 34.—Coin of Sābē Khān *alias* Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.³⁹

Obverse:—Legend *حکم شد [باحمد] د بادش [ا] [د] [م] [و] [ج] [م] [ا]*






Marks:— after *باحمد*.




Reverse:—Legend

[ضر] ب [جلو] س [م] [م] [ت] [مانو] س

Marks:—Same as on the preceding, but in *س* of *جلوس* the letter *م* as the initial of *مصوب*; and  under it. There are signs also of  under the *ب* of *ضر*.

Nos. 35 and 36. Coins of Ibrāhīm Khān: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.

Two separate types: No. 35 is a fine coin with, on the obverse,  over the *د* of *بادشاه* and  over the *و* of *اوج*. The marks on the reverse are remarkable:  after the *س* of *جلوس* and  within it, and  over it. *اب* for *ابراهيم* are clear in both coins. The *kalghī* is here, it will be observed, turned into a flower.

In No. 36 there is a clear return to the *kalghī* and the ornaments of Nos. 33 and 34, the mark peculiar to the top of the *kalghī* being visible after the *س* of *جلوس* on the reverse. There are however  within the *س* and  over it, as in the last coin. On the obverse the elaborate ornament over the *د* of *بادشاه* turns into a simple .

Nabha.⁴⁰

No. 37.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.


Obverse:—Legend

از [بیچون] [با] دشا [د] سکرزن برسمیم و

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend


[م] [م] [ت] [جلو] س [ا]

Marks:— rude *kalghī*, the mark of Jaswant Singh; *۸۲* is for ۱۸۸۲, i.e. St. 1883 = A. D. 1826.

No. 38.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: *ex. coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

[حکم] شد از قادر [بیچون] د بادش [ا] [د] [م] [و] [ج] [م] [ا]

Marks:— before *بادشاه* in *با*.

³⁹ These Nos. 33 and 34 have become reversed on the plate unfortunately. Sābē (or Maḥbūb 'Alī) Khān preceded Sikandar 'Alī Khān.

⁴⁰ The coins of this State in the plate are not according to date of striking, the order of which is 38 (probably), 39, 37, 40, 42, 41, 43 (?), 44, 45, 46.

Reverse:—

[نصر] ب [جل] وس [م] [م] [ت] [مانو] س

Marks:— ☞ over, in جلوس and ✕ between, and س; signs after kalghī of س. No Hindu date on this coin, but I think it is undoubtedly Jaswant Singh's, because of his mark thereon, assuming that the local dealers in Patialā were right in assuring me that it is a Nābhā coin.

No. 39.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: ex coll. B. M.

Obverse:—Legend (badly preserved) [حک] م شد از [با] حمد بادش [ا] [حک] زن بره [م]

Marks:— [م] after باحمد

Reverse:—Legend

[جلو] س [م] [م] [ت] [مانو] س

Marks:—Part of the marginal ornament visible:—A kalghī partly visible; ☞ after the س of جلوس; ☞ after the س of مانوس; ☞ partly visible within it. vv is for ۱۸۷۷, i. e., St. 1877 = A. D. 1820.

No. 40.—Coin of Jaswant Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

[حک] م شد از [پنجو] ن [باد] ش [ا] [حک] کم سیم زر از اوج

Marks:—None.

Reverse:—Legend

[نصر] ب [جل] وس [م] [م] [ت] مانوس

Marks:— ☞ after س in جلوس and ☞ within it. ۹۳ for ۱۸۹۳, i. e., St. 1893 = A. D. 1836.

This coin is of a type differing from the rest in having no [م] as the date of the جلوس.

No. 41.—Coin of Bharpūr Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend, now peculiar to Nābhā as dropping the familiar legend of Ahmad Shāh, and adopting the equally familiar Sikh legend.

دینغ تیغ قد [ح] نصرت یافت از گورو گوبند [د] [ننگهر]

Marks:—۱۹۱۷ over گورو giving date St. 1917 = 1860 A. D.

Reverse:—Legend

[نصر] ب [ن] [ب] [ا] [جل] وس [م] [م] [ت] مانوس

Marks:—The ☞ pipal leaf of the Sikh coins is evidently the mark of Bharpūr Singh star ☞ between, and س.

No. 42.—Coin of Bharpūr Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

[نصر] ت [یا] فت از نانک گورو گوبند [ننگهر]

Marks:— ☞ below the ت of یافت and ☞ above it; ۱۹۱۷ over گورو giving date St. 1907 = 1850 A. D.

Reverse:—Legend

[نصر] ب [ن] [ب] [ا] [جلو] س [م] [م] [ت] مانوس

Marks:—Same as in preceding coin, and ☞ added over ب in ضرب; ۱۹۱۷ over the و of جلوس; ☞ over the ت of the same words; ☞ between the و and س of مانوس; ☞ between the two alifs of ناهیا.

No. 43.—Coin of Bharpūr Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend

[ن] [غ] فتح بید [رنگ] نصر [ت] [گ] ورو گوبند [ننگهر] [یا] فت

Marks:—۱۹۱۱ over گورو giving a date between St. ۱۹۱۱ and ۱۹۱۹ or between A. D. 1853 and 1862.

Reverse:—Legend

[نصر] ب [جل] وس [م] [م] [ت] مانوس

Marks:—Same as on No. 41: but ! after the [م] in the س of جلوس.

No. 44.—Coin of Bharpūr Singh: ex coll. R. C. T.

⁴¹ دینغ is an interesting word as being a false Arabicism rhyming to تیغ following. The word is really دینک a cauldron. The verse means "the pot, the sword, the victory, the conquest. Gurū Gobind Singh obtained from Nānak": "the pot" corresponding "to the purse," for with the old Panjāb Chiefs he that could fill the stomachs of his followers was sure to obtain many.

Obverse:—Legend

गुरो गुरु [न्द] = [नल्लर] याफत अरनाङ

Marks:—११२° over गुरो giving date St. 1920 = A. D. 1863.

Reverse:—Same as that of No. 43.

No. 45.—Coin of Hira Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.


Obverse:—Legend [नद] गं फं बंद [रंग] [नसर] त गुरो गुरु [नल्लर] [या] फत अरनाङ

Marks:—Numerous small strokes and dots about the letters; the long cross stroke of the क of मल्लर is clearly visible over the त of याफत. ११२° over गुरो, *i.e.*, St. 1928 = A. D. 1871.

Reverse:—Legend (rubbed)

[नसर] ब नाभा [ज] वस [म] मल्लर [म] मल्लर


Marks:—*kafūr* or short dagger after the स of वस, which is the mark of Hira Singh; accom-

panied by a flower ; the star peculiar to these coins between the व and स of वस; part of the marginal ornament visible.

No. 46.—Coin of Hira Singh: *ex coll.* R. C. T.

Obverse:—Legend and marks same as in the preceding coin, but date ११२, *i.e.*, St. 1929, = A. D. 1872.

Reverse:—Legend and marks same as last coin, but clearer.

Marks:—Numerous lines and dots about the letters with  after each *aliḥ* नाभा.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM UDAYPUR IN GWALIOR.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings placed at my disposal, together with others, by Mr. Fleet, to whom they were made over by General Sir A. Cunningham. The originals are at Udaypur,¹ a town now belonging to the State of Gwalior, and once forming part of the kingdom of Malava; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 52, Lat. 23° 54' N., Long 78° 7' E. The inscriptions A. and C. are important, chiefly because they show that the Chaulukya rulers of Anhilwad do not vainly boast when in their inscriptions² they claim to have repeatedly defeated the kings of Malava. And the inscription B. is of some interest, both for its date and because it contains the name of one of the districts which is mentioned in the inscription C. I may add here that there is another inscription at Udaypur, which in line 3 professes to have been recorded during the reign of victory of Jayasimha,³ the predecessor of the king Kumārapaladēva who is mentioned in the inscription A., but that the condition of the rubbing renders its publication at present impossible. According to a statement in pencil which is on the rubbing, this last inscription is outside the entrance of the great temple of the town; it contains 12 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 8" broad by 1' 5" high.

A.—Stone Inscription of Kumārapaladēva.

(The Vikrama year 1220 ?).

This inscription is stated to be inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of 20 lines; and the writing covers a space of about 1' broad by 1' 11" high. But the inscription is incomplete now; for, at the beginning of each line we miss from about eight to ten aksharas, which may have covered a space of about eight inches broad, all the way down, on the proper right of the actually preserved writing. The size of the letters is between 1' and 1½'. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit; and, judging from what

¹ See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 81, and Vol. X. p. 65.

² See *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 186. Compare also *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 266; *Kirtikāsmudī*, Introduction, p. xii.; Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1893-94, pp. 20-21, and the verses at the end of the several *pādas* of Hēmachandra's Sanskrit grammar.

³ Regarding the word *Tribhuvanaganda*, spoken of *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 186, I would point out that in a MS. which was written during the reign of Jayasimha, *Tribhuvanaganda* is a name applied to Jayasimha himself. See my *Report* for 1880-81, p. 25, No. 41. Compare also *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 2, p. xiii., No. 56, line 2.

remains, the whole inscription was in prose throughout. The writing appears on the whole to be well preserved; but, the rubbing of the lower part being in some places very indistinct, and the inscription being incomplete, all I can say about the specific purpose for which it was put up is, that the inscription was intended to record certain donations in favour of the temple of the god *Udalēśvara*⁴ at the town of *Udayapura*, by a personage whose name appears to be *Vasantapāla*, and who belonged to a family the name of which is given in line 9, but which I am unable to make out with certainty.

The historically important portion of the inscription is contained in lines 1-8, from which we learn that the above-mentioned donations were made during the reign of the (Chaulukya) king *Kumārāpāladēva* of *Ana[hilapātaka]*, the vanquisher of the king of *Sakambhari* and of the lord of *Avanti* (i. e. the ruler of *Mālava*), while *Yasōdhava[la]* was prime-minister, and when a certain *Rājya[pāla?]*, who is described as *mahā-sādhanika*,⁵ and who had been appointed by *Kumārāpāladēva*, was governing *Udayapura*. For this statement proves beyond doubt that, when the donations were made, the town of *Udayapura*, probably together with the surrounding districts, formed part of the kingdom of *Anhilwād*.

The date of the inscription was fully given at the commencement of line 1, but all that remains of it now, is the *aksharas sha-sudi 15 Gurau*, i. e. 'on the 15th of the bright half of a month the name of which must end with the syllable *sha* (or possibly *kha*), on a Thursday.' Nevertheless, the statement contained in line 11, that the donations were made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, enables us to calculate the date and to supply the missing portion of it at the commencement of line 1, in my opinion, with absolute certainty.

From the inscription C. below we learn that *Kumārāpāladēva* had ceased to rule in April, A.D. 1173; and from other sources⁶ we know that he had ascended the throne about A.D. 1143-44. In an attempt to settle the proper date of our inscription, we must then first find out what lunar eclipses from about the beginning of A.D. 1141 to April 1173 fell on a Thursday, and what dates of the Hindu calendar corresponded to the particular Thursdays so found. The result of our proceeding in this manner is as follows:—

There were lunar eclipses on Thursday,—

the 12th February,	A.D. 1142, = Phālguna-sudi 15;
the 16th June,	A.D. 1155, = Āshāḍha-sudi 15;
the 9th October,	A.D. 1158, = Āśvina-sudi 15;
the 18th August,	A.D. 1160, = Bhādrapada-sudi 15;
the 1st February,	A.D. 1162, = Māgha-sudi 15;
the 12th December,	A.D. 1163, = Vikrama 1220 expired, Pausa-sudi 15;
the 27th May,	A.D. 1165, = Jyāishṭha-sudi 15;
the 6th April,	A.D. 1167, = Chaitra-sudi 15;
the 19th September,	A.D. 1168, = Āśvina-sudi 15;
the 13th January,	A.D. 1172, = Māgha-sudi 15.

From this statement it appears that during the whole reign of *Kumārāpāladēva* there was no lunar eclipse on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *kha*; and during the same period there was only one lunar eclipse, that of the 12th December, A.D. 1163, on a Thursday in a Hindu month the name of which ends with *sha*. Accordingly, Thursday, the 12th December, A.D. 1163, = Pausa-sudi 15 of Vikrama 1220 expired, must be the date of our inscription, and the full date at the commencement of line 1 must have been *Saṃvat*

⁴ The name of this deity, *Udalēśvara-dēva*, occurs in several other inscriptions at *Udaypur*; and we also find it in line 5 of an inscription from *Bhadrāśvar*, in *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, No. 2, page xiii., No. 56. *Sri-Udala* the *Pāraskara-grīhyasūtra* occurs as the name of a goddess of agriculture.

⁵ This title occurs in the grant of *Vākpatirāja* of *Dhārā*, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 166, l. 9.

⁶ See e.g. ante, Vol. VI. p. 213.

⁷ According to von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* the eclipse (a partial one) would have taken place, at *Ujjain*, 12 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise. And by Professor *Jacobi's* Tables the full-moon *fithi* ended 12 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.

1220 varshê Pausa-sudi 15 Gurus. And I may point out that this result is in perfect accord with a statement at the end of a MS. of the *Kalpachūrgi*, given by me in my *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 10, according to which the same Yashôdhavala, who is mentioned as prime-minister in the present inscription, held the same position under Kumârapâladêva in "Samvat 1218 varshê dvi° Âshâdha-sudi 5 Gurus," = Thursday, 29th June, A.D. 1161, i. e. within two years and a half of the date which I assign to the present inscription.

TEXT.⁹

- 1 . . . sha°-sudi 15 Gurus || Ady=êha śrīmad-Âṇa-¹⁰
- 2 . . . [j]āvall-virājita-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahā.¹¹
- 3 . . . ti-vara-ladhva(bdha)-prandhapratāpa-nijabhujā-[vikra].¹²
- 4 . . . Sa(sa)kaṁbharibhūpāla-śrīd¹³.Avantīnātha-śrīmat-Ku-¹⁴
- 5 . . . tan-niyukta-mahāmātya-śrī-Jasôdhava-¹⁵
- 6 . . . [sta]-mudrā-vyāpārān=paripamthayat=ity=êta-¹⁶
- 7 . . . [jā]dhirāja-śrī-Kumârapâladêvêna nija.¹⁷
- 8 . . . lē tan-niyukta-mahāsā[dha]nika-śrī-Rā[jya]-
- 9 . . . [dhva(bdha)?]-śrī-Udayapur[ê] [Sthārôm ?] vak-ānvaya-mahārā[ja].
- 10 . . . mahārājaputra-śrī-Vasantapāl[ên=itra anu- ?]
- 11 . . . khyā[tē]¹⁸ yathā || Adya sômagrahaṇa-parvvaṇi
- 12 . . . [svaraṇṇa ?]¹⁹ samāhṛita-tīrthôdakaiḥ snātvā jagad-[gu].
- 13 . . . [sva]-pūnya-jasô-tivṛiddhayê²⁰ Udayapurê kâri.
- 14 . . . grīh-ôpēta[m] dēvagrih-ā[vā]sana-pāniya[kô].
- 15 . . . lā[di]-grīh-ôpētaṁ siṁgha-[dvau ?] 2 tura[gās=ch=âshtan ?]
- 16 . . . m-ôpētaṁ śrī-Ūdalēsva(śva)ra-dēvāya sa[ttra]m=a-
- 17 . . . sâ(śâ)sanēna pradatta[m] tathā srē(śrē)shthôda[kuka ?].
- 18 . . . kôḍāvô 1 êkā pradattā [u*] Asmat=prada-
- 19 . . . vaṁsa(śa)jaiḥ pālaniyaṁ [u*] Asy=ārthê [yā anya-lô ?].
- 20 . . . māṅgalam mahā-śrī[h*] ||²¹

B.—Stone Pillar Inscription of the (Vikrama) year 1222.

This inscription is stated to be on a pillar south of the east entrance of the great temple of the town. It consists of five lines. The writing covers a space of about 1'3" broad by 6½" high, and appears to be well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¼" and ½". The characters are Nāgarī; the language is Sanskrit; and the whole is in prose.

The inscription records that the *Thakkura*, the illustrious Chāhaḍa,²² apparently for the

⁹ From the rubbing.

¹⁰ I believe the commencement of this line to have been: *Om samvat 1220 varshê Pausa-sudi 15 Gurus.* See my introductory remarks.

¹¹ i. e. -*Anahilopāṭhê samasta-rājāvall.*

¹² i. e. -*mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvar-Ōmāpativara*, or words to the same effect.

¹³ One would expect some such phrase as *vikrama-randāgana-vinirjita*.

¹⁴ This, *śrīd*, appears to have been the original reading of the stone; but the rubbing looks as if the two aksharas had been struck out and as if the preceding *lā* had been altered to *lā*, thus suggesting the reading -*bhūpāla-Avantīnātha*.

¹⁵ i. e. -*Kumârapâladêva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyê*.

¹⁶ i. e. -*Yasôdhavale tīrthikarandāu samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān.*

¹⁷ i. e. -*Ātman kīl pravartamānê mahārājādhirāja*.

¹⁸ Here I should expect some phrase like *nija-pratāp-ôpārjita*, followed by the name of a district or province, followed again by the word -*man'ald*.

¹⁹ i. e. *līkhyatê*; compare e. g. Professor Bhandarkar's *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 23.

²⁰ Here and below the rubbing in certain places is so indistinct that I cannot be absolutely certain about the actual readings.

²¹ Read -*pūnya-yasô-bhivṛiddhayê*.

²² Below this, there is one more line of writing which appears to be in a different hand and not to be connected with the preceding.

²³ Chāhaḍa appears to be the name of one of Kumârapâladêva's generals; see *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 267.

spiritual benefit of his deceased parents,²³ gave half the village of *Sāṃgavattā* in the *Bhṛīṅgārī-chatuṣṣaṣṭī*, i. e. the group of sixty-four villages called *Bhṛīṅgārī*, (probably to the temple at which the inscription was put up) at *Udayapura*. And the inscription is chiefly interesting for the statement in lines 1-2, according to which the donation was made on the occasion of the *akshaya-tritīyā*, on the 3rd of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* of the year 1222, on a *Monday*.

Referring this date to the *Vikrama* era, we obtain for *Vaiśākha śukla 3* the following possible equivalents:—

for the northern year 1222 current, in which *Vaiśākha* was intercalary,—

for the first *Vaiśākha*,—Friday, 27th March, A.D. 1164;

for the second *Vaiśākha*,—Sunday, 26th April, A.D. 1164;

for the northern year 1222 expired, or the southern current year,—Thursday, 15th April, A.D. 1165;

for the southern year 1222 expired,—Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166, when the 3rd *tīthī* of the bright half ended 21 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.

The true date therefore is clearly *Monday, 4th April, A.D. 1166*, and the result shows that the year 1222 of the date is the southern expired *Vikrama* year.

The localities *Sāṃgavattā* and *Bhṛīṅgārī*, the second of which we shall meet again in the inscription C. below, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²⁴

1 *Om*²⁵ *saṃvat 1222 varṣe Vaiśākha-kūdi 3 Sōmē śdy=ēha Uda-*

2 *yapurē akṣaya-tritīyā-parvaṇi Avānti-26[G]ōpā[la]-[puṇya?]-s[an(sau)].*

3 *[cha-dharmā]ya tṣa²⁷-āri-Chāhaḍēna udaka-pūrvakam āchandra-kāli-*

4 *kaṃ Bhṛīṅgārī-chatu[ḥ*]śaṣṭhau(ṣṭau) Sāṃgavattā-grām-ārddham pradattam ||*

5 *Yō na pālayati sa mahā-paṃchapāpa-bhūgi bhavatu ||*

C.—Stone Inscription of *Ajayapālādēva*.

The (*Vikrama*) year 1229.

This inscription was found by Dr. F. E. Hall 'in *Udayāditya's* magnificent temple to *Siva*,' and was first edited²⁸ by him in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 125. According to Dr. Hall, it is on a thick slab of stone, which is detached from its original setting. The lower edge of the stone is broken away or otherwise injured; and, in consequence, line 22 of the inscription, which would seem to have been the concluding line, has almost completely disappeared, and a few *akṣaras* are missing towards the end of line 21. Otherwise the writing is well preserved, and, excepting two *akṣaras* in line 8, and one each in lines 12 and 21, there is nowhere any doubt about the actual reading of the inscription.

The existing writing covers a space of 1' 6" broad by 1' 11½" high. The size of the letters is between ¼" and ½". The characters are *Nāgarī*; the language is *Sanskṛit*; and, excepting three benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 14-19, the inscription is in prose. The orthography calls for no particular remark; and, as regards grammar in general, it need only be stated here that the word *grāma* has been throughout used as a neuter.

The inscription, after the words '*Om, om, adoration to Siva*,' and a date which will be treated of below, refers itself²⁹ (in lines 1-5) to the reign of the (*Chaulukya*) king *Ajayapa-*

²³ In the original this passage is doubtful; see below, note 26.

²⁴ From the rubbing.

²⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

²⁶ The whole passage, from here up to *dharmāya*, is indistinct in the rubbing, and some of the *akṣaras* may have to be read differently.

²⁷ i. e., *śakkura*.

²⁸ An important correction of the text published by Dr. Hall was first suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI. p. 244, note 12.

²⁹ It may be noticed that in line 1 the words *śdy=ēha* 'to-day here, (at *Apahilapātaka*)' have been thoughtlessly copied from other *Chaulukya* grants; for the present grant was made (line 6) at *Udayapura*.

ladēva of Anahilapātaka, and to the time when Sōmēsvara was that king's chief minister.³⁰ At that time (lines 5-11) the illustrious Lūnapasāka, an officer appointed³¹ by the king to govern Udayapura, which was in the Bhāillavāmi-mahādvaḍasaka province (*maṇḍala*), i. e. the great group of twelve called Bhāillavāmin, — a province acquired by the king's own prowess,³² — on the occasion of the *yugādi* which coincides with the *akshaya-tṛitīyā*, gave the village of Umarathā, which was in the *pathaka* called Bhṛīṅgārikā-chaṭuḥshasṭī, i. e. the group of sixty-four villages called Bhṛīṅgārikā, to the god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) at the town of Udayapura, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased Rāja, the illustrious Sōḷaṇadēva, a son of the Rājaputra, the illustrious Vilhaṇadēva, of the Muhilaūndha (?) family.³³ The boundaries of Umarathā were (lines 12-13), — to the east, the village of Naha; to the south, the village of Vahiḍāu[mṭha]; to the west, the village of Dēull; and to the north, the village of Lakhanaūḍā. Lines 14-19 contain three benedictive and imprecatory verses, together with an admonition to preserve the above grant. Lines 20-21 state that this donation was received (*upārjita*; on behalf, as I take it, of the god) by the most pious and highly reverend, the holy Nīlakaṇṭhasvāmin; and the concluding line appears to have contained some imprecation, directed against people who might interfere with the grant.

Since we know from the preceding inscriptions that the town of Udayapura belonged to the kingdom of Anhilwād already under Jayasīṃha and Kumārapālādēva, the historical value of the present inscription lies mainly in this, that it furnishes a date, which admits of verification, for the reign of their successor Ajayapālādēva.

To my knowledge, two such dates have been hitherto made public. One of them, corresponding according to Mr. Fleet to the 27th (and 29th) October, A.D. 1175, is furnished by the copper-plate grant published above, p. 82. The other occurs in the *Narapatijayacharyā*, a treatise on omens by Narapati, and is contained in the following verses³⁴:—

Vikramārka-gatē kālē pakṣa-āgni-bhānu-1232-vatsarē |
māse Chaitrē sitē pakṣē pratipad-Bhaumavāsarē ||
Śrīmaty-Anahilanagarē khyātē śrī-Ajayapāla-nṛpa-rājyē |
śrīman-Narapati-kavinā rachitaṁ-idaṁ śākunaṁ śāstram ||

i. e., 'this work on omens was completed by the illustrious poet Narapati at the famous town of Anahilapātaka, in the glorious reign of the illustrious king Ajayapāla, in the year 1232 of the time of Vikramārka, on the first of the bright half of the month Chaitra, on a Tuesday.' The proper equivalent of this date (for the northern expired Vikrama year 1232, or the southern current year, and for the *nija* Chaitra) is Tuesday, 25th March, A.D. 1175, preceding the last-mentioned date by about seven months.

The present inscription, now, in line 1 is dated, in figures only, 'in the year 1229, on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha, on a Monday;' and according to line 7 the donation, which the inscription is intended to record, was made for the spiritual benefit of a deceased person (probably the grandfather of the donor) on the occasion of the *yugādi* which coincides with the *akshaya-tṛitīyā*. *Akshaya-tṛitīyā* is the well-known name of the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha, and this same *tithi* is regarded as the commencement of the Kṛita-yuga; and religious ceremonies in honour of the dead are prescribed for the *akshaya-tṛitīyā* as well as for the *yugādi*.³⁵ Referring our date to the Vikrama era, and calculating for Vaiśākha śukla 3, we find —

for the northern year 1229 current, — Saturday, 10th April, A.D. 1171;

³⁰ For the further particulars, see above, p. 81.

³¹ The technical expression is *nīyukta-danda*, which occurs again e. g. in Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21, and for which we find *nirūpita-danda* in Professor Peterson's Report for 1884-86, App., p. 51. Compare with it *nīyukta-mahāśiddhanika* in line 8 of the inscription A. above.

³² Considering that Udayapura belonged already to Ajayapāla's predecessors, the above expression can hardly be taken literally.

³³ See below, note 46.

³⁴ See Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 220. Attention may be drawn to the fact, mentioned in a preceding verse, that Narapati's father Amradēva lived at Dhārā in Mālava.

³⁵ Compare for this and the following the *Dharmasindhu*, Bo. Ed. of Śāka 1796, p. 72.

for the northern year 1229 expired, or the southern current year, — Wednesday, 29th March, A.D. 1172;

for the southern year 1229 expired, — Tuesday, 17th April, A.D. 1173.

In none of the three years did the third *tithi* end on a Monday; but since in the southern expired year 1229 it covered at least part of a Monday, we must for this particular year find the exact beginning and end of the given *tithi*, and must inquire whether there is anything in the nature of the festive days or the religious ceremonies with which the date is connected, that would allow or oblige us to combine the third *tithi* with the Monday on which it commenced.

By Professor Jacobi's Tables the third *tithi* with which we are concerned, commenced 1 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) of Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, and it ended 2 h. 42 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 17th April; by Professor Kuru Lakshman's Tables it commenced 4 gh. 13 p. after mean sunrise (for Bombay) of the Monday, and ended 7 gh. 15 p. after mean sunrise of the Tuesday; and, allowing for any possible differences of time, we may say that the *tithi* certainly had begun at Udaypur before the 8th *ghatikā* of the Monday and had ended before the 11th *ghatikā* of the Tuesday. Now in regard to a *Yugādi-śrāddha* in the light half of a month, the rule laid down in the *Purushārthachintāmaṇi* and quoted with approval by the author of the *Dharmasindhu* is that, when a *tithi* covers part of two days in such a manner that it ends before the 13th *ghatikā* after mean sunrise of the second day, while it occupies the 13th, 14th, and 15th *ghatikās* after mean sunrise or part of those *ghatikās* of the first day, the *śrāddha*-ceremonies must invariably be performed on the first day.³⁶ This rule is strictly applicable in the present instance; and, in accordance with it, the ceremonies referred to in the inscription, and everything connected with them, had necessarily to be performed on the Monday,³⁷ and could not possibly have been deferred to the Tuesday; and the Monday is rightly coupled with the third as a running *tithi*. Accordingly, Monday, the 16th April, A.D. 1173, is the true equivalent of the date of our inscription; and the result shows that the year 1229 of the date is the southern expired Vikrama year, exactly as was the case with the year in the date of the preceding inscription B.

The third trustworthy date which we have thus found for the reign of Ajayapāladēva, is, then, Monday, 16th April, A.D. 1173, civilly the second of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the southern expired year 1229, or the southern current year 1230; and, if there be any truth in the traditional statement, according to which he began to rule on Pausa-sudi 12 and reigned for three years, Ajayapāla's accession should have fallen on the 28th December, A.D. 1172, = Pausa-sudi 12 of Vikrama 1229 expired, or 1230 current.³⁸

As regards the illustrious Lūnapasāka, who made the grant, it is clear that his name is a corrupted form of *Lūnapasāya*, the regular Prakṛit equivalent of the Sanskrit *Lavanaprasāda*. Another form of the same name is *Lūnapasāja*, which occurs in line 13 of the copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1317, published *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 210. There Lūnapasājadēva is described as *Rājaka*, and as the grand-father of the person who made the donations recorded in that inscription; and I do not consider it impossible that he may be identical with the Lūnapa-

³⁶ The main rule is that, in the light half of the month, the *Yugādi-śrāddha* (or *akṣaya-tritīyā-śrāddha*) should be performed during the 13th, 14th and 15th *ghatikās* of the day. And accordingly, in the inscription B. above, where the *tithi* ends 21 h. 35 m. after sunrise of the second day, it is correctly coupled with the second day. And the same is the case in a date, quoted *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 209 (... Śaka-samvat 1078. . . . Vaiśākha-śuddha-akṣaya-tritīyāyām yugādi-parvvaṇi Bhaumadinē . . . = Tuesday, 24th April, A.D. 1156), where the *tithi* ends 13 h. 58 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Tuesday). — In the dark half, the *Yugādi-śrāddha* should be performed during the 16th, 17th and 18th *ghatikās* of the day. An example for this is furnished by the date, quoted *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 212 (... Śaka-varshaḥ 1047. . . Bhādrapada ba 13 Śakravāra mahātithi-yugādi-amḍu, = Friday, 28th August, A.D. 1125), where the *tithi* ends 16 h. 9 m. after sunrise of the second day (the Friday).

³⁷ As ceremonies performed on the *akṣaya-tritīyā* are said to be particularly meritorious when the *akṣaya-tritīyā* is joined with the *nakṣatra Rōhini* and with a Wednesday, I may add here that on the above Monday the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini up to about 15 h. after sunrise.

³⁸ Professor Bühler informs me that, according to the *Vichitrāvatī*, Kumārapāla, the predecessor of Ajayapāla, died Vikrama-samvat 1229, Pausa-sudi 12; according to all other Prabandhas, Vikrama-samvat 1230, Pausa-sudi 12. Mr. Kathavate, *Kirtikaumudī*, Introduction p. xiii., quotes '1232, dvādaśī Phālguna-sudi,' which must be wrong for the accession of Ajayapāla, and may rather be the traditional date of his death. Dharmasāgara's *Pratichanopariśeṣa*, in Professor Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 457, has:—'tataḥ 1230 Ajayapāla-rājyaḥ varsha 3.'

sāka of the present inscription, although an interval of 88 years between grandfather and grandson may appear rather long.

Of the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Bhāillasvāmin has been already identified with the modern Bhēlsa,³⁹ a town on the eastern bank of the Bēṭwa river, about 34 miles south of Udaypur. The various villages and the district of Bhṛīṅgarikā, which is also mentioned in the inscription B., still await identification.

TEXT.⁴⁰

- 1 Ōm⁴¹ || Ōm namaḥ Sivāya || Samvat 1229 varshē⁴² Vaisākha-sudi 8⁴³
Sōmē || Ady=ēba śr[i]-
- 2 mad-Aṇahila[pā]⁴⁴takē samastarājāvalivirājita-mahārā[jā]dhirāja-paramēśvara-
- 3 paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Ajaya[pā]⁴⁵lādēva-kalyāṇaviyayarājyē tatpādapadm-ōpajivī(vi)-ma-
- 4 hāmātya-śrī-Sōmēśvarē śrīśrīkarapādau samasta-mudrā-vyūpārān paripamthayat=i-
- 5 ty=ēvaṁ kālē pravarttamānē nijapratāpōpārjita-śrī-Bhāillasvāmi-mahādēvadāsaka-
- [mam]-
- 6 ḍala-prabhuḥyamānē⁴⁶ ady=ēba śrī-Udayapurē tēn=aiva prabhuṇā niyuktadaṇḍa-
- śrī-Lūnapa-
- 7 sākēna dhautā-vāsasī paridhā[ya] parama-dhārmikēṇa [bhū]tvā akshayatritiya-
- yugādi-
- 8 parvvaṇi [Mu]hilaū[ndh ?]⁴⁷ānvayē rājaputra-śrī-Vilhaṇadēva-putra-paramalōk-
- āntarita-rā-
- 9 ja-śrī-Sōlaṇadēva-śrēyasē atratya-dēva-śrī-Vaidyanāthāya Bhṛīṅgarikā-chatuṣsha-
- shthi(shthi)-
- 10 pathakē paṁchōpachāra-pūjā-nimittam savṛikshamāl-ākulaṁ tṛiṇa-[ja]lāsāy-ōpētām
- 11 chatar-āghāṭa-samanvitām Umarathā-grāmam⁴⁸ śāsanēna pradattām || Āghāṭa⁴⁹
- [ya]thā |
- 12 Asya grāmasya pūrvvatō Naha-grāmam dakṣiṇatō Vahiḍāu[mṭhā]-grāmam
- paśchimātō
- 13 Dēull-grāmam uttaratō Lakhaṇāūḍā-gramam=vaṁ hi chatuḥkaṁkaḥ⁵⁰
- vi[su]ddham grā[mam] [||*]
- 14 Va(ba)hubhir⁵¹vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā
- bhūmis=[ta]-
- 15 sya tasya tadā phalaṁ || chha || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta
- vasumdharam | shashthi(shthi)-va-
- 16 rsha-sahasraṇi amēdhyō jāyatō kṛimih || chha || Māmdhātā⁵² su-mahipatiḥ
- kṛita-yu-

³⁹ Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXXI. pp. 111 and 127.

⁴⁰ From the rubbing.

⁴¹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and has perhaps been struck out already in the original.

⁴² This figure, for 3, is quite clear in the rubbing; but before it, there is a vertical line, evidently a sign of punctuation, which has been prolonged above the top line of the letters; and after the 3, and partly covering it, there is the sign of visarga.

⁴³ Originally pa; altered to pā.

⁴⁴ I take the meaning to be:—Bhāillasvāmi-mahādēvadāsaka-man'alā (Lūnapaśhina) prabhuḥyamānē śrī-Udayapurē, i.e., 'at Udayapura, which is in the enjoyment of (or governed by) L., (and is situated) in the Bhāillasvāmi-mahādēvadāsaka-man'alā.' Compare, e. g., ante, Vol. VI. p. 219, No. 11, l. 8, and Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 223, l. 21; and, for the similar use of bhukta, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 100, l. 9.

⁴⁵ I am not certain that the consonants in these brackets are really ndh; but the way in which the sign for the vowel ā is joined to the consonants appears to show that the akshara does contain the consonant dh.

⁴⁶ The word grāma is used as a neuter here and below.

⁴⁷ One would expect to read asya grāmasy-āgh-īṭa yathā | pūrvvatō, &c.

⁴⁸ Read chatuḥ-kamkaḥ.

⁴⁹ Metro, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh), of this verse and of the next.

⁵⁰ Metro, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.—On this verse see Hall in Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. XXX. p. 203; Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche, No. 4831; Bhandarkar, loc. cit. p. 225. In our text, the end of the third Pāda, yāvadbhavad bhūpatir, gives no sense; Böhtlingk (who would seem to have missed the meaning of the verse) has yāvadbhavad bhūpatir instead, Bhandarkar's MS. yāvadbhavad bhūpatir, and Hall yāvanta dvābhavan.

- 17 gē. ślāṁkāra-bhūtō gataḥ sētur-yēna mahōdadhau virachitaḥ kv=āsan
 Da(da)śāsy-ām-
 18 takṛit | anyē ch=āpi Yudhishṭhira-prabhṛitayō yāvad-bha[v]ā bhūpatir=n=
 aikēn=āpi
 19 samam gatā ka(va)sumati manyē tvayā yāsyati || chha || Ity-ādi paribhāvya
 20 śāsanam=idam pālanīyam || chha || Paramanaishṭhika-mahābhāṭṭāraka-śrī-[N]i-
 21 laṅamṭha[sv]āminā [u]pārjitam=idam || chha || Yaḥ kaśchid=atra⁵² rakō
 bhavati tē-
 22 .⁵³

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 31.—THE FOUR GOOD MAXIMS.

First Variant.

In a certain village there lived a poor merchant of the Cheṭṭi caste. He had an only son, to whom, on his death-bed, he handed a palm-leaf as his only property. The following four maxims were inscribed on it:—

- (1) "Travel not without a living assistant.
- (2) "Sleep not in an inn.
- (3) "Neglect not what four or five people say.
- (4) "Be not always open towards your wife."

Receiving the leaf containing the four maxims, the old Cheṭṭi's son, who had the greatest regard for his father, promised him, in his last moments, that he would observe each and every one of those maxims to its last letter. Then the old man died, and the funeral rites were duly performed over him.

After the death of the old Cheṭṭi, the difficulties of his son increased, for he had nothing to live upon. So he resolved to travel to some distant place, and there to earn his livelihood. While he was thinking over this, Sōmuṣeṭṭi, — for that was the youth's name, — bethought him of his father's first maxim, — not to travel without a living assistant. But where was he to go for an assistant in his poverty-stricken condition? As he was thinking and worrying over this, a crab happened to crawl slowly past him, and placing a literal interpretation on his father's words, he took hold of the crab, and put it in an earthen pan full of water, and covering the mouth with a cocoanut-shell started on his journey, with his mind at ease; for had he not now a living assistant for his journey?

In this way Sōmuṣeṭṭi travelled for about a day, till only one watch remained before the lord of day should sink out of sight. He was extremely tired, and seeing a fine shady banyan tree, he laid himself down overcome by exhaustion, under the cool shade to sleep and give rest to his wearied limbs. The pan, with the crab in it, he kept by his side.

Half-an-hour or so after Sōmuṣeṭṭi had gone to sleep, a crow, which had its nest on the top of the banyan tree, began to caw. Now this was a very dangerous crow, for as soon as it cawed, a serpent — the incarnation of Death itself — used to come out of an ant-hole near the tree and drink up the life of any sleeper lying in its shadow. Not one sleeper till that day had ever survived his sleep, and so the tree was much dreaded. However, on this occasion, the crab came out of its pan and pinched Sōmuṣeṭṭi's hand, and he suddenly awoke in consequence. Getting up, he saw the huge black serpent coming towards him, and away he ran with all the speed that he could command.

Meeting some neatherd boys not far off, he related to them his narrow escape, and they, with one voice, exclaimed that he was a most fortunate man. Said they: — "Friend, many

⁵² Here about five akṣaras are entirely illegible or altogether gone.

⁵³ The writing in this line is almost completely gone, and only the tops of a few letters are visible in the rubbing.

a man has slept under that tree, but not one, except yourself, ever rose up alive. It is the most dreaded tree in the neighbourhood, and is known by the name of the **crow-cawing tree**. No one from our villages near ever approaches that tree, but only weary travellers, whom we cannot warn or persuade, for we all try to do so when we can; and whenever they resort to it, they always die. So saying the boys went about their duties, and Sômuṣeṭṭi, too, thanking his stars and wondering at the wisdom of his father's first maxim, through which alone he had been saved, pursued his course and before twilight reached a village.

He went down the street crying, "Who will feed this beggar with a handful of rice?" Half-a-dozen of the villagers gave him each a handful or two of cooked rice, which served our hero for his simple supper. He then went begging for a lodging wherein to sleep. But though a few would feed him, not a single soul in the whole village would permit him to sleep in his house. Not that the poor villagers were wanting in hospitality, for such kindness has always been proverbial among the rural population of India, specially among Hindus. But unfortunately for Sômuṣeṭṭi, this particular village was subject to attacks by robbers; and every now and then some crafty robber had visited it as a beggar or a traveller, and requested the villagers for a place to sleep in. Many a time had their hospitality been requited by plunder; for the pretended traveller would open the door of his host to his comrades, and thus help them to do their terrible work. The misery that the villagers had on several occasions experienced, had obliged them, without making any distinction between good and bad, never to allow anyone to sleep in their houses. They all suggested that Sômuṣeṭṭi should go to the village-inn to sleep. But our hero, remembering his father's **second maxim**, — **not to sleep in an inn**, — preferred the open plain adjoining the village. Thither he went, and spreading a couple of rags on the ground, prepared himself for sleep, thinking over his father's words which had saved his life the preceding night, and admiring his sagacity.

The day's adventures were so impressed upon his mind that, though he was very weary, he did not for a long time fall asleep. At last nature overcame him and he closed his eyelids, but only for a short repose. For as soon as he had stretched his limbs in sleep, he dreamt that a serpent was pursuing him and was almost at the point of biting him. This dream, which was nothing but a recollection of his previous adventure, was not yet finished, when he imagined that several persons were beating him. This was no dream, but a stern reality; for on opening his eyes, he discovered that he was surrounded by a gang of robbers, each one of whom was giving him a blow, saying:—"Give me what you have in your hand." Unable to bear the severe beating to which he was being subjected he collected the rags spread on the ground, and in a pitiable tone said:—"These are all I have in this world; take them and spare my life." Some of the robbers, a little better-hearted than the others, said that he was a pauper, and that it would be as well for them to leave him alone. Others however gave him additional blows for not having anything of any use with him, and walked off with his rags.¹

All soon left him and proceeded towards the village. Sômuṣeṭṭi sat up stupefied, not knowing what to do. He had avoided the village-inn as he had been bidden, and had chosen the most harmless spot he could find, and yet thieves had plundered him of his rags! The danger of the day and horror of the night, not yet over, passed and repassed before his mind, and the more he thought the more stupefied he became. At last, after thinking and thinking for some two or three hours, he rose up from that place, resolving to go to the village-inn, notwithstanding his father's warning words, and spend the remainder of the night there. However, he had not proceeded far when he saw the robbers again. He kept out of their way, and after they had passed, proceeded to the village and to the inn, against entering which his father had so wisely warned him. And the spectacle that met his eyes there! He found the whole village assembled outside the inn, for the robbers had chosen that spot for their havoc that night, and had murdered every soul sleeping in it! Not a soul that had slept there had escaped the cruel hands of the bloodthirsty ruffians, who had come there specially that night because they had heard

¹ A practice very common among the predatory classes in India, who almost always treat their poorer victims in this way.

from one of their spies that a rich traveller was then sojourning there. Sômuşetti, who a moment before had been calling himself a fool for not having gone into the public inn for his night's repose, now shed tears of joy to the memory of his father.

By this time it was dawn, and the villagers requested Sômuşetti to oblige them by burying the murdered persons. It is loathsome work to bury the unclaimed dead, and our hero would have avoided the task, but the old Chetti's third maxim, — "neglect not what four or five people say," — rushed into his mind, and, true to his promise, he willingly consented to perform the disagreeable task. In return, the villagers promised to pay him at the rate of five *fanams* for every dead body interred, and gave him the privilege of taking for his own use any property that he might find on the dead. Our hero thus gained a double advantage; he was obeying his father's third maxim, and he was profiting himself materially by it. His reward was indeed a double one, for though the robbers had plundered all the people in the inn before putting them to death, still a great deal remained on the bodies. One of them, indeed, who had been a Chetti, had in his waist-cloth nine rubies tied up in a rag, and these our hero secretly removed and secured without arousing any suspicions. The great wealth he thus acquired in the remuneration for his duty, made him at once very rich, in addition to the possession of the nine rubies. He thought that he had now enough to live upon, and returned to his own village. Near it there was an old temple of Kâlî, in ruins, and to this our hero resorted in the dead of night, and underneath the idol itself buried his nine rubies and a great part of his other treasure. What remained with him was enough for him to lead a respectable life. He took to wife a girl of respectable family, and lived with her for a while in happiness and comfort.

Unlike the usual run of Chettis, who are proverbial for their stinginess, our hero was known in his village for his liberality. And whenever all his available cash was exhausted, he would ask his wife for a little rice for a meal or two, as he was going to a village near, to try and make some more money. Now our hero had never informed his wife where he had buried his treasure, for his father's fourth and last maxim was, "be not always open with your wife." And Sômuşetti had benefited so much by the strict observation of the first three maxims, that he had every reason to give more than usual weight to the last one. So he always kept his treasure underneath the image of Kâlî a dead secret; but he now and then went to it, in the dead of night, when his cash was exhausted, pretending to be absent from the village, and always returned with enough for his expenses. This he did for a long time, and little by little he bought land, extended his house, and made jewels for his wife. She was a very simple and good-natured woman, but even she began to suspect that her husband must be the master of some miraculous power, to be growing rich in this way. She often asked him how he managed, every time he left the village, to return with so much money. He kept the truth from her for a long time, but she went on worrying him repeatedly. Even iron by constant hammering gives way, and the heart of a man, especially under feminine charms, has much less chance. So, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's words to their last letter, our hero at last told the whole truth to his wife, warning her at the same time to keep it a dead secret, and never to open her lips to anyone about it. He told her that he had brought with him a great quantity of money and nine rubies, that all the money had been spent, that he had sold one of the rubies for nine *karôse* of *mohars*, on which money he was still living, and that when that was gone, he had still eight more rubies, each of which was worth the same enormous sum. How great was his wife's joy when she heard this news from her husband! Her whole face beamed over with it, and she swore to keep the secret. Thus did our hero, for once in his life, notwithstanding his strict resolution to observe his father's maxims, deviate from the last of them, and we shall now see the consequences.

The very next day the mistress of the neighbouring house, paying her usual visit to our hero's wife, observed unusual brightness in her face, and on repeatedly enquiring the cause of it learnt all the secret of Sômuşetti's wealth. In fact Sômuşetti's wife told all about the rubies, the place where they lay buried, and everything else, to her friend, repeatedly asking her to keep the secret, as of course she swore over and over again to do. The conversation was

very engrossing. The more attentively the neighbour listened, the more excited Sômuṣeṭṭi's wife became, and went over and over the same facts. Having thus learnt the whole affair, the neighbour took her leave, and naturally the first thing she did was to communicate it to her husband, who in his ambition and covetousness at the increasing prosperity of Sômuṣeṭṭi, robbed him of the remaining eight rubies that very night.

A day or two passed without our hero knowing of the heavy loss that had befallen him. but, on the third day after the communication of his secret to his wife, Sômuṣeṭṭi began to be a little uneasy in mind at having disclosed it in spite of his father's strict injunctions, and resolved to go that very night to the temple of Kālī to examine his treasure. Accordingly he went, without informing his wife about it, and from that moment his happiness left him. When he missed his rubies, he stood like a stone for a while and then went mad.

Plucking wild flowers, making them into wreaths, and adorning his body with them, he began to wander from village to village and from city to city, crying "Give me back my eight rubies," and saying nothing else, no matter what people might say to him. His wife, who knew well enough why the change had come over her husband, cursed herself for her carelessness, and not knowing what else to do, followed her husband, secretly watching him and feeding him. For very shame, she never gave out the reason of her husband's madness, nor mentioned her relationship to him; but as her inward conscience chided her for being the cause of all his grief, she, like a good wife, determined to share his miseries. In this way more than two years passed. And Sômuṣeṭṭi, among other peculiarities, would never taste a morsel of rice, even when hungry. If rice was placed before him by some one through the kindness of his wife, he would fling it away, muttering, "Give me my eight rubies."

Thus wandering over several countries, our mad hero at last reached a great city, the king of which was famous throughout the country for his liberality to beggars. Never would he taste a handful of rice without feeding them first, and for their special entertainment he had built a large dining-shed, and used to superintend their meals in person. The day on which Sômuṣeṭṭi joined the beggars of the city at their dinner, the king, as usual, came to watch the feeding. Every beggar was soon engaged at his meal, except our hero, who was almost famished with hunger. A man in his state would naturally go straight for his dish. But Sômuṣeṭṭi cared for nothing that was placed before him, but kept muttering "Give me back my eight rubies," sometimes to the wall, sometimes to the leaf-plate in front of him, and sometimes to the servants. The king's attention was drawn to this unfortunate beggar, who never even tasted the rice, famished though he was, but kept on talking about rubies instead. He thought that there must be some connection between rubies and his madness, and as he had bought a ruby the previous day from a merchant, he sent for it, in the hope that the beggar might take a little food on seeing it. The ruby was brought and placed before our mad hero, who seized it and said:—"One has come; bring back the other seven." This he kept on saying incessantly. The king now concluded that there was some special reason for his madness, and ordered his servants to watch him carefully, and do their utmost to feed him. He also secretly issued orders to have the merchant who had sold him the ruby the previous day brought to him. Now this man, it must be explained, was no other than the neighbour of Sômuṣeṭṭi who had stolen the rubies. To avoid all suspicion he had travelled to this distant country to sell his ill-gotten gains, but fearing that a sudden sale of all the rubies might awaken suspicion, he had begun, on the previous day, by selling one only to the king, promising to bring another the next evening. In the evening, according to his promise, he brought the second ruby. The king gladly bought it, and, promising to double the price for a third, demanded it on the third evening. Thus the rubies began to come to him one after another, and every evening, after a purchase, the king returned with it secretly to Sômuṣeṭṭi, whose madness began to decrease by degrees on the recovery of his lost rubies one by one. The king went on playing the trick of promising double and treble the price, till the last and eighth ruby was bought, and then he at once issued orders to have the merchant arrested and imprisoned till the history of the rubies was known. On the production of the eighth ruby Sômuṣeṭṭi was entirely

cured of his madness, and falling at the feet of the king related the whole story of the four maxims, how he had disobeyed the last of them, and what calamities had come upon him in consequence. The king was highly pleased, and after punishing the pretended merchant with death, he restored the rubies to their rightful owner, Sômuşetti. And our hero, not to be outdone for his liberality, presented half of them to the king who had taken so much pains in bringing him back to his senses, and returned with the other four to his own country.

As soon as he was restored to his original state, he learnt about his wife, how she had guarded and followed him all along throughout his miseries; and forgetting that she was the cause of all of them, he pardoned her faults and lived happily with her. And the good woman too, seeing that all these miseries had resulted from the wealth not being placed in the house, exercised a most scrupulous care over her husband's property, especially remembering the sufferings that both had undergone.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PERPETUAL FIRE IN MADEAS.

Uliyanûr Perinthachan (lit. master-mason) is the legendary celestial architect of the Malabar Coast, and is held to be an incarnation of the Deity. The stone lamp at the holy city of Jarunanaya, which remained perpetually burning for several years (there is a similar lamp in

Travancore burning in the open air mentioned in *Isis Unveiled*), and the tank at Hanumân Kairi in the Betulnad *talûga* of British Malabar, containing 18 *ghats*, but now in ruins, are attributed to him.

Madras.

SUNKUNI WARIYAE.

BOOK NOTICE.

The NICOBAR ISLANDERS. By E. H. MAN. London: Harrison and Sons. 1889.

Mr. Man's books are always a delight to the student of anthropology, and this last monograph from his pen is no exception to the rule. Minuteness, carefulness, completeness and accuracy have already characterised his work, and all these admirable qualities are as abundantly present in this pamphlet on the Nicobar Islanders as in any of its predecessors. We are indeed fortunate in having results before us at first hand of the researches of so painstaking and competent an anthropologist.

At present we have only an instalment of what Mr. Man has to say about the Nicobarese, and the remainder will be looked forward to with some eagerness, especially as the Government is abandoning its stations there, and much more information is not likely to be procured for a long while.

On the vexed question as to the origin of the Nicobarese, Mr. Man decidedly inclines to the Malayo-Burman theory, and gives twelve arguments in its favour.

In stature the Nicobarese are of medium height; very few reaching 6 feet, not many to 5 ft. 7 in., and the majority ranging from 5 ft. 5 in. to 5 ft. 3 in. The women are about 3 inches shorter. The average chest measurement is 34½ inches and the average weight about 10 stone; while the women weigh over 8½ stone. Other-

wise they are a well-fed and well-developed people of ungainly aspect and devoid of beauty. Their great physical peculiarity lies in their hideous teeth, which are covered with a deforming encrustation caused by chewing betel and lime. Their physical powers are good, but not much developed, and their senses sufficiently acute. But owing to the quantities in which food is supplied by nature they are not given to much or prolonged exertion.

The Nicobarese will cross with Malays and Burmans, but not readily with other races. The limits of life are low, but apparently higher than that of Indo-Chinese races generally. They appear to be free from the epidemics of the East, in spite of the miasma that surrounds the dwellings of many of them, proving so fatal to all strangers, and their recuperative powers are like those of many Indo-Chinese races, quite remarkable.

Their colour is decidedly dark but not by any means black, and they are not naturally offensive as to odour. The hair of the head is not black, but a dark rusty brown, and is much lighter in young children than in adults. Hair on the body is not common.

Such in the briefest form possible are the results of Mr. Man's investigations, so far as yet published, on this very interesting race. Let us hope that we shall not have to wait very long before we are favoured with a further instalment.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.B.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. XVI. p. 361.)

No. 4. — THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SAṄGYA.

THIS ballad, a very favourite one in the Belgaum District, owes its popularity to the pointed way in which it comes home to many a poor cultivator, who, situated as Saṅgya was, would very heartily endorse the sentiment (at the end of verse 8) that "very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks under them."

The action is based on a murder, which took place on the 13th October, A. D. 1863 (see notes 16, 32, below), at Hoṅgal, or, as the town is more usually called, Bail-Hoṅgal or "Hoṅgal of the open country." The victim was a money-lender named Basaliṅgaṇṇa, whose business and personal habits are described in the opening verse. Among his debtors was a cultivator named Saṅga, Saṅgya, or Saṅgaṇṇa, who, in the usual manner, had pledged his field as security for the advances made to him. At length the creditor, who, as the song says, "took care to shew no harshness beyond what the law allows," sues Saṅgya in the Subordinate Judge's Court at Saundatti, and obtains a decree against him. Saṅgya appeals to the District Judge at Dhārwaḍ; but without success. And then in due course a clerk of the court is sent to execute the decree, by selling the field by auction; and, Saṅgya being unable to buy it in, and failing to obtain any further respite from his creditor, the field is made over into the money-lender's possession. Then Saṅgya, taking counsel with his brother Parsya, determines to have his revenge by killing Basaliṅgaṇṇa. Rising at dawn next day, Saṅgya prostrates himself at his mother's feet; and then he and Parsya, after a prayer for success to their patron-god Basavaṇṇa, set out. They think first of killing Phakiraṇṇa, one of Basaliṅgaṇṇa's brothers, but cannot find him; for, "Paramēśvara (the supreme god) protected him," and he had fortunately left his house. Again they do worship to Basavaṇṇa, and then decide upon killing Basaliṅgaṇṇa's other brother, Rāchappa; but him, again, they fail to meet with, since, happily for him, "the protector is more powerful than the slayer, and very fortunate was his luck." Then they go straight to Basaliṅgaṇṇa's house, and find him there, engaged in business; "his thoughts being only on his rupees." And without any more ado, heedless of the spectators, Saṅgya pulls out his sickle from where it is hidden up his sleeve, and cuts him down; "the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died." No particular attempt at escape is made; in fact, Saṅgya's remorse allows him not to try; and straightway he and Parsya are seized and taken to the village police-station. Two very characteristic touches are introduced here; the binding of Saṅgya and Parsya face to face to a post, where they are beaten till they confess; and their attempt to implicate an innocent man, Hūvina-Rāma, to gratify some private spite against him. The Chief Constable then comes to investigate the matter; and the prisoners are taken on to the Māmlatdār at Sampgaam. From there they are forwarded to Belgaum, to stand their trial. And at length, Hūvina-Rāma is duly acquitted; Parsya is let off with transportation for life; and Saṅgya is sentenced to death. Saṅgya is first taken to the jail at Dhārwaḍ, which then was the principal jail for the two Districts. But, in accordance with a frequent custom in the case of exceptional murders such as the present one, it was decided to carry out the sentence at the village of Hoṅgal itself. And the rest of the ballad is occupied with the journey, with Saṅgya's farewell to his parents, with his lamentation over his untimely fate, and with the description of the execution. Here there are many touching passages; and the whole account is extremely graphic.

A short addition at the end shews that this ballad was composed by a professional ballad-monger named Appu, a Marāṭhā; and that the great merit of it obtained at once for his party the victory in a contest of singing with some rivals of the same profession.

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.

A very bad thing is poverty! The poor man felt much wrath! When he had to pay his debt to the money-lender, great distress came upon Saṅgya!

First Verse.

In the city of Hoṅgal there is a money-lender; Dūravajanti is his name.¹ In silver and gold, small change and silver currency, and cotton, are his dealings and trade. The silver-smiths receive his money, for making various kinds of *chaukas*² of pure Chinese silver; and every week, on Saturday, the running accounts of the *chaukas* are made up. Of manifold kinds are his functions; and eight or ten are his servants. Innumerable women clear his cotton from the seed, in both the winter and the rainy season.

(With a change of metre),³ — How shall I describe his business? He carried on all the duties of a money-changer. His two brothers, elder and younger,⁴ (*assisted him with*) great intelligence; in what they did, there was no lack of gain; no one in the village felt any dislike (*for them*); with great honesty they carried on the business of a money-lender.

(Lowering the voice), — I will describe to you his apparel; listen now! He used to stroll along the streets, wearing a very fine *chauka*⁵ fastened round his neck; and on his head a turban with a border worked with gold threads; look at him! His upper-cloth was from Nāgpur;⁶ on his body there was a separate jacket of camlet;⁷ how beautiful were his *chandra-hāra* and *gōpa*,⁸ with the gold glittering so lastingly upon his breast; on his finger he wore a pure and holy ring.⁹

(Raising the voice), — In speech he was very firm; not the least particle of falsehood (*was in him*)!

Second Verse.

Listen first to the origin of the matter. See!; the field in (Saṅgya's) occupancy was good black soil. He (*mortgaged it for a loan, and*) executed a deed in due form, with a period of five years; last year they went to law; (*the lender*) shewed no harshness beyond what the law allows; according to (*the value of*) the produce, he laid his plaint; and the quarrel came up (*for trial*) in the Saundatti Court. (Saṅgya) presented the stamped paper (*containing his plea*), admitting that Basaliṅgaṇṇa's words were true, and did obeisance. The Munsiff¹⁰ (*pronounced against him, and*) said, — "Go to Dhārwaḍ, and make your petition of appeal."

(With a change of metre), — From there he came to Hoṅgal, and made, Sir, preparation for the journey. Taking with him a hundred rupees, he set out thence for Dhārwaḍ. He presented to the Government¹¹ the petition of appeal, and straightway retained a Vakīl.¹²

¹ This must be his surname. The word has also been explained to me as meaning that his name was known "far and wide." But I cannot find any authority for this.

² A *chauka* is a box in which a *liṅga*, the phallic emblem, is carried; it is usually worn suspended from the neck.

³ *chye* stands for *chydla*, = *chāla*; see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 350, note 6.

⁴ The Rāchappa and Phakirappa who are mentioned further on.

⁵ *sikhāmāni* seems to be used here to qualify *chauka*, and to denote 'a *chauka*, the best of its kind; a very excellent *chauka*.'

⁶ This is the Nāgpur of the Central Provinces, which has long had a great reputation for the manufacture of *dhōtors*, or the cloths worn by men. Two such cloths are worn; one fastened round the waist, and hanging down; and the other round the upper part of the body. Here the verbal adjective *hott-irū*, i.e. *hott-irūva*, specifies the upper cloth. The lower cloth is called *uffa-konda dhōtra*.

⁷ The word in the text, *kemalāṭa*, is an adaptation of the English word. I am told that camlet stuff was formerly much used in this part of the country.

⁸ These are gold necklets of different patterns.

⁹ The third finger of the right hand is called *pavitrada beraḷu*, 'the pure finger,' as being considered purer than the others; and *pavitrada uṅgura* is the technical name of a ring, made of gold, for this finger.

¹⁰ The Native judge of the local court. The official title now is 'Subordinate Judge.'

¹¹ i.e. to the Court of the District Judge.

¹² A Native lawyer, a 'Pleader.'

KANARESE BALLADS.
THE CRIME AND DEATH OF SANGYA.

(Air of the Chorus)

Ba-da-ta-na am-bu-du ba-la-ket ta

ba-da-va-ga ban-to ba-hu sit--ta

sawa-ka-ra sa-la ko-da-bek--a-da-ra

San-gyaga a-di-to san-kash--ta

(Lowering the voice), — "Present now a petition for me," he said; "take these hundred rupees, of the Government currency;¹³ tell me quickly what you say to me." The Vakil took thought in his mind, see now!, and gave a promise to devote his energies to the case, and said, — "Why do you feel anxiety (*about the result*), since you have given your Vakil a hundred rupees, into his very hand?" The first day of the month was Sunday; and the date (*of hearing the appeal was fixed for*) the next day, Monday; and straightway there was issued an order of attachment.

(Raising the voice), — The Karkûn¹⁴ brought and executed the order of attachment. Thus Basalinga carried into effect his pertinacious design!

Third Verse.

The Karkûn says, — "Call Saṅgya and tell him, 'a decree has been passed against you for (*the value of*) the produce, reckoned at three hundred rupees: how much do you bid (*to retain it in your own possession*)?' " A great web (*of trouble*) was cast round Saṅgya. He explained what was convenient to himself, saying — "I will pay the money according to the decree; set free my share in the field; the whole fault is truly mine; apart from you I have no refuge; I will never disobey the orders of Basalinganna." Thus saying, he joined his hands in supplication and embraced his feet.

(With a change of metre), — "Since the order of attachment has come, what can I say?; to-day your field is lost." Thus Basalinganna hardened his heart; and the field passed into the possession of (*his brother*) Phakiranna. Going home, Saṅgya pondered, — "To-day my field, belonging to me by right of occupancy, has been lost."

(Lowering the voice), — Saṅga and Parsya, the two together, made another plan, see!, a secret device, conversing with laughter, — "The speech between me and you, let it be known to no one; without letting anyone know, let us do that which we can; we will rise in the early morning and go (*to do it*)." They sharpened their sickles, as they sat, saying, — "We will kill him, even though to-day we lose our heads; let that happen which must; except life, (*nothing is left to us*)."

(Raising the voice), — Basalinga left the village of Wakkund; on the morrow the festival of the Mahānavami¹⁵ was to be celebrated!

Fourth Verse.

On the Tuesday,¹⁶ at dawn, he (Saṅgya) rose of his own accord, and went and fell at the feet of his mother. Then Saṅgya and Parsya said, — "O (god) Basavaṅṇa, carry through our quarrel to its accomplishment!" Sharpening his sickle, and concealing it under his arm-pit, he set out, and at the third hour of the day he came to Phakiranna's house. At his house they ask, — "Where has he gone?; we had much business with him." Says Tukkaṅṇa, — "Why hast thou come?; what business hast thou with me?"

(With a change of metre), — Hearing this, he went back again, and searched in the field and on the stream. Had he been found, his life was lost; but Paramēśvara (Siva) protected Phakiranna! Having searched everywhere, he came to a shop, and bought some camphor and a cocoanut.

(Lowering the voice), — Quickly he went to the god Basavaṅṇa, and broke the cocoanut, and ignited the camphor and waved it (*round the head of the god*), and did reverence, and then

¹³ lit. "rupees (which have on them) the face (of the Sovereign), (and which are) of a regular round shape." The intention is to distinguish them from the so-called Sūrti rupees, of very different make, which at the time of this ballad had not yet entirely ceased to be current.

¹⁴ One of the clerks of the Court.

¹⁵ lit. "the pot of the Mahānavami was to be placed." The Mahānavami, which is better known in other parts of India as the Durgapūjā, is a festival in honour of the goddess Durgā, commencing on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Āśvina. On that day water-pots, filled with water, are placed near the gods, who are supposed to reside in them till the navami or ninth tithi.

¹⁶ The 13th October, A.D. 1863; see further on.

took the road to Hoṅgal. Saṅgaṇṇa went on in front, and then (*came*) Mēguṭi-Parsya, who said, — "First let us seize Rāchappa and kill him." Talking thus together in various ways, they went to Rāchappa's house, and asked the old house-wife, — "Where has Anṇappa¹⁷ gone?"

(Raising the voice), — The protector is more powerful than the slayer; very fortunate was his (Rāchappa's) luck!

Fifth Verse.

Say they, — "Our coming has been in vain;" they became wrathful in their minds. They went to Basalingaṇṇa's house; their secret intention was not known. At the ninth hour (*i.e.* 3.0 p. m.), that which was predestined came to pass. Saṅgya and Parsya saluted, and went and stood close by him. Basalingaṇṇa's thoughts were on his rupees; near him there stood three or four men; he knew not that they would slay him; but Siva brought the (*fatal*) wreath and fastened it (*round his neck*).¹⁸

(With a change of metre), — Pulling up the sleeve of his jacket from over his wrist, Saṅgya took out the sickle from under his armpit, and, taking aim as he stood there, cut him fiercely down. In the same way he drew out the sickle, and, having wounded him, slunk round behind him, and, calling Parsya, ran away.

(Lowering the voice), — In great agony Basalingaṇṇa rose, bowing his head; the blood poured out in torrents from his mouth; his senses failed; he fell and died. The people sitting there went out in great confusion; they all said, — "Seize him! seize him! there he runs; he cut right through the neck." Those who met him, face to face, and close, not one of them seized him. Then, hearing the tidings, the Haḷabs¹⁹ came.

(Raising the voice), — Throughout the village there was a great outcry; he could not pass beyond the gate²⁰ of Hoṅgal.

Sixth Verse.

Then ceased the anger of his mind. Quickly a crowd assembled. Harling away the sickle from his hand, he threw it down. His (*sense of*) sin allowed to go no further. (*In*) a strait road, a narrow lane, quickly the Haḷabs seized him, and, cuffing and beating him, dragged him to the *chaudī*; ²¹ no respect was left, to be shewn to Saṅgya. The Kulkarṇi²² came and looked. The Police Pāṭīl²³ said, — "Beat them!" Face to face tightly they bound Saṅgya and Parsya to a post.

(With a change of metre), — "Beat us not without necessity; now and here we confess that we killed him; arrest us, and send us to Sampgaum." An enquiry was made in the Kachēri.²⁴ They said, — "Hūvina-Rāma was in the business with us; he is at the village of Wakkund; he is there."

(Lowering the voice), — The Haḷabs got ready and went to the village of Wakkund; there he was found, Hūvina-Rāma. He became confused, and was in terror for his life; "they accuse me through enmity," (*he cried*); in fear, he staggered about, in an agitated manner; saying, — "What is this that has happened?" he wept. All the people in the village told him to be brave; "if you were not in this crime, nothing can happen," say his friends.

(Raising the voice), — In the dead of night he set out; they would not let him eat even a morsel.

¹⁷ *i.e.* Rāchappa. The word *anṇappa* is a respectful form of *anna*, 'an elder brother.'

¹⁸ This is the meaning of the passage; but I have not been able to obtain an explanation of this allusion.

¹⁹ *haḷaba*, 'one of the ancients, an old servant, an old inhabitant,' is one of the Kanarese names, the other being *seddikāra*, for the village police or watchmen. They are employed on all miscellaneous revenue and police duties.

²⁰ The original has the words *gāṭa*, which is the English 'gate.' It may mean either 'the village gate,' or 'the Police-Station.'

²¹ The office of the Pāṭīl and Kulkarṇi, where all the business of a village is transacted.

²² The village accountant; the Pāṭīl's right-hand man and assistant.

²³ The Pāṭīl is the head man of a village. In the larger villages, as in the present case, there are separate Pāṭīls for the police and revenue duties. The *police* of the text is the English word 'police'; the word in composition with it, is the Kanarese *gaṇḍa*, which is the equivalent of the Marāṭhī *pāṭīl*. The Revenue Pāṭīl is called *mūlāt-pāṭīl* or *mūlāt-gaṇḍa*.

²⁴ *i.e.* in the Māmlatdār's office at Sampgaum, the chief town of the Tālukā or Sub-Division.

Seventh Verse.

The Police Pāṭḥi and the Kulkarṇi said (*to the guard*), — "Be very watchful; they have killed a most respectable rich man; never before has such a thing happened." They made a report,²⁵ writing it on paper; a Haḷab took it, and went to Sampgaum. He delivered the report in the Kachēri; the Subhēdār²⁶ read and examined it. Very speedily the Phaujdar²⁷ got ready, and said, — "Put quickly the saddle on my horse." Taking a Peon,²⁸ on Wednesday, in the evening, he arrived.

(With a change of metre), — The Phaujdar came, and stood and looked; with his own eyes he saw the blood; looking at the corpse, he grieved in sympathy. "Why were the gods Hari and Brahman wroth with him," (*he said*); "when they killed him, who were there?" (*The answer was*), — "Three people; (*two*) Liṅgāyat priests of Maṇḍūr, and Paṭchappa."

(Lowering the voice), — Hearing this much, he told them to bury him. In great affliction the mother and father (*of Basalinganna*) are weeping, falling flat on their faces, and rolling about in grief, crying, — "Evil is our luck; through his kindness there was nothing wanting in our happiness; (*when he was born*), what was the (*evil*) boon that he got from Siva,²⁹ that our son has now left us and gone?; great is the grief of his wife; she has torn off and thrown away her marriage-thread, decorated with jewelled beads;³⁰ what now remains for us, since he is hidden in the earth?"

(Raising the voice), — O Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu)! an untimely death was his; who can understand the pranks of Siva?

Eighth Verse.

"The day of the Mahānavaṃsī new-moon³¹ was Monday; the first day of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja is Tuesday; it is the Saka year seventeen hundred and eighty-five, and the *sahvat-sara* named Rudhirōdgārīn',³² thus they reckoned it up, — the Police Pāṭḥi, the Kulkarṇi, and the Phaujdar. With Saṅgya and Parsya in close custody, the Haḷabs set out. "Be very much on the alert in this matter; attend at the Kachēri; if you fail to be on your guard, no one knows what may become of you;" — thus the Māmlatdār gave the order.

(With a change of metre), — They left this Tālukā, Sampgaum, and carried them to the District town of Belgaum. The gentleman³³ called for them, and made the adjudication. To Saṅgya, it was as if he had fallen into a tank or a well. They wrote the proceedings, and sent them to Bombay;³⁴ (*and reported that*) the bringing of Hūvina-Rāma (*into the matter*) was unjust.

(Lowering the voice), — After three months the answer came; the noble officer read and examined it; "let Parsya off with transportation,³⁵ this is enough." As to the principal prisoner, Saṅganṇa, the settlement was thus; the gentleman said, — "Go to Dhārwaḍ; it is

²⁵ The word in the original here, and a little further on, is *rapōrja*, which is an adaptation of the English word.

²⁶ The Māmlatdār; the head revenue and magisterial officer of the Tālukā.

²⁷ The 'Chief-Constable' of the Tālukā.

²⁸ *billi-manushya*, lit. 'a man who wears a brass badge on a belt slung over his shoulder or worn round his waist.' The more usual term is *patṭavēḷā*, from the Hindustānī *patṭā*, which denotes the same belt with its badge. The word *billi* is an adaptation from the English, and is, I imagine, the word 'bill.' But it is supposed by the Natives to be an adaptation of 'buckle,' which is often used for the same badge.

²⁹ Here, again, I cannot get an explanation of the allusion.

³⁰ The *gūḷadāḷi* is a more elaborate kind of *tāḷi*, 'the marriage-badge worn by married women round the neck,' which is removed when a wife becomes a widow.

³¹ *Mahānavaṃsī-samvatsara* is the popular name, in the Kanarese country, for the new-moon of Bhādrapada, which immediately precedes Āśvina śukla 1. The present new-moon *tithi* ended on Monday, 12th October, A.D. 1893.

³² The Rudhirōdgārīn *sahvat-sara* coincided with Saka-Sahvat 1785 as an expired year. And the corresponding English date for the details given in the text, is, Tuesday, 13th October, A.D. 1893, on which day the *tithi* Āśvina śukla 1 ended.

³³ i.e. the Sessions Judge.

³⁴ i.e. in order to obtain confirmation of the death-sentence. It would seem that, in the Sessions Court, Parsya, as well as Saṅgya, was sentenced to death; but that in his case the High Court commuted the sentence into one of transportation.

³⁵ *kari-nāḍ*, lit. 'the black water.' This is the popular term for transportation, because it entails crossing the sea, to the Andaman islands. The Marāṭhī expression *kāḷi-pāṇi* has exactly the same meaning.

notified that the sentence is (*that he is to be hanged*) by the neck." A guard of soldiers on him, all around, took him to Dhârwâd; not any device (*for saving himself*) suggested itself to him after that.

(Raising the voice), — Very strict are the English laws; no one can play any tricks!

Ninth Verse.

He left the village of Dhârwâd, and came away; no one could save him. "Take him, and go to Hoṅgal," said the gentleman, the Subhêdâr, the Phaujdar, and the Kârkûn; "be wide awake, with great watchfulness." In front of him and behind, there was an escort with drawn swords; there was all the apparatus for hanging him; and Saṅgya was seated on a cart. They brought him in close restraint.³⁶ He converses without any fear. On the Thursday he sent for his elder and younger brothers, and his mother.

(With a change of metre), — To the mother that bare him, he says, — "Why dost thou weep? all that which was to happen, has occurred; it has befallen me as it did to Abhimanyu in the battle-field; for me from no one was there any aid;³⁷ to-day the debt is paid; cease now to grieve for me."

(Lowering the voice), — Saying this, he made the funeral lament, for just a little while, — "That my fate has been settled thus, (*is the decree of*) an unjust court; they inquired not into my fault; I thought that they would let me go free, with imprisonment for only a year; I have been caught and captured; my fault has been in accordance with that which (the god) Brahman wrote;³⁸ my fate (*is like that of*) a lamp that has gone out unintentionally while still there is oil left; (*to nourish*) enmity is very evil; anger should not be felt."

(Raising the voice), — Disputing at every word is bad; to a good man, a (*mere*) word is a blow!

Tenth Verse.

The market-day was Friday,³⁹ that same day the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. He talks with catching breath, and is beside himself. They brought him outside the village. Joining his hands in respectful salutation, he made a little request to the gentleman,⁴⁰ — "Spend five rupees, and have me buried in a *maṭha*."⁴¹ His face shrivelled and grew small; his colour lost its lustre, and faded away. Saying "Hara! Hara!", he took his way (*to the gallows*), and, mounting, stood on the appointed place.

(With a change of metre), — They fastened the rope around his neck, right round his throat; he trod the path of heaven to Kailâsa.⁴² His elder and younger sisters, his elder and younger brothers, and his mother, (*made*) lament; the people were standing all around. Four months and twelve days (*had elapsed since*) the date of the *Awardâtri* new-moon.⁴³

(Lowering the voice), — The village of Bail-Hoṅgal is a great city, this is well known; it is famed far and wide in the surrounding kingdom. (*There there is*) the god Hanumanta, to whom be reverence! Tukârâm is our teacher; the ballad-monger Appu has composed (*this song*); the hand-writing, in which there is no fault, is that of Dêmaṇṇa, on whose drum there is

³⁶ Lit. "confined in a net."

³⁷ The more literal meaning is "no one was my charioteer." I have not a book to refer to; but it seems that Abhimanyu was killed in single fight, hemmed in by the Kauravas, with none of his own party near at hand to help him.

³⁸ Brahman is supposed to write on a man's forehead all that he is destined to do during his life.

³⁹ We are told further on that this day was four months and twelve days after the new-moon of Pausa. This latter *tithi* ended on Sunday, 7th February, A.D. 1884. And so we seem to have either Friday, 19th June, or Friday, 26th June, for the day of the execution.

⁴⁰ i.e. the Magistrate, or the District Superintendent of Police, who attended the execution.

⁴¹ Compare *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 300, where the amount is ten rupees. A *maṭha* is a kind of religious college, or residence of priests.

⁴² The mountain Kailâsa, supposed to be one of the loftiest peaks in the Himâlayas, is the paradise of Śiva. The term *Kailâsa-vâsin*, 'now residing in Kailâsa,' is of constant occurrence in speaking of deceased persons.

⁴³ *Awardâtri-amâvâsyâ* is the popular name, in the Kanarese country, of the new-moon day of Pausa. I have been told that it is a corruption of *avardâtri*; but I do not see how it can be connected with any of the *avardâtri*. A more probable explanation is that it stands for *avare-râtri*, 'the night on which people can begin to eat the *avare*-bean after its harvest.'

a plume of pearls, with feathers and tinsel, and gold and silver lace. Santu and Basappa, our firm friends, have completely overcome our enemies;⁴⁴ defeat has come⁴⁵ to the *kalagi*.

(Raising the voice), — Mādhavarao became a sore trouble to the *kalagi*; in singing he has everything at the tip of his tongue.

TEXT.

Pallā.

Badatana ambudu baḷa-ketta baḍavaga banto bahu śitta |
sāwakāra sālā koḍa-bēk-ādara Saṅgyāga ādito saṅkashṭa || Pallā ||

1ne nuḍi.

Sahar Hoṅgaladāga sāwakāra | Dūravajanti avana hesara | beḷḷi baṅgāra rokka
rupāyi aḷḷiya wahiwaṭa vyāpāra | Chināya kurēda chauka-tara | rupāyi wōyuttāra
pattāra | wāra-wāra chalati chauka-lekkha māḍodu Saniwāra | andādundi avana
kārbhāra | hatt-eṇṇu mandi avana manushyara | māgi maḷigāla hatti arawuttāra
gotta illada hoṅgasara || Chyē || Yena hēlal=evana⁴⁶ kārbāraki | ava māḍut-iddano
chinawāraki | aṅga-tammar-ibbaru tiḷavāḷiki | avara māḍudaka kaḍim-illa gaḷiki |
ūrāga yārigāg-illa bēsariki | baḷaḷa sāche iṭṭadda sāwakāraki || Ilava || Avana
pōshāka hēlatena nimaga | kēḷa īga | ava hiḍada teragat-idda wōṇi | chauka-
śikhāmaṇi | hākidda koraḷāga | jerakāṭi rumāla tali-mēga | nōḍa avaga | hott-iru
dōtra Nākpuri | kemalata bēre | aṅgi maiyāga | chandrahāra gōpa chanda hyāṅga |
yedi-mēga | talataḷa hoḷudu baṅgāra | pavitrād=uṅgarā | iṭṭidda beraḷāga || Yēra ||
Mātīli iddana bahu-diṭṭa | suḷḷa mātā illa yaḷḷ-ashṭa || 1 ||

2ne nuḍi.

Modala kēḷa mātina jari | khāteda hola nōḍa jāta yeri | aida varashada
dina muddata māḍidana bara-kōṭṭa kāgada barābari | nyāya bandito hōḍa-bari |
jōri māḍalilla kāyade mūri | māsīli-prakāra phiryādi māḍidana Sawadatti-kōṭṭinyāga
bitta muri | Basaliṅgaṇṇana mātā sari | shtāpa chelli māḍida mujari | Munsupha
antana aphil-arji Dhārwaḍake hōgi māḍari || Chyē || Allinda bandana Hoṅgalaka |
masalatta māḍida hogudak-ari | nūra rupāyi togoṇḍa hantēka | illinda hoṇṇana
Dhārwaḍaka | aphil-arji koṭṭana sarakāraka | vakilan=iṭṭano āgina-kshapaka || Ilava ||
Arji anta māḍi koḍa namaga nī īga | nūra rupāyi togo mūri gāḍi | hēla lagu
māḍi | yēn=anti namaga | vakīla tiḷada manadāga | nōḍa āga | hīng=anta koṭṭa
wachana | kaṭṭēda sandana | chinti yāko ninaga | nūra rupāyi koṭṭa vakīlage |
kaiyāga | pahilā tārīkha muddata Ādityawāra | munda Sōmawāra | jabati banta
bēga || Yēra || Kārkūna tanda jabati iṭṭa | Basaliṅga naḍisida tanna haṭa || 2 ||

3ne nuḍi.

Munnūra rupāyida māsīlā | nina mēl-āyito phaisalā | kārkūna antana
Saṅgenna karasu nī yēna māḍati sawālā | Saṅgyāga bitto maha-jālā | hēḷi-koṇḍa
tana anakūlā | phaisala-prakāra rupāyi koḍatena holada-waḷaga biḍasari pālā | sarva
tappa nanda āyit-allā | ninninda horata gatiy-illā | Basaliṅgaṇṇana mātā mīrudilla |

⁴⁴ The allusion here is to a singing-match between two rival parties of ballad-singers. The members of one party have on their drums the *turā* or 'plume of feathers and pearls and tinsel, with gold and silver lace'; and those of the other party, a *kalagi*, which seems to be 'a plume of feathers for a horse's head.' The two parties sing alternately, until one is declared to have surpassed the others. In the present case the *turā*-party, to which belonged the composer of this ballad, is declared victorious.

⁴⁵ Lit. "water has descended upon." The metaphor seems to be of Marāṭhī origin; see Molesworth and Candy's Dictionary, s. v. *pāṇi*.

⁴⁶ We have here, in *hēlal=evana*, = *hēlali* + *avana*, another instance of the customary, though irregular, euphonic conjunction to which attention has been drawn, ante, Vol. XV. p. 353, note 19. Other instances occur in verse 7 below, in *koḍar=endā*, = *koḍari* (*koḷīri*) + *andā*, and in verse 9, in *naḍir=endā*, = *naḍīri* + *andā*.

kai-mugada hiḍadana kâlâ || Chyê || Japti banda-balika yêna hêlali | indige ninna hola hoyiti | Basalinganna māḍidana chāti | Phakirappaṇa jumeka hola āti | Saṅgyā manige hōgi māḍyāna chinti | khāteda holā indige yarav-āti || Iḷava || Matt-onda māḍyāra masalatta | nōḍa bēta | Saṅga Pariśyā ibbaru kūḍi | nagata mātāḍi | yārig-illa gotta | namma-nimmara wōlagina mātā | hūg-antā | yār-yārige tiliya-bārada hūga māḍunu ball-ānga hōgunu haryāna hotta | avara masadara kuḍagola kunta | kaḍunu anta | indige hōgali namma tali | āguvadu āgali | jivadinda horatā || Yēra || Wakkunda wūra Basalinga biṭṭa | nāle hākudu māha-naumi-gaṭṭa || 3 ||

4ne nuḍi.

Maṅgālāra udayaka tā yadda | tāyi-pādaka hōgi bidda | Saṅgyā Pariśyā ibbaru antara Basavaṇṇa naḍasu nama jidda | kuḍagola masada ava hiḍada bagalaga muchchi-koṇḍa tā naḍada | mūra tāsa hott-ērita āga Phakirappaṇa manige banda | maniyāga kēlatāra yelli hōda | bahaḷa kelasa itta avaninda | Tukkaṇṇa antana yātaka bandi yēna kelasa nana munda || Chyê || Ishta kēli hindaka tirigi hōda | holadāga holyāga huḍikidā | ava śikkara prāṇa hōgudā | Phakirappaṇa Paramēśwara kida | huḍiky-āḍi aṅgaḍige banda kappara kāya togoṇḍa wonda || Iḷava || Basavaṇṇa-dēvarige naḍada māḍi jalada | kāyi waḍada beḷigi kappara māḍi namaṣkāra Hoṅgala dāri hiḍidā | Saṅgaṇṇa banda munda-munda | allinda | Meguṭi-Parasa yēn-anda | muṇche kaḍun-anda | Rāchappana hiḍidā | hūga mātāḍi pariparidinda | wond-oodā | Rāchappana manige hōgi kēlyāra mudikigi Anṇapa yelli hōdā || Yēra || Kollavanakinta kāyava śrēṣṭha | bahaḷa chelo avara adarushṭa || 4 ||

5ne nuḍi.

Bandadd-āti antāra kālī | ṣiṭṭa ādara tamma manadalli | Basalingappaṇa manige hōdaro tiliyalilla ibbara neli | wombat-tāsa vēḷeda mēle pūrva-likhita wadagita alli | Saṅgyā Pariśyā mujari māḍikyāra hōgi nintaro avana badiyali | Basalingappaṇa chitta rupāyi mēle | mūru nāku mandi avana badiyalli | kaḍadāru ambudu avaga tiliyalilla | Siva tanda hākida māli || Chyê || Saṅgyā muṅgaiyy-aṅgiya tēḍi-koṇḍa bagalanna kuḍagōla takkoṇḍa | ninta nōḍi kaḍadano avana chaṇḍa | adaranta kuḍagōla yaḷa-koṇḍa | kaḍad-avana hindaka sara-koṇḍa | wōḍi hōdana Pariśyāṇna kara-koṇḍa || Iḷava || Basalinganna yedda saṅgaṭ-āgi | āira bāgi | bāyili surita nettārā | hārta kabārā | biddana jīva hōgi | kunt-iru mandi gāba āgi horaga hōgi | yellaru antara hiḍi hiḍi wōḍatana wōḍi | kōda kuttigi | baruhanta mandi idarigi badig-āgi avana hiḍiyalilla yār-yārā | bandara haḷabarā āga suddi-āgi || Yēra || Ūrāga ādita babbāṭa | dāṭalilla Hoṅgala gēṭa || 5 ||

6ne nuḍi.

Ṣiṭṭa tiritā avara manad-andā | mandi kūḍito sutvaradā | kaiyāna kuḍagōla bisāṭi wogedāna pāpa hōga-goḍalilla mundā | bikkatṭa hādi wōṇiya sandā | haḷabara hiḍidara māḍi jaladā | hōḍa-konta baḍa-konta chāwaḍig-ōdara maryāde nḷiyalilla Saṅgyāndā | kulakarpi banda nōḍidā | pōḷisa-gawaḍa hōḍi andā | idara-badara Saṅgyāna Pariśyāna kambaka kaṭyāro biga-bigada || Chyê || Suḷḷa baḍiya-bēdari niva namaga | kaḍad-ānga kabūl-adēv-iga | nammana hiḍada kaḷavari Saṁpagāṁvyāga | chaukāsi ādita kachēryāga | Hūvina-Rāmā iddana idarāga | ava ayidāna ayidāna Wakkunda-wūrāga || Iḷava || Wakkunda-wāriḷe hoṇṭaro haḷabarā tayārā | ava śikka Hūvinā-Rāmā | āgi bēpāma jīvaka banta gōrā | adawatige hēlatāra avara ibbarā | aṇji naḍagatāna tara-tarā | id-ena ākāra kaṇṇige tanda nīrā | ūrāga hēlatāra dīrā | yellārā | i pāpadāga jar illa yēn-ēn-āgudilla antāra geṇiyārā || Yēra || Rāto-rātrili ava hoṇṭa | uṇa-goḍalilla wand-ṣiṭṭa || 6 ||

7ne nuḍi.

Pôliṣa kulakarṇi yēn=anda | bahāḷa huṣāri ira-bēk=anda | woḷe sāwakārana kaḍāda hākidāra hint-āda āgakilla yend-enda | rapōṛṭa māḍera kāgada barada | haḷaba togoṇḍa Sāmpagāmviḡe hōda | kacḥēri-woḷaga rapōṛṭa chelyāna subhēdāra wōdi nōḍida | phaujdāra laḡn-bēga tayāra āda | kudurigi taḍi bēga hāk=anda | billi-manuṣhyana togoṇḍa Budhawāra cheṇḡi-vēḷedali ava banda || Chyē || Banda ninta nōḍida phaujdāra | kaṇṇili kaṇḍana nettara | heṣa nōḍi maragida maramara | yēna munidāna Hari-Brahma-dēvarā | ivana kaḍādāga iddara yār-yāra | Maṇṭūra ayyagōḷa Paṇehappa mūvara || Iḷava || Iṣṭa kēḷi maṇṇa koḍar-endā | aratindā | tāyi-tandi alātāro bōryāḍi | bidda horalyāḍi | adarusṭa kam namadā | yēna kaḍimiy=illa ānandā dayadindā | yēna bēḍi bandana Sivanalli namma hoṭṭili maga biṭṭa bōḍā | nānā-pari dukkha striyaladā | hākidā gaṇḍa-guḷadāḷi wogaḍāḷa harada | inn-ēna ati nanda | maṇṇigi mari āda || Yēra || Dur-maṇa ādito Vaikuṇṭha | yārige tiḷayado Sivan=āta || 7 ||

8ne nuḍi.

Mahanaumi amāsi Sōmawāra | Āświḡa śudda pādya Maṅḷalāra | Sake sattara-se paṇḍā-aiṁśi⁴⁷ Rudrōḍgāri-nāma-saṁvatsara | hīṅga māḍidara vichāra | pōliṣa kulakarṇi phaujdāra | Saṅgyāna Paṛiśyāna kaida-woḷaga saṅgata hoṇṭara haḷabarā | idara mēga bala-huṣāra | kacḥēri-woḷaga hājarā | yachchara tappi yattara hōḍiri hukuma māḍidāna māmledārā || Chyē || Illi tālūka biṭṭara Sāmpagāmvi | wōda hākyāra jille Beḷagāmvi | karasi sāhēba māḍida nirṇyāyi | Saṅgyāga bidd-āṅga āḍita keri bāmvi | kaṭṭa barada kaḷivayāra Mammāyi | Huvvina-Rāmāna tandadda anyāyi || Iḷava || Mūra tiṅgalige banta uttarā-majakūrā | wōdi nōḍidāna saradārā | Paṛiśyāna kari-nirā | biḍudu ati pūrā | Saṅgaṇṇa awala kaididāra | karāra | Dhārwaḍaka sāhēba bōḡ=anda saḷa gallinda āti jāhirā | sutta-mutta avana mēli pārā | cheṭigārā | Dhārwaḍaka hākidara tanda hunāra mundinda tiḷiyalilla jarā || Yēra || Inḡreji kāyide bikkatṭa | naḍuvadilla yār-yāra āta || 8 ||

9ne nuḍi.

Dhārwaḍa-wūra biṭṭa bandā | uḷasaṇa āḡalilla yārindā | sāhēba subhēdāra phaujdāra kārḷūna Hoṅḷalaka togoṇḍa naḍir-endā | yachcharike ira-bēka yachcharadinda | hirada katti pārā hinda mundā | gallig-hākudu sāmāna yellā | Saṅgya chekkaḍi mēga kunt-idda | māḍi tandaro bali-banda | mātāḍatāna daraj=illada | Bestāra-divasā aṇṇa-tammaranā tanna tāyinā karisidā || Chyē || Haḍeda tāyavvag=antāno yāk=alati | āḡubantād=ellā āḡi hōti | rapa-maṇḍala Abhimānya nanag=ati | nanaga yār-yāra illad-āṅga āto sārati | indige riṇa harada hōti | inna biṭṭa-koḍa nanna kakalāti || Iḷava || Iṣṭa hēḷi māḍida alāpa | wandu swalpa | nanda hīṅga itta-pramāṇa keṭṭa diwāṇā | kēḷalilla tappa | māḍi biṭṭar=antinni māpā varasha tēpā | śikk-āṅga āto kaiṣeri Brahma bareḍa bari māḍid-antā tappā | yeṇṇ-irata hōd-āṅga dīpā ākalpā | hint-āda nanna adarusṭa | jidda bali-keṭṭa ira-bārado kōpā || Yēra || Māta-māṭige mathana keṭṭa | chelō manuṣhyaga mātina peṭṭā || 9 ||

10ne nuḍi.

Santi Sakrawārā ada dina suttina mandi kūḍita janā | bavva hāri kabar=illada mātāḍatāna wūra horaga tandāro avanā | sāhēbaga hēḷi-koṇḍa yēn-ēna kai-mugada māḍida śaraṇa | aida rupāyi kharchu māḍikyāra maṭhada woḷaga koḍasari maṇṇa | māri bāḍi āḍita saṇṇa kaḷe gundi hārta baṇḇā | Hara-Harā anta hādi

⁴⁷ The numeral-words here are Marāṭhi, according to the general custom of the Marāṭhi people, who use their own words for numbers and dates, even when speaking Kanarese. Amongst other Marāṭhi features in this ballad, due to the composer being a Marāṭhi, we may note especially the use of the particle *jar*, 'if,' near the end of verse 6.

hiḍadano hatti ninta tanna ṭikāṇa || Chyē || Gallige hākyāra koraḷigi sarakā |
 swargada dāri hiḍadāno Kailāsakā | akka-taṅgera aṇṇa-tammara tāyi dukkha | sutta-
 gaṭṭi nintita jana-lōkā | nāka tiṅgaḷa hannerada dinaka | awarātri amāsi tārikhā ||
 Iḷava || Ūra Bail-Hoṅgala doḍḍa śahara | jāhira | sutta rājjada waḷaga besarā |
 Hanumanta-dēvarā avaga namaskārā | Tukārāma namma wastadarā | śāyirā-kavi
 Apu māḍida tayāra | Dēmaṇṇa-akshara illad-āṅga kasara | avara ḍabbina mēga
 muttina tūrā | jartarā | Santu Basaṇṇa jivada geṇeyarā | wairigi māḍyāra jēra |
 iḷita kaligigi nīrā || Yēra || Māduraḷa kaligige biddāna gaṭṭā | hāḍina waḷaga
 mukapāṭa || 10 ||

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, B.O.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 184. — KOMARALINGAM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAVIDATTA.

This inscription, which, I believe, is now edited in full for the first time, was originally brought to notice by Mr. Rice in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 13. His remarks on it have been reprinted by Mr. Sewell in *Archæol. Surv. South. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 226. And in the same volume, p. 27, No. 185, the original plates are described as being in the possession of Kōmaralingam Rāmāyā, residing at Kōmaralingam in the Uḍampēt Talukā or Sub-Division of the Coimbatore District, Madras Presidency. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained for examination, through the District authorities, in 1883.

The plates, of which the first is inscribed on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring originally about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{7}{8}$ ". The second plate is entire. Of the first plate, small portions have been broken away at the ends of lines 1, 2, and 5 to 7. And of the third plate, about an inch has been broken away, all the way down, at the ends of the lines. The plates are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the writing is in a state of very good preservation, and is quite legible throughout. — The ring on which the plates are strung, passes through ring-holes at the proper right end of each plate. It is a plain copper ring, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It had been cut, when the grant came under my notice. No seal is forthcoming; and the ring presents no indications of having had a seal attached to it, or of having been soldered into the lower part of a seal. — The weight of the three plates is about 1 lb. 2 oz., and of the ring, 2 oz.; total, 1 lb. 4 oz. — The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is a little over $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The engraving is good; but it is not very deep, so that, though the plates are rather thin, the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of them at all. A few of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. — The language as far as line 15 is Sanskrit, very bad both idiomatically and from an orthographical point of view. This portion of the record, as far as line 11, is in mixed verse and prose; but the only complete verse is the first, in lines 1-2; the other metrical passages are mere fragments of verses, plainly quoted from some other source or sources, and mixed up in the most remarkable manner with the prose passages that complete the sentences. A perusal of the text by anyone who can understand it, will satisfy him that these metrical passages really are fragments of verses; not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. In line 16, in the middle of a sentence, the language changes abruptly to a dialect of Old-Kanarese, with a curious mixture of Sanskrit words and inflections in it; and from that point, as far as line 28, the record is in prose. The remainder of it is in Sanskrit, with four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 32 to 36. — The orthography is so bad throughout, that it is useless to select any points for special notice, except the occurrence of the Drāviḍian ḷ in the village name Koḷūr, line 14, and in a few words in the Kanarese portion, and of the Drāviḍian r in two words, lines 25 and 26, in the same portion. I will only remark that the use of *śiṅga*

(with *g*, not *gh*) for *siṃha* in *siṃhaverma*, line 7, and the use of *b* for *v* in *bhasudhā*, line 33, are in themselves almost sufficient to prove that the record belongs by no means to the early period to which it has been assigned by Mr. Rice.

The inscription purports to be the charter of a grant made by a ruler named Ravidatta, while his victorious camp was at a town the name of which is Kitthipura as it stands in the text, but was probably intended to be Kirtipura. It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of some villages to some Brāhmaṇas.

As regards the date, the grant purports to have been made on Sunday, the new-moon day of the month Phālguna, under the Rēvati *nakṣatra*, and on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. But no reference is made to any era; and Ravidatta is not known from any other record. Consequently, the details cannot be tested by calculation.

Of the places mentioned in addition to Kitthipura or Kirtipura, the first village is Puṅgisoge, which is defined as being in the east-central *dēśa* in the Kudugur *nāḍu* in the Punnāḍu *vishaya*. The other villages granted are Koḷṭur, Kodamūku, Dvatogeyanūr, Tānagundūr, and Paṭṭal. And the village of Elagovanūr is mentioned in the specification of boundaries. All of these names remain to be identified. Mr. Rice (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 13) has suggested that Punnāḍu appears as Pannata and Pannuta in Lassen and Yule's maps of Ancient India; and has added his opinion as to its modern representative. As indicated by him, the Punnāḍu *vishaya* of this record is doubtless identical with the Pūnāḍu district, supposed to be a Ten-thousand district, which is mentioned in the Merkara grant (*ante*, Vol. I. p. 365, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 283). And the statement in line 30 of the present record, that the witnesses were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand *vishaya*, shews that the Punnāḍu *vishaya* was a sub-division of the well-known Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand. But it is difficult to follow his further identification of the Pūnāḍu Ten-thousand (?) with "the Padināḍ or Ten Nāḍ country," mentioned in the Yelandur inscription of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 334 ff.), which he has located in the south-east of Maisūr (*id.* p. xliii.), and the name of which, he tells us, "survives in the existing Hadināḍu, now corrupted into Hadināru, a village on the Kabbani river, not far from its junction with the Kāvērī." Hadināru (*hadin-āru*), if this is exactly the right spelling of the name, means 'sixteen.' And there are the following objections to Mr. Rice's identification. In the first place, it is at least extremely doubtful whether the *ḍ* of *nāḍu* can change, or even can be corrupted, into *r* in Hadināru, except in the preparation of an English map by someone who would confuse the two sounds. Secondly, though the syllables *hadī*, or *padī* in the older stage of the language, do mean 'ten' in *hadī-mūru*, 'thirteen,' and in *hadī-nālku*, 'fourteen,' yet, as the second part of the word is not a numeral, it is not easy to see how they can be used in that sense in such a name as Hadināḍu or Padināḍu; assuming again that this is exactly the right spelling, and that the second syllable is really *di*, not *ḍi*. And, thirdly, it is still more difficult to imagine how the first two syllables of Padināḍu came to be substituted for the *pun* or *pū* of Punnāḍu or Pūnāḍu. The identification seems really to be based upon the supposition that each division of "the Padināḍ or Ten Nāḍ country" contained one thousand villages, in support of which there is, at any rate, nothing in the Yelandur inscription; and upon the view that the Pūnāḍu *vishaya* was a Ten-thousand district. This latter point rests upon the opinion, held by Dr. Burnell (*South-Ind. Palæo.* p. 67), that in the Merkara grant, line 18, a certain *akṣhara*, which stands between the words *Pūnāḍu* and *sahaira* (*sic*), is the numerical symbol for 'ten.' But the form of the *akṣhara* as given in Dr. Burnell's book, differs essentially from the form that it has in the lithograph of the grant (*ante*, Vol. I. p. 362). Nor, as it stands in the lithograph, does the *akṣhara* really resemble closely any of the known forms of the symbol for 'ten.' As it stands, it distinctly reads as *chhā*. Without, at any rate, an inspection of the original plate, I will not venture to say what it may mean. But, because it does not agree with the known forms of the symbol for 'ten,' and because the use of a numerical symbol at all is so unlikely in the period to which the Merkara plates really belong, and still more because the use of a numerical symbol as part of a compound, with a fully written word on each side of it, is so very extraordinary that without

genuine analogous instances it cannot possibly be accepted, I cannot take it as proved even that the Punnāḍu *viśaya* was a Ten-thousand district.

As regards the full genealogical and historical purport of this inscription, it will be desirable to quote here exactly what was said about it by Mr. Rice, who brought it to notice in connection with the Kaṣāba grant of Prabhūtarsha-Gōvinda III., dated 'Saka-Saṃvat 735 expired,—of which, by the way, the authenticity is at least very doubtful. He wrote (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 13):—"I have, through the kindness of Mr. R. Sewell, seen a grant of the "Punnāṭa Rājas which must belong to early in the sixth century. In it their succession is "thus given:—(1) Kāśyappa Rāshṭravarmma; (2) Nāgadatta, his son; (3) Singa Varmma, "son of the last; (4) his son (not named); (5) Skandavarman, son of the last; (6) Ravidatta, "his son. The addition to the first name may point to a suzerainty of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. "But from other inscriptions (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140, Vol. VII. p. 175; *Mysore Inscriptions*, "pp. 292, 295) we know that in the time of Skandavarman the Punnāḍ kingdom was "annexed to the Gaṅga dominions by Avinṭa who married the king's daughter." Of the two references given by him, only in the first (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140, and *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 292), and in no other document, can I find the passage which he intends. This is one of the Mallō-halli grants; and from it we learn that the son of Koṅgaṇimahādhirāja, of the Western Gaṅga line, was Avinṭa, otherwise named Koṅgaṇivridharāja and Durvinṭa, "whose broad chest "was embraced by the beloved daughter of Skanda Varmma, the Punnāḍ Rāja¹ who herself "had chosen him though from her birth assigned by her father, according to the advice of his "own guru, to the son of another," and who was "the ruler of the whole of Pannāḍ " (? Pākhaḍ) and Punnāḍ." Now, this Mallōhalli grant, though Mr. Rice will not see it, is a spurious grant, belonging to a much later period than the date, 'Saka-Saṃvat 435 or A.D. 513-514, to which he has referred it (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 140). This date was arrived at by him as part and parcel of his theories regarding the Western Gaṅgas, which are erroneous throughout, because they are based on nothing but a series of spurious and unreliable grants. And, having given up his original suggestion that Punnāṭarāja-Skandavarman, the father-in-law of Avinṭa, might be a Pallava king or a feudatory of a Pallava king (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 135), and having identified him instead with the Skandavarman of the present record, it followed that, having fixed Saka-Saṃvat 400 or A.D. 478-79 for the beginning of the reign of Avinṭa, he was naturally obliged, as part and parcel of his theories, to refer to an early period in the sixth century A.D. the present grant of Ravidatta, whom he took to be the son of Skandavarman. I shall dismiss, without further comment, the exact dates arrived at by him. It is only necessary to point out that his remarks quoted above shew plainly that he treated the present inscription of Ravidatta as a genuine record; and that he used it for historical purposes, either as corroborative of, or as corroborated by, another record, which he supposes to be genuine and ancient.

I differ considerably from Mr. Rice in my interpretation of this inscription. In the first place, instead of finding six generations in unbroken succession of father and son, with Ravidatta in the last of them, I find that Skandavarman's son was Punnāṭarāja, and that Ravidatta is simply mentioned as a descendant of Punnāṭarāja, — with what interval between them it is impossible to say. In making Ravidatta the son of Skandavarman, Mr. Rice seems to have taken the word *Punnāṭarājasya*, line 9, simply as an epithet, either of Skandavarman or of Ravidatta, meaning that the person to whom it applies was a ruler of the Punnāṭa or Punnāḍu country. The construction of the passage is, of course, bad to a degree; and especially so is the use, — evidently intentional, though the vowel *d* has been omitted, — of the Taddhita affix *āyana*, which is restricted to the special words *āmushyāyana* and *dvyāmushyāyana*, and to such derivatives as *Āvalāyana*, *Bādarāyana*, *Kātyāyana*, &c., and which cannot be correctly used as it has been here, viz. as a separate word after *Punnāṭarājasya* which is in apposition with *tat-putrasya*. But, doing the best that is possible with the text, it certainly

¹ The original, however, distinctly has *punnāṭarāja*, like the present inscription. — I have quoted this passage from its later version, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 292. In *ante*, Vol. V. p. 140, the only difference is that we have "of the Punnāḍ Rāja Skanda Varmma."

seems to mean that Skandavarman's son was named Punnātarāja, and that Ravidatta was a descendant of the latter person, in some unspecified degree. In the second place, it is impossible to agree with Mr. Rice in taking Nāgadatta's son to be Siṅgavarman, i.e. Siṃhavarman. The text, line 7, distinctly gives the name of Nāgadatta's son in the word *bhujagādhirājaḥ*, which, judged by the metre, seems to stand for *bhujagādhirājaḥ*. And it proceeds to mention, not a son, but a daughter of Siṅgavarman; and she is plainly intended to be introduced as the wife of Nāgadatta's son, though the exact words are missing. And in the third place, I do not feel quite sure that we have the whole of the inscription before us. I do not find any record as to whether the ring was still uncut when the grant first came to notice: and even if it were so, it is possible that an original ring, with a seal attached to it, was abstracted; that the present plain ring was substituted; and that, in the course of this, part of the original charter was lost. The doubt arises in connection with the context of lines 7 and 8. The last two letters of the first plate, in line 7, have been broken away. And it is impossible to supply for them anything that can satisfactorily connect the last extant word on this plate with the first word on the second plate, in such a way as to give what is required here, viz. the name of Siṅgavarman's daughter, and the distinct mention of her as the wife of Bhujagādhirāja (?). Either her name and the other words were carelessly emitted altogether; or else they came on another plate which, possibly with others also, is now missing between lines 7 and 8. In the face, however, of the worthlessness of the whole inscription, this is not a point of any special importance. And, assuming, as Mr. Rice plainly did, that the entire record is practically before us, I find that it gives the following succession of names:—(1) Rāsh-travarman, who seems to be described as belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (2) his son, Nāgadatta; (3) his son, Bhujagādhirāja (?), who married a daughter of Siṅgavarman, i.e. Siṃhavarman, but the name of whose wife either was omitted or has been wrapped up in some unrecognisable shape in the syllables *vidyā nayanō*, line 7-8; (4) his son, Skandavarman; (5) his son, Punnātarāja; and (6) his descendant in some unspecified degree, Ravidatta. In the description of these persons, there is nothing to indicate anything higher than feudal rank. And, on the other hand, the statement that Ravidatta made the grant with the permission of Cheramma, seems not only to shew plainly that he was merely a subordinate chieftain, but also to give the name of his master. His authority was probably confined to the Punnāḍu *vishaya*, which is the first and chief territorial division mentioned in specifying the position of Puṅgisoge.

I also differ entirely from Mr. Rice in my appreciation of the value of this inscription. Amongst its peculiarities, the first point that attracts attention is the abrupt manner in which, after the words *Om Svasti*, it opens with a verse that commences with *tad=anu jayati*, "after that, victorious is Ravidatta." This abrupt opening shews that the record is not complete even at the beginning of it, and that at any rate some invocatory verse or verses, which ought to have been included, must have been omitted here; compare, for instance, the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 58), and the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulikēśin II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 241), which open with an invocation of respectively Viṣṇu and Jinendra, and then introduce the reigning kings with verses of which one, that in the Junāgaḍh inscription, commences with *tad=anu jayati*, and the other, that in the Aihoḷe inscription, commences with *tad=anu*, having *jayati* at the end of the second *pāda*. The next point, of course, is the extraordinary corruptness of the Sanskrit portion. With the exception of the opening verse, which very curiously contains only one real mistake, viz. *sampadānti* for *sampatanti*, the errors, both of idiom and of orthography, are of a more marked kind even than in the ordinary spurious inscriptions. I cannot call to mind any other instance in which the idiom and construction are faulty to the same extent. But the orthographical mistakes are of the kind which occur more or less in all the spurious grants, except in the British Museum plates of Pulikēśin I., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 411 expired (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 209 ff.), and in the Pimpalner plates of Pulikēśin I. or II., dated Śaka-Saṃvat 310 (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 293); and in no genuine grants, except

perhaps some of the latest of the Valabhi records. Another point is the wonderful mixture of verse and prose in lines 2 to 11; in respect of which, as I have said above, anyone who can understand the text can satisfy himself that the metrical passages really are fragments of verses, taken plainly from some other document, and not words which only incidentally have assumed a metrical shape. For this I can call to mind no parallel whatever. And another point is the abrupt transition from Sanskrit to Old-Kanarese in line 16, not only in the middle of a sentence, but even in passing from an adjective in Sanskrit, used moreover erroneously in the nominative case, to the Kanarese dative which it is intended to qualify. For this, again, I can call to mind no analogous instance. In fine, how anyone can apply the present record seriously, is to me quite incomprehensible. The points to which I have drawn attention stamp it unmistakably as a document that has been pieced together, in the most careless fashion, and by a very ignorant and clumsy person, from perhaps half-a-dozen different sources; so that, whatever substratum of fact there may be in any of the passages included in it, taken as a whole it is a worthless document, utterly useless for any historical purposes. It is by no means the first specimen of its kind from the same part of the country. On the spurious Western Gaṅga grants, of which one is the Mallôhalli record referred to above, through which the present record has been connected with them, I have written elsewhere (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 11 ff). Wearisome as is the task of dealing in detail with such records, I have now treated fully of the present inscription, because, like the Western Gaṅga grants, and in special connection with one of them, it has misguidedly and misleadingly been accepted from a serious point of view; and because, in the face of such treatment, it was necessary that its nature should be plainly exhibited. As far as it can be determined palaeographically, and especially by the marked wave in the upper part of the vowel *ā* as attached to consonants, which first began to appear about the end of the seventh century A. D.,—see, for instance, the Harihar grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 300, Plate,—the date of its concoction might perhaps be placed about the commencement of the eighth century A. D.; but certainly no earlier. As, however, I cannot find any date in the eighth century which gives us the Rêvatî nakṣatra, at sunrise or at any time during the day, coupled with an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday answering to either the *pûrṇimānta* or the *amānta* Phālguna new-moon, it would appear that, unless the given details are purely imaginative, the record must be referred to a later time than A. D. 800.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Om³ Svasti [H*] Tnd⁴=anu jayati rājā rājamāna[h*] sva-dīptyā ravir=iva
Ravidattō dattavān dharmma⁵-kāraḥ d[īsi].
- 2 diśi vijit-ārē=yyasaya viryya-pratāpāḥ sakalam=avani-dēśam santataṁ sam-
padā(ta)nti [H*] Vidyā-v[i].
- 3 nā(na)y-ātivihita-vṛittāḥ nīti⁶-śāstra-prayōgā[t*] āśid=rājā vidita-vijayaḥ Kāsyapō
4 Rāshṭrave(va)rmma tat-putrō=bhūt samara-mukha-huta-prā(huta)-śūrapurusha-
turaga-va-
- 5 ra-vārē(ra)ṇa[h*] chaturddasa(śa)-vidyāsthān-ādhigata-vimala-ma⁷tiḥ gaja-varu(rū)tha-
gati⁸=Nnāgadattō nārēndraḥ tat-putrasya
- 6 rddānta⁹-vimardda-vimṛidita-viśvamba(mbha)rādhipa-manli-māl[ā*]-makaraṇda-puṁja-
pimjari[ta]-śātru-chchō(chū)dā-vih[i*]ta-yaśas-saśa . .

² From the original plates.³ Represented by a symbol.⁴ Metre, Mālinī. This is the only complete verse in the body of the grant.⁵ After this *rmma*, a *na* or *n* seems to have been engraved and cancelled.⁶ Metre, Mandākrāntā; as far as *putrō=bhūt* or *samara*.⁷ First *mi* was engraved; and then the *i* was partially cancelled.⁸ Metre, Mandākrāntā or Sragdhara; as far as *nārēndraḥ*.⁹ Read *chaturddanta*.

- 7 nīyān k[ā*]nt¹⁰-Ānaṃgō yuvatiṣu nṛipa-śrī(śrī)-Bhu¹¹jagāṃvarāgaḥ¹² śrī¹³-Siṃga-
ve(va)rmma¹⁴-nṛipātēs=tanayā vibhāti vidyā . . .

Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 nayanō¹⁵ tat-putrasya sva-bhuja-bala-parākrama-kṛaya-vīryya-sampanna-Skanda-
ve(va)rmmaṇa[h*] tat-pu-
9 trasya Punnāṣṭa-rājasy=[ā*]yanō dṛimta¹⁶ s[v*]a-bhuja-vikrama-datta-māly-[ā*]dēr-
Ē(i)ndra¹⁷-vikramō mṛi-
10 daṅga-gavira¹⁸-nināda-nisvanah samasta-sāmanta-tha(bha)ṭa-pravarddhana[h*] prasāsti
rājā suchiraṃ vasundharā[m*]
11 śrīmān Ravidatta-nāmadhēyaḥ [h*] Kitthi¹⁹-puravarav(m)=adhivasati vijaya-
skāndāvarē²⁰ Cheramm-annu-
12 jēyāt²¹ Pāḷgunamāsyam²² Ādityavarē Bēvati(tl)-nakshatrē sūryya-grāhāṇē²³
Punnādu-
13 vishayē Kudugūr-nnāḍol pūrvva-madhya-dēśē Puṅgisoge-nāma-grāmaṃ(h) udaka-
pūrvvan=dattah Dvivi-vi-
14 prasya sarvva-bāda(dha)-parihārē[ṇa*] janma-kshētraṃ Koḷu(lū)r-nnāma-grāmaṃ
Sōmasa(sa)rmma-bhaṭṭah Kodamūku-nā-
15 ma-grāmaṃ Kumba(mbha)sa(sa)rmma-bhaṭṭah Dvatogeyanūr-nnāma-grāmaṃ Kāśyapa-
gōtraḥ Kāmarave(va)rmma-shaḍā(da)m-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 16 gaviya(da?)rggaṃ Ātrēya-gōtrāya Paḍuvasa(sa)rmmagam intī irvvorggaṃ ēkō
bhāgaṃ(h) sē(śē)shasya ja-
17 nma-kshētraṃ chēvatram²⁴ Tānagundūr-nnāma-grāmaṃ Śrīdhara-chauvēra-putrasya
Bīṇanma-dvēdi²⁵ Paṭṭa-
18 l-nāma-grāmaṃ dvija²⁶-guru-dēvatā-pūdyā²⁷-Gaṇanāyaka tutyā²⁸ samasta-ni(nī)ti-sāstra-
prayōgi
19 Tētriya²⁹-charaṇa-prā(pṛa)vachana-kalpa Vatsa-gōtraḥ Māda(dha)va-chauvērarggaṃ isau³⁰
Kāpva-
20 yana-sagōtraḥ Kēsa(sa)va-kramayitarggaṃ intī irvvorggaṃ ēkō bhāgaṃ(h) dvishu
bhāga-
21 sya tasya simāntarāṇi pūrvvasyān=disi(śi) kammāthivāya allīm vīrttandakolliya
paḷa-
22 mpeyāle tuḍilgālā-mūṭāyoḷbe ebella³¹degalla-mū(?)ṭāya poreē(ye) bandu teruṇa(?)
bā(?)līya(?)ye
23 bandu Elagovanūra baḷagaṇa si(śi)meyuḷ ku(kū)ḍi dakṣiṇasyān=disi(śi)
ka(?)ḷipolekkāl-tenne(nno)ḷbe tāḷa . .

¹⁰ Metro, Mandākrāntā; as far as bhujagāṃvarāgaḥ for bhujagāḍdhirājaḥ.

¹¹ This bhu was at first omitted, and was then inserted below the line, with a mark to indicate the omission.

¹² Some correction is necessary here; and bhujagāḍdhirājaḥ would satisfy the requirements of the metro, and agrees pretty closely with what is actually engraved.

¹³ Metro, Vasantatilaka; as far as vidyā. ¹⁴ First rmmā was engraved; and then the d was partially cancelled.

¹⁵ As regards the connection between this and the preceding line, see the introductory remarks.

¹⁶ What was intended here is not apparent.

¹⁷ Metro, Vamśāstha; as far as vasundharāṇ.

¹⁸ Read gambhīra.

¹⁹ Read, perhaps, kṛiti.

²⁰ Read skandāvarē.

²¹ Read ānujānyā.

²² Read pāḷgunamāsyām.

²³ Read grahāṇē.

²⁴ This may perhaps be intended for ch-āiv-ātra.

²⁵ Read dvēdi, or dvēdi.

²⁶ This ja was at first omitted, and then was inserted, in a very cramped style, between the dvī and the gu.

²⁷ This is perhaps a mistake for pōjya.

²⁸ What was intended here is not apparent.

²⁹ Read taṭṭirīya.

³⁰ What was intended here is not apparent.

³¹ After this ḷa, some letter seems to have been engraved and cancelled.

Third Plate; First Side.

- 24 n . . . b . . . boparkkellodiḍa aduvim bada(ḥḍa) oḷbe ekkuttam . . dirggase
 25 ālakkāl-tennoḷbe ekkuvadikkāl-tennoḷbe ekkudakkāl-tennoḷbe ekkarkālliku . . b
 26 ba(ḥbe)rkku-gereyalliye va(ba)ndu suṇṇa-kkolliyoḷ ku(kū)ḍittu paśchimasyān=disi(sī)
 suṇṇa-kkolli
 27 di bandu kuṇḍinadoḷ=ku(kū)ḍi baḍaga rekkakadadubadagāy-veṭṭadiṁ biḍa-kolliya
 ṭa(ḥu)
 28 beṭṭada mēl-porale bandu mūḍāy-si(sī)meyuḷ ku(kū)ḍittu || Tat-kālē tad-vishayē
 kada
 29 sya ndaka-pūrvvaṁ dattaḥ kṛitya-kuchcha-vyavahārē agra-vākṛyē agra-pūje
 pa [|| A]-
 30 sya dānasya sākṣiṇaḥ śaṇṇavatisahā(ha)sra-vishaya-prakṛitayaḥ [||*] Yō=sy=
 āpa[harṭtā]
 31 [m]ōhāt-pramō(mā)dēna vā sa paśchabhir=mahābhi tpātakai³² saṁyuktō bhavati
 yō rā(ra)kshati ssa(sa) puṇyā(nya)m=a[vāpnōti ||]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 32 [S]v[an]³³=d[ā]tuṁ su-mahach-chhakyam duḥkham=anyasya pālanam dānam vā
 pālanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrē[yō=nupāla]-
 33 nam [||*] Bahubhir=bba(vva)sudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādhi(di)bhiḥ yasya yasya
 yadā bhū[mis=tasya tasya]
 34 tadā phalam || Sarvv[ā*]n³⁴=ētā[n*] prārthayaty=ēpa(va) Rāmō bhūyō-bhūyō³⁵
 bhāvinaḥ pā[rtthivēndrān sā]-
 35 mānyō-yam dharmma-sētur=nripānām kālē-kālē pālani(ni)yō mahā(ha)dbhiḥ ||
 Bra[hma-svam]³⁶ tu vi-
 36 sham ghōmram³⁷ na bhi(vi)sham visham=uchyatē visham=ēkākīnam hanti brahma,
 svam pu[t]ra-[pautrikam ||]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

After the words "Om! Hail!", the record opens with a verse introducing the name of the 'king' Ravidatta (line 1), by whom, as we learn further on, the grant purports to have been made. The verse begins with the words *tad=anu jayati*, "after that, victorious is Ravidatta;" which shew that at any rate some invocatory verse has been omitted here.

It then gives Ravidatta's genealogy. It states that there was a 'king' named Rāshṭra-varman (l. 4), who seems to be described as belonging to the Kāsyapa gōtra (l. 3). His son was 'king' Nāgadatta (l. 5). His son was the 'king,' the illustrious Bhujāṅgādhirāja (l. 7), if we accept the correction that suits the metre and is suggested by the syllables that actually occur; and in connection with this person, and evidently as his wife, mention is made of a daughter of the 'king,' the illustrious Śingavarman, but her name either was omitted or cannot be made out. His son was Skandavarman (l. 8). His son was Punnāṣṭarāja (l. 9). And his descendant is the 'king,' the illustrious Ravidatta (l. 11), who has now been governing the earth for a long time.

While his, Ravidatta's, victorious camp is at the town of Kitthipura, or perhaps Kirtipura, which is the best of towns (l. 11), with the permission of Cheramma, on the new-moon day of Phālguna (l. 12), on Sunday, under the Rāvati nakshatra, and at an eclipse of the sun, the village named Puṅgisoge (l. 13), which is described as being in the east-central *dēsa*

³² Read *mahābhiḥ tpātakaiḥ*, or *mahātpātakaiḥ*.

³³ Metre, Śālinī.

³⁴ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh).

³⁵ Metre, Ślōka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

³⁶ First *bhāvinaḥ* was engraved here, and then it was corrected into *bhūyō*.

³⁷ Read *ghōram*.

[illegible]

ii d

8
10
12
14

 \ddot{b}

16
18
20
22

iii a

24

26

28

30

iii b

32

34

36

in the Kudugur *nāḍ* which is in the Punnāḍu *vishaya*, has been granted, free of all obstruction, apparently to a Brāhmaṇ named Dvivivipra.

Also the following grants seem to have been made. The village of Koḷūr (l. 14), to Sōmaśarmabhaṭṭa; the said village apparently being his birth-place (*janmakṣhētra*). The village of Kodamūku, to Kumbhaśarmabhaṭṭa. One share, apparently, of the village of Dvatogeyanūr (line 15), to Kāmaravarmashaḍaṅgavid, of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, and to Paḍuvaśarman of the Ātrēya *gōtra*; and the text seems to intimate that their birth-place was here, and that the rest of the village belonged to them by right of that fact. The village of Tānagundūr (l. 17), to Biḡammadivēdin, the son of Sridharachauvēra. And, apparently, one portion of the village of Paṭṭal to Gaṇanāyaka, and the other to Mādhavachauvēra, of the Taittiriya *charaṇa* and the Vatsa *gōtra*, and to Kēśavakramayita of the Kāpāyana *gōtra*.

Lines 20 to 28 contain a specification of boundaries, in the course of which there is mentioned the village of Elagovanūr (l. 23). But it is not clear whether the boundaries are those of Puṅgisoge; or of all the villages, on the understanding that they formed one compact block; or of a portion only of the lands that were granted.

Lines 28-29 seem to refer to some other grant which was made at the same time, but the nature of which is not apparent. Lines 29-30 state that the witnesses to the grant were the subjects of the Ninety-six-thousand *vishaya*. And lines 30 to 36 contain a precept in prose, and four of the customary Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses, with which the record ends.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(Continued from p. 184.)

As the sixth of the *dasāu* texts the *pañhāvāgarapadasāu* are named. This is to be sure the name of the tenth *aṅga*, which is also divided into 10 *dāras* but not into 10 *ajjh*. The names of the ten *ajjh*. quoted here show very plainly that here, as in the case of *aṅgas* 8, 9, the author had quite a different, and in fact an older, text before him than the one we now possess. These names are in agreement with the name of the *aṅga* itself, whereas our text of this *aṅga* shows no connection with it. The names are: *uvamā*, *saṅkhā*, *isibhāsiyāṇi*,^{1*} *dyariyabhāsiyāṇi*, *Mahāvīrabhāsiyāṇi*, *khōmagapasiṇḍi*, *kōmalapasiṇḍi*, *addāgapasiṇḍi*, *aṅgutthapasiṇḍi*, *bāhupasiṇḍi*. The names of *ajjh*. 6, 8, 9, 10 recur in that table of contents of *aṅga* 10 which is found in *aṅga* 4 (and *Nandī*) so that there the text which existed at the period of *aṅga* 3 and not our present text, is meant. Abhayadēva says, in so many words: *prāṇavyākaraṇadāsā iho 'kṭarāpā na dṛṣṭyāntē, dṛṣṭyamānās tu pañchāśīravapañchasaṁvārātmikā iti, ihoḥtānāṁ tū'pamālinām adhyayanānām akṣharārīhaḥ* [273] *pratiyamāna ēvē ti*.²

The names of the following four *dasāu* do not recur elsewhere. The names of the 10 *ajjh*. of *dasā* 10 are mentioned, not as parts of the *Siddhānta* but as belonging in or to it. In the seventh place appear the *baṇḍhadāsāu*, the 10 *ajjh*. of which have the following names: *baṇḍhē*³ *ya mokkhē* *ya dēviddhi* *Dasāramāṇḍalē ti ya* *dyariyavipadivattī* *uvajjhāyavippadivattī* *bhāvaṇḍ vimottī sāsātē kammē*. In the eighth place we find the *dōgiddhidāsāu* (*dvigriddhi*)⁴ with the following names⁵ *vātē vtoātē sukhettē kasiṇē ti ya* *bāyāḷḷesaṁ suviṇā ttesaṁ mahāsuviṇā hārē*⁶ *Rāmaguttē ya ēyam ēē dasa dhiyā*.⁷ In the ninth place the *dīha-dāsāu* with following names: *chaṇḍē sārē ya sukkē ya*, *Siridēvi*, *Pabhāva* *divasamuddhēvattī*, *Bahuputti*, *Māmdarē ti ya* *thērē Saṁbhūyaviḷḷē, thērē Pamha-ussāsa-nissāsē* ||. Abhayadēva points out here some connection with the *narakāvalikā*, or *nirayāvalikā*.

^{1*} This text is treated in greater detail on *aṅga* 4 § 44.—It has been discovered by Prof. Peterson, see his Third Report, p. 26 and 233.—L.

² *kṣaṇmakāḷiṣhu dēvatāvatārah kriyāte iti, tatra kṣaṇmakāḥ vastram, addāgō śdarāḥ*.

³ *baṇḍhādhy-adhyayanāni, ērautēnā' rthēna vyākhyāṭayāni*.

⁴ *dvigridhi* (!) *dati cha sārāpatī* 'py *anavastitā*.

⁵ These are but nine; in a M.S. belonging to Sir Mon. Williams, according to Leumann, *bāvatariya savantamā* is named in the tenth place. For the dreams of the *mahāsuviṇā* above, p. 224, also cited among the *anogopavipāṭha* texts in the *Pāṭhikā*, and in the *Vidhīp*.

⁶ *var. : hārē, hāl*.

śrutaskandha, i.e. *upāṅgas* 8—12.⁷ Finally in the tenth place are the *saṅkṣēpīyadasū*⁸ with the foll. names *khuddiyā vimāṇapavibhattī*, *maḥalliyā vimāṇa* [274] *pavibhattī*, *aṅgachūliyā*, *vagga-chūliyā* *viśākhachūliyā*, *Arūḍḍavavāḍ*, *Varaḍavavāḍ* (Varu° in the Schol., perhaps Dhara°) *Garulāvavāḍ*, *Vēlamdhārāvavāḍ*, *Vēsamāḍavavāḍ*. All these names recur in the *aṅgaṅgapavittṭha* list of the *Nandī* (*Pāḍshikas. Viśhipr.*). We have seen above, p. 223, 224, that the five⁹ *ajjha-yaṇas* beginning with *khuddiyavimāṇa*, are designed for the eleventh year of study, the five⁹ *ajjh.*, which begin with *arūḍḍavavāḍa* for the twelfth year of study. From this two facts are plain: first, that they still existed at the date of composition of the *versus memoriales* in question, secondly, that they were of great importance in so far as their study is made to occur after that designed for *aṅga* 5 i.e. the tenth year. By *viśākhachūliyā* (*vyākhyā bhagavatī*, *tasyās chūlikā*) we may remark in passing, we are to understand one or more of those supplements to *aṅga* 5, all of which now appear to have been incorporated in that *aṅga*.

We cannot doubt that all the texts mentioned above were thus constituted at the period of the existence of *aṅga* 3. Hence the extreme interest of this detailed presentation of the subject. It is only as regards *aṅga* 7 and *chhēdasūtra* 4 that this account is in entire agreement with the existing text of the *Siddhānta*; in all other particulars this account is either widely different or has reference to texts,¹⁰ which are not found in the *Siddhānta* at all. The proof here given of the fact that from the mention of a work in one place or another there does not [275] follow the identity of the then existing texts with the present (though in reality proof of a fact that is self-evident) is nevertheless not out of place in the present case, since it has become so customary in these days to draw from the titles of Chinese, etc., translations of Buddhistic works conclusions in reference to the existence of the latter in their present form. The proof here carried out in reference to *aṅga* 8 to 10 is intended as a reminder that greater caution must be used in the future. (See *Ind. Stud.* III. 140).

Of great interest is furthermore the enumeration in *ajjh.* 7 of the names of the seven schisms¹¹ together with those of their founders and of their localities: *śvaṇ chēva samaṇassa bhagavatō Mahāviraṇṇa tithaṇṇmi satta pavayaṇaninhagā paṇṇ taṇṇ: bahurayā, jīrapadēsiyā, avattiyā, sāmucchēhētiyā, dōkiriya, tērasiyā, avadhūhiyā* (!); *ēsi paṇṇ sattaṇṇaṇ pavayaṇaninhagāṇaṇ satta dhammāyariyā hotthā, taṇṇ: Jamālī, Tisaguttē Asādhē, Asamittē, Gaṇḍē, Chaluē, Gotthāmāhīlē; ēsi paṇṇ paṇṇaṇ satta uppattinagarā hotthā, taṇṇ: Sāvattī, Usabhapuraṇṇ, Sēyabiyā, Mihilā, Ullagātiraṇṇ, purāṇ Amāraṇṇji, Dasapura(m) nīṇhaga-uppattinagarāṇṇ. According to* *Avāsy. nīji.* 8, 81. 33, the last of these schisms occurred in the year *Vīra* 584; from this we may derive some basis for chronological determination.¹² See Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 15.

An exact examination of this important text is a great desideratum, since in it are contained a large number of significant [276] statements and data. It constitutes a perfect treasure-house for the correct understanding of innumerable groups of conceptions, in distinguishing which from one another the pedantic formalism of the Jains was wont to run riot.

The table of contents in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandī* (N) reads: *sē kim taṇṇ thāṇē? thāṇē paṇṇ sasamayā thāvijjanti parasamayā sasamayaparasamayā; jīvā thāvijjanti ajīvā jivājīvā; lōgō alōgō lōgālōgō thāvijjanti*; ¹³ *thāṇē paṇṇ dāvva-guṇa-khetta-kāla-pajjavapayatthā paṇṇ sēlā salilā*

⁷ *dirghadaśāḥ svarūpatō'navagatā ēva, tad-adhyayanāni (kāni) chin narakāvalikā-śrutaskandha upalābhyantē; tatra chandravaktaryatpratibaddham chandram adhyayanam, tathā hi: Rājagrihē . . .; sēśāsi trīṇy apratītāni.*

⁸ *saṅkṣēpikā daśā apy anavagatasvarūpā ēva, tadadhyayanānām punar arthaḥ: khuddiē tyādi, ih'valikā-pravīṣṭetaravimāṇapavibhājanam yatrā 'dhyayanē tad vimāṇapavibhaktiḥ, tach chāi 'kam alpagraṇthārthan,* tathā 'nyan mahāgranthārthan.

⁹ This first 5 of the preceding ten *ajjh.* are doubtless meant by this statement. At least in the *Nandī* they preserve the same order of succession.

¹⁰ These texts may be concealed, i.e., absorbed by larger texts—a conjecture which is very probable e.g. in the case of the *viśākhachūliyā*. See above.

¹¹ cf. *Kup.* 794 (4), where the words "in connection with Ayyarakkha and Pūsamitta" belong to the last line after *Gotthāmāhila*; see *Av. N.* 8, 89.

¹² The Jain records on the above seven schisms have been translated into German by Leumann, *Ind. Stud.* XVII., p. 91-135.—L.

¹³ In N. we read *jīvē ajīvē jīvā* at the beginning; then follows *lō alō lōgālō*; and *sasamē* p. *sasamayaparasamayā* forms the conclusion, (as also in the case of *aṅgas* 4 et. seq.); the verb is *thāvijjanti* in each one of the nine cases—i.e. in the plural.

ya samudda-sûra-bhavaṇa-vimāṇa-āgarapadiḥ nidhayō purisajāyā¹⁴ sarā¹⁵ ya gottā ya jōisamvālā¹⁶; ēkavihaṁ vattavvayaṁ duvihaṁ jāva dasavihaṁ vattavvayaṁ jivāṇa pōggalāṇa ya lōgaṭṭhāim cha ṇaṁ parūvaṇayā āghavijjāi.¹⁷

The commentary is by Abhayadēva, who both here at the end and elsewhere is frequently called *navāṅgīrīttikārah*. Commentaries to *āṅgas* 3—11 are ascribed to him; and we have one from his hand on *upāṅga* 1.

He calls himself a scholar of Jinēśvarāchārya¹⁸ and of Buddhisāgara the younger [277] brother of the former. The present commentary was prepared by him *Saṁvat* 1120 (A.D. 1064) in *Aṇahillapātaka* with the help of Yaśōdēvagaṇi, a scholar of *Ajitasinhāchārya*, for a *paṇḍita-parishad*, conducted by śrī Drōṇāchārya. According to Dharmasāgara's *Gurvāvali*, the "*navāṅgīrīttikārah*," Abhayadēva died *Saṁvat* 1135, according to others 1139. See Kl. 248b. 253b. (12.30).

IV. The fourth *āṅga*, *samavāya*, "association, group, rubric," in one *ajjhayaṇa*, that consists of very heterogeneous parts. The contents of the first two-thirds is in general the same as that of the third *āṅga*, both being designed for instruction in the eighth year. See above. There is however the difference that the categories here exceed 10,¹⁹ and continue by progression up to 100,²⁰ and then *per saltus* far exceed 100. Immediately following, but without any logical connection with this, is a detailed table of contents and extent of all the twelve *āṅgas*; then all sorts of statements which cannot be united into one class and which deal partly with doctrine, partly with hagiology and, if we may use the expression, history or legend. This third part is without doubt to be regarded as an appendix to the first part, and the whole as a supplement to the third *āṅga*; as in fact we learn from § 57 that *āṅgas* 1 to 3 were regarded as a connected unit. We have here a compendium of everything worth knowing, [278] a perfect treasure-house of the most important information which is of the greatest value for our understanding of the *Siddhānta*. Of especial significance are, in the first place, the statements of literary and historical content in § 1—100, in reference to the extent and division of the separate *āṅgas*, etc., (statements which were doubtless the principal cause of the addition of the full treatment of this subject); the mention of various celebrated Arhats of the past²¹ together with the number of their scholars (this was the cause of the addition of the concluding part); and the frequent reference to the lunar and *nakshatra* computation of time and to the quinquennial *yugam*. The references to the *yugam* are exactly in the manner of the *jyōtisha vēdāṅga*, *Kṛittikā*, etc., being the beginning of the series of the *nakshatras*.

Āṅga 4 begins, after prefacing the customary introduction (*suyam mē āsanā, tēṇaṁ bhagavanlēṇam ēvam akkhāyaṇā*) with a fresh statement in reference to the authorship of Mahāvīra:—*iha khalu samanēṇaṁ bhagavayā Mahāvīrēṇaṁ* (then follows the regular *varṇaka* with about 40 attributes, among which are *Jinēṇaṁ . . . buddhēṇaṁ bohaṇēṇaṁ . . .*) *imē dvēdhasaṅgē ṇaṇipīḍagē²² paṇṇattē, taṁ jāhā*: (then follow the names of the 12 *āṅgas*)²³ [279]

¹⁴ Purisajāyā tti puruṣaprakāra unnataprasatātibhēdāḥ; pāthāntarēṇa: purisajōga tti upalakṣhanatvāt puruṣādīnakṣatrapāṇāṁ chandirēṇa saha paśchimāgrimābhayaḥ pramāḍādikō yōgaḥ.

¹⁵ svaraī cha shavjīdayō.

¹⁷ N. has instead of *thāṇē naṁ dāvva* the following: *taṁkā kōḍā sēlā siharinō pabbhārā kutāḍāṁ gubbhō āgarā dahā nālō āghavijjanti*; *thāṇē ṇaṁ ēgāyā ēguttariyā vuddhē dāsattāṇavivaddhiyāṇaṁ bhāvāṇaṁ parāvāṇā āghavijjanti*.

¹⁸ The founder of the *Kharatarapachchha*; see the *paṭṭhe* at the end of the *Saddaprabhēdatikā* v. 2 (ms. or. fol. 813), and Kl. 243a (11).

¹⁹ In § 1—10 there are many statements which recur in the same form in *āṅga* 3.

²⁰ They are counted up to 100 as first, second, third *samavāya* (or in the neuter *samavāyam*) up to the hundredth.

²¹ e.g. Kumthā § 27. 81, Kumthū § 95, Pāsa § 38. 70. 350. Paṇami (Nami B.C.) § 39, Arittthanēmi § 40, Nami § 41, Vimala § 44. 56, Munisuvva § 50, Malli § 55. 57, Usabha Kōsalia § 63. 83. 89, Mōriyaputta § 65, Suvihū Puppahanta § 75. 86, Bharaba § 77, Seyyasa § 80, Siyyasa § 84, Siyala § 83. 90, Maṇḍiyaputta § 83, Suphāsa § 86. 95. 200, Ajjiya § 90, Indabhūti § 92, Candappaha § 93, Samti § 93, Sumai § 300, Sambhava § 400, Ajia § 450, Sagara § 450, Vāsupajja § 700.

²² This word, which in § 57 is used especially for *āṅgas* 1—3, belongs of course to the *tipitaka* of the Pāli texts, but has no reference to the number three. The designation of "basket" inclines one to think of its having been committed to writing. On the first mention of the name *tipitaka* see *Ind. Stud.* 5, 26; *Vorles. Ind. Lit.* G. 311, appendix, page 15.

²³ All of the preceding from *iha khalu* on gives an impression of secondary origin. This is the first occasion that we meet with the *varṇaka* of Mahāvīra.

tattha paññā jē sē caūthē añgē samavāsē ti āhiē,²⁴ *tassa, paññā ayam aññhē* . . . In *aṅgas* 1—3 we do not find at the outset any such designation as first, second, third *aṅga*.

I extract the following from the remainder of the *aṅga*. In § 1 repetition of the statements of the third *aṅga* in reference to the asterisms *addā*, *chittā*, *sūti* being called *ēgatāra*; further on the same statements are made about the remaining *nakṣatras*; in § 7 the 28 *nakṣatras* are divided into four groups, viz.: *kittiyāya* (*ādika*) in the East (*puvvaḍāriyā*), *mahāya* in the South, *aṇurā hāya* in the West, *āhaññā hāya* in the North. After²⁵ the sentence *kittiyāyāyā satta nakkhattā puvvaḍāriyā paññā* (*pannattā*) the words *pāṭhāntarēṇa abhahiyāyā* (A, *abhāyāyā* BC) are inserted;²⁶ whereby, as the schol. explains, *abhijit*, *āsvini*, *pushya*, *svāti* are indicated rather than the names in question. This insertion purposes to put the series of *nakṣatras*, first invented by the Jains and taught especially in *upāṅgas* 5, 7 (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 220, 304) in the place of the old *kṛittikā* series, which still maintained its validity at the time the fourth *aṅga* was first composed.²⁷ The new view had not yet received the authoritative stamp of orthodoxy. [280] We must however here notice that (cf. p. 269) in the third *aṅga* § 7 we find statements completely identical with those in this insertion.—In § 18 enumeration of the 18 kinds of writing usual for the *bambhī* *livī* (but not so correct as in *up.* 4 on which account I cite them there);—§ 18 *atthi-natthipavāyassa puvvassa* (this is the fourth *pūrvam*) *aññārasa vatthū*;—in § 19 enumeration of the 19 *nāyajjhayaṇas*, i. e. of the 19 books of *aṅga* 6, in *kārikā* form;—in § 23 enumeration of the 23 *stūyagāḍajjhayaṇas*, i. e. of those of *aṅga* 2;—in § 25 enumeration of the 25 *ajjh.* of *aṅga* 1; *āyārassa bhagavaṇṇa sachūliyāyassa*, the *mahāparinnā* being mentioned in the ninth place and the *nīṣajjhayaṇa* being designated outright as “25th *ajjh.*” The latter is probably the *chūliyā* (see § 57 and p. 254); the designation as *bhagavant* is found also in § 85, cf. also § 84;—in § 36 enumeration of the 36 *ajjh.* of the *uttarajjhayaṇa*, i. e. of the first *mūlasūtra*, and in fact with a few insignificant variations of the names given here; see below—§ 43 *tēyālisāṇa kammavivāga-jjhayaṇā paññā* (*nattā*); the names are however not enumerated; accord. to the schol. the 20 *ajjh.* of the eleventh *aṅga*, called *vivāgasūya* are hereby referred to, as also the 23 of the second (!) *aṅga*. Cf. page 270 in reference to the *kammavivāgasūya* in ten *ajjh.* mentioned in *aṅga* 3, 10;—§ 44 *chūyālisāṇa ajjhayaṇā isibhāsiyā dēvalōgachuyabhāsiyā paññā* (*nattā*); both of these texts, at least under these names, are no longer extant,²⁸ I have found the *dēvalōgachuyabhāsiyā* mentioned in this place alone; the *isibhāsiyā* however are often mentioned. We have already come across them (see p. 272) in *aṅga* 3, 10 as third *ajjh.* of *aṅga* 10 (!) [281] In the *Nandī* they appear among the *apaṅgapavivāṭṭha* texts; the author of the *Āvaśy. nīj.* confesses that he (2, 8) is author of a *nīj.* to the *isibhāsiyā* too, and (8, 4), placing them in the second place, describes them together with *kāliāsua*, *sūrapannatti* and *diṭṭhivā* as the four kinds of *aṇuḍa* (see p. 258); *Abhay.* however here characterizes them as *kālikāśrutaviśēṣabhāṭṭāni*. Haribhadra on *Āv.* identifies them, on one occasion (2, 8) with *pañna* 7, on another (8, 4), he calls them *uttarādhyayanādīni*! See above, p. 259. They appear also in connection with the *pañnas*, embracing 50 (!) *ajjh.* in the *Vidhiprapā*, where their connection with the *Uttarajjhayaṇa* as *matāntara* is also referred to—§ 46 *diṭṭhivāyassa paññā chhāyālisāṇa māyāpayā* (*mātrikāpadāni*) *paññā* (*nattā*); *bambhāṇa paññā livī chhāyālisāṇa māuarakkhā* (*māurakarā* BC, perhaps *māuakkhā*? *mātri* + *aksh*) *paññā*. In reference to the 46 *māyāpayā* of *aṅga* 12 see below. By the “*lōkhyavidhau 46 mātrikākṣharāni*” of the Scriptures, are according to the schol., to be understood²⁹ a to *ha*, with the addition of *kṣha*, but with the

²⁴ *ākhya*, I assumed several years ago (see *Bhag.* 1. 410, 2, 251) under the erroneous belief that this form belonged especially to the *Sūryaprajñapti* (see *Ind. Stud.* 10, 254) that *ākhya* *ākhijai* were derived from the root *khyā* weakened to *khi*, *hi*. I should now prefer to regard them as a species of retrogressive formation from the common *dhāne* (root *ah*).

²⁵ Thus in A: in BC before.

²⁶ The same case is found § 72.

²⁷ The schol. however regards the *abhijit* series as *siddhāntamatam*: he then adds: *īha* (in the text) *tu matāntaram āśritya kṛittikādīni* . . . *bhañṭīni*: *chandrāprajñaptau tu bahutardhī matāni darśitāni* (*Ind. Stud.* 10, 285).

²⁸ See however the last but one asterism note.

²⁹ The *Pāṇiniyā śikṣā* counts 63 or 64 varṇas and (as is very remarkable) “both for Sanskrit and for Prākṛit (!)” See *Ind. Stud.* 4, 348, 349.

omission of *jha-da-tri(?)-ūh(?)-la(?)* ¹³⁰ These statements are of the most remarkable character. The number of 46 *aksharas*, whether written signs or sounds (which can have reference to *Sanskrit* alone and not to *Prākṛit*, since *ksh* is included in the list), I am as yet entirely unable to explain³¹—§ 57 *tinham ganipidaganam āyārachūliyavajjanam sattāvannam ajjhayaṇā paṇh (nattā) āyārē 24, sūyagaḍē 23, ihāṇē [282] 10*; here the first 3 *āngas* are taken together as a unit and called 'the three *ganipidagas*' *par excellence*. It is here worthy of note that only 24 *ajjh.* are ascribed to the *āyāra* after the separation of the *āyārachūliyā*, and in fact (p. 254) only the *nishajjhayaṇam*, which in § 25 is called the 25th *ajjh.*, can be meant by *āyārachūliyā*;—in § 59 fifty-nine day-nights (*rātūndiya*) are allotted to each season of the lunar year; § 61 *pañchasaṇvachchharassa paṇh jugassa ridumāsēṇaṇh miyyamāṇassa ēgasatthi udumāsā paṇh (nattā)*; see on this *Jyōtisha* v. 31 (my treatise, p. 93);—§ 62 the quinquennial *yugam* has 62 full moons, 62 new moons;—§ 67 67 *nakkhattamāsā*; according to § 71, the winter of the fourth lunar year (in the *yuga*) has 71 *vuxḥḥapa*—*chaūtthassa paṇh chaṇḍasaṇvachchharassa hēmanāṭā paṇh ēkosattariē rātūndiyaēhiṇ vṛtikkaṇṭṭhiṇ*;—in § 72 enumeration of the 72 *kalās* which are essentially identical with those which recur in *āṅga* 6, 1, 119, *upāṅga* 1, 107 and elsewhere;³² the repeated use of the word *lakkhaṇa* probably forms a literary synchronism with the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Atharva-parīśiṣṭas*. See *Ind. Stud.* 13, 460 Burnell, *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 9 fg.; the names are:—

Lōham 1, gaṇiyam 2, rūvam 3, natṭam 4, giyam 5, vāiyam 6, saragayam 7, pukkharagayam 8, samatālam 9, jūyam 10, japavāyam 11, pōrēvachcham (A. kavvam B.C.)³³ 12, atthāvayam 13, dagamaṭṭiyam 14, annavihiṇ 15, pānavihiṇ 16, lēpav.³⁴ 17, sayapav. 18, ajjapahēliyam (ajjam pa° BC) 19, māgahiyam 20, gāham³⁵ 21, silōgam 22, gamdhajuttim 23, [283] madhusittham 24,³⁶ ābharaṇavihiṇ 25, taruṇipadikkammam 26, itthilakkhaṇam 27, purisal. 28, hayal. 29, gayal. 30, gōpal.³⁷ 31, kukkudal. 32, miḍhaya. 33, chakkal. 34,³⁸ chhattal. 35, damḍal 36, asil. 37, maṇil 38, kāgaṇil. 39, chammal. 40,³⁹ chaṇḍayal. 41, sūrachariyam 42, rāhuchariyam 43, gahachariyam⁴⁰, 44, sōbhākaram 45, dōbbākaram 46, vijjāgayam 47, maṇṭag. 48, rahassag. 49, saṁbhāvam 50, vāram (? chāram BC) 51, paḍivāram (chāram BC) 52,⁴¹ būham 53, paḍibūham 54, khaṇḍhāvāramāṇam 55, nagaramāṇam 56, vatthumāṇam 57, khaṇḍhāvāranivēsam 58, nagaranivēsam 59, vatthunivēsam 60, isattham 61, chharuppavāyam (pagayam BC) 62, āsikkham 63, hatthisikkham 64, dhaṇḍavēdam 65, haripavādam (hiraṇḍavāyam BC) 66, suvaṇḍavādam 67, maṇipāgam 68, dhānpāgam 69, bāhujuddham 70, damḍaj. 71, muṭṭhi. 72, atthij. 73, juddham 74, nijuddham 75, juddhātijuddham 76, suttakheḍdam 77, pāliyakheḍdam 78, vaṭṭakheḍdam 79, dhammakheḍdam⁴² 80, chamharevaṭṭam (! pamhakheḍdam BC) 81. pattachheyyam 82, kaḍaga (kaṇṇaga BC) chheyyam 83, pattagachheyyam 84, sajjivam 85, nijjivam 86, saṇṇaruyam 87 iti. Of these 87 names, 15 are to be removed, whether they are *pāṭhāntaras* (see on No. 80) or interpolations. For the v. r. from *Nāy.* see below;—§ 81 *vivāhapannattīē* (in the fifth *āṅga*) *ēkkāsiṇ mahājummasayā [284] (mahāyugmaśatāni) paṇh (nattā)*;—§ 84 *vivāhapannattīē paṇh bhagavaē chaṭṭarāsiṇ payasa-*

³⁰ Among the Brahmins too there is found an enumeration of the alphabet in order to form a diagram. Cf. my treatise on the *Rāma Tāp. Up.* I. 62, p. 309. This enumeration contains 51 *aksharas* (16 vowels, 35 consonants), which, after deducting 5 *aksharas*, shows the 46 *māyakkharā* ascribed in *āṅga* 4, 46 to the *basubh* list. In reference to their use see page 462. It is however doubtful whether the use of the letter (on page 462) represents an example of the *māyakkharā*.

³¹ *tāni chā 'kārāṇi hakārāṇi datāni* ('*rātāni*) *sakha kārāni jha-da-tri-ūh-lam*!). (Leumann proposes to me to read *ri, ri, li*; but what is the meaning of *jha* and *da*!) *ty eva* (!) *ity ētadakkharapaṇchakavarjitāni saṁbhāvyantē*.—The letters meant are indeed *ri, ri, li, li* and *l*, see Weber's *Cat. II.*, p. 408, n. 2.—L.

³² See Paul Steinthal, *Specimen of the Nāyādh.* p. 29 and Leumann *Aupapāt.* p. 77, where especial notice is taken of the variant readings here.

³³ *Nāy.* has here *pāṇayam* and reverses the position of 12 and 13.—"The right name of the 12th *kalā* is no doubt *pōrēvachcham-pauraskṛtyam*.—L.

³⁴ *Vilēpav* *Nāy.* with the addition of *vatthav*.

³⁵ Instead of 23. 24 *Nāy.* has *hiraṇḍajuttim, suvaṇṇaj. chumṇaj.*

³⁶ *Nāy.* omits 33, 34.

³⁷ Are they to be regarded as planets or are they to be understood according to the fashion of the *Ath. Paris.*

53. 54?

³⁸ Instead of 51-57 there are in *Nāy.* the following 31 names: *vatthuvijam, lhamdhāromānam* 56. 53. 54. 51 (BC). 52 (BC) *chakkavāham, garulavāham, saga. avāham, 74-76. 73. 72. 70, lnyajuddham, 61. 62. 65-67. 77. 79. 78. 81. 82. 86-87.*

³⁹ Omitted in BC, where we read instead *pāṇṭatārē (pāṇḍātārē) chamha*, by which *chamha* is manifestly designated as v. l. to *pamha*.

³⁸ *Nāy.* adds *gṛhiyam*.

³⁹ Steinthal has *gṇal*.

⁴⁰ 40-50 omitted in *Nāy.*

hassā padaggēṇaṃ pannattā. Later on in the course of our investigation we will recur to the fact that this statement in reference to the extent of the text is less by 100,000 *padas* than that of the present text. See § 85 and § 25 on the designation as *bhagavatt*, which has remained the exclusive property of this text.—§ 85 *āyārassa paṇṇa bhagavatō sacchāyāgassa pañchāsiṃ uddesa-nakālā*; — § 88 *ditthivāyassa paṇṇa atthāsiṃ suttāsiṃ paṇṇa taṇṇa : ujjuṣṣayaṇṇa, parināyāparināyayaṇṇa, evaṇṇa atthāsiṃ suttāsiṃ bhāṇiyavāṇi jāhā Nandī*. This reference to the *Nandī*, by which any further enumeration has been spared, is very remarkable from the fact that the statements in it, a few pages further on, are found in exactly the same detail in the fourth *āṅga* itself at this very point, in the consideration of the contents and extent of all the *āṅgas*. This being the case the reference ought to have followed the collective statement found several pages further on in the same *āṅga*. We are therefore compelled to believe that the *Nandī* is the original source of information for this presentation, common to *āṅga* 4 and the *Nandī*, and that this presentation was at a later period taken from the *Nandī* and inserted in *āṅga* 4; furthermore, this insertion must have occurred at a period succeeding that to which the above reference of the redactor belongs. Or have we merely to do with a later act of the scribes? Were this the case, this act of theirs is at least very remarkable, if not unfortunately executed. There is, however, one difficulty in the way of the assumption that the *Nandī* is the ultimate source, viz.:—there are all manner of differences between the treatment in the *Nandī* and that here, differences in which the *Nandī* does not always [285] contain the more ancient statements. See below. The fact that the table of contents in N. is much shorter than that here makes, it is true, *eo ipso*, an impression of greater antiquity; and N. offers in this table of contents many readings which are decidedly older and better.

We have now reached a point where we may discuss the collective presentation itself. It begins simply: *duvālasaṇṇē gaṇipīḍaḥ paṇṇa(nattā), taṇṇa : . .* then follow the names of the 12 *āṅgas* and then the details in reference to contents, division and extent of each of the twelve. I insert here what I have collected from the statements in reference to division and extent, that the reader may obtain a general survey of the whole. I subjoin the v. r. from the *Nandī* (N) which, after what I have said above, may in the last instance claim priority over those of the *āṅga*.

1. *āyārē*, 2 *suyakhādhā*, 25 *ajjhayaṇa*, 85 *uddesapākālā*, 85 *samuddesapākālā*, 18 *payasa-hassāim payaggēṇaṃ*.

2. *sūyagāḍā*, 2 *suyakh.* 23 *ajjh.*, 33 *udd.*, 33 *samudd.*, 36 *padasaḥassāim* (36,000) *padag-gēṇaṃ*.

3. *thāṇē*, 1 *suyakh.*, 10 *ajjh.*, 21 *udd.*, 21 *samudd.*, 72 *payasaḥassāim* (72,000) *payaggēṇaṃ*.

4. *samavāḍā*, 1 *ajjh.*, 1 *suyakh.*, 1 *udd.*, 1 *samudd.*, *ēgē chōyālē payasayasahassē* (141,000; *saya* is omitted in the incorrect Berlin MS. of N, but accord. to Leumann is in the N Ed.) *pay.*

5. *viyāhe*, 1 *suy.*, 100 *ajjh.* with a residue (! *ēgē sāirēḍē ajjhayaṇasayē*), 10 *uddesagasahas-sāim*, 10 *samuddesagasahasāim*, 36 *vāgarapasahasāim*, 84 (!) *payasaḥassāim* (84,000) *payag-gēṇaṃ*:—the latter statement is found also in § 84—see above page 284—N, however, has: do *lakkhā atthāsi* (288,000) *payasaḥassāim*, which corresponds to twice the former steady increase in 1—4.

6. [286] *nāyādharmakāhāu*, 2 *suyakh.*, 19 (A N Edit., 29 BCN) *ajjh.*⁴³ 10 *dhamma-kāhāṇaṃ vaggā* (this omitted in N), 19 (A N Ed., 29 BCN) *uddesapākālā*, 19 (A N Ed., 29 BN) *samuddesapākālā*, *sāṃkhējjāim payasayasahasāim p.* (*saya* omitted in N, also in Ed.; 576,000 Schol.)—Between 10 *dh.* *vaggā* and 19 (or 29) *udd.* we find inserted: in each *dhammakāhā* 500 *akkhāyā*, in each *akkhāyā* 500 *uvakkhāyā*, in each *uvakkhāyā* 500 *akkhāyā-uvakkhāyā*, in all 3½ *akkhāyāyakkōjō*.⁴⁴ In N this statement from *dasadhammakāhāṇaṃ vaggā* (inclusive) on, is at an earlier place in the description of the contents.

7. *uvāsagadassāḍā*, 1 *suyakh.*, 10 *ajjh.*, 10 *udd.* *kālā*, 10 *samud°lā*, *sāṃkhējjāi payasaḥassāim p.* (*saya* omitted in N, also in Ed.; 1,152,000 Schol.).

⁴³ *ēgūpavāsaṃ* A N Ed., *ēkōnavasiṇati* Schol. (also on N), *ēgūpattisaṃ* BCN.

⁴⁴ Cf. my remarks on *āṅga* 6 in reference to this remarkable number. We are lead to expect a much higher figure. N Ed. has *kāhāyakkōjō* accord. to Leumann instead of *akkhāyakkōjō*.

8. *amtagadadasāo*, 1 *suyakh.*, 10 *ajjh.* (N omits), 7 (8 N) *vaggā*, 10 (8 N) *ud°lā*, 10 (8 N) *samud°lā*, *saṃkhējjāim payasayasahassāim p.* (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 2,304,000 Schol.).

9. *anuttarōvavāiyadasāo*, 1 *suyakh.*, 10 *ajjh.* (omitted in N Ed.), 3 *vaggā*, 10 (3 N) *udd°lā*, 10 (3 N) *sam°lā*, *saṃkhējjāim payasayasahassāim p.* (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 4,668,000 Schol.).

10. *pañhāvāgarapaṇi*, 1 *suyakh.*, [45 *ajjh.* N], 45 *udd°lā*, 45 *samudd°lā*, *saṃkhējjāi payasayasahassāi p.* (saya omitted in N, also in Ed.; 9,216,000 Schol.).⁴⁵

11. *vivāyasuē*, [2 *suyakh.* N], 20 *ajjh.*, 20 *udd°lā*, 20 *samud°lā*, *saṃkhējjāim payasayasahassāim p.* (saya omitted in AN, also in Ed.; 18,432,000 Schol.).⁴⁶

12. [287] *diṭṭhivāē*, 1 *suyakh.*, 14 *puvvaīm*, *saṃkhijjā vatthū*, *saṃkhejjā chūla* (chulla N) *vatthū*, *saṃkhejjā pāhuḍā*, s. *pāhuḍapāhuḍā*, *saṃkhejjāu pāhuḍiyāu*, *saṃkhejjāu pāhuḍiyāpāhuḍiyāu*, *saṃkhejjāi payasahasāi*.

The most remarkable feature of the above is the statement in reference to the number of the words of each *aṅga*. According to Abhayadēva in the scholia,⁴⁷ the number of words in the case of *aṅgas* 1—4, increases continually by half till the eleventh *aṅga* is reached; and the Nandī and an anonymous writer thereupon asserts the same with the modification that, instead of *aṅgas* 1—4, *aṅgas* 1—5 are said to show this increase. This view is however in direct opposition to the actual facts of the case, for *aṅgas* 7—11 are the least of all as regards their extent; which is so very small that there can be no thought of "100,000⁴⁸ countable *padas*,"⁴⁹ "countable" meaning here probably "those that need a special count," "numerous" or "innumerable." If we reckon on the average for each *padam* three *akṣaras*⁵⁰ and for each *grantha* (*śloka* i.e. 32 *akṣh.*), twelve *padas*, the following is the result of a comparison of the number of these *granthas*, stated⁵¹ as in the MSS., with the above *pada* numbers [288].

1. <i>aṅga</i> ,	2554 gr.,	i.e.	30,648 <i>padas</i> ,	instead	of 18,000 p. ^{52a}
2. - ,	2000 gr.,		27,600 <i>padas</i> ,	"	36,000
3. - ,	3750 gr.,		45,000 <i>padas</i> ,	"	72,000
4. - ,	1607 gr.,		19,284 <i>padas</i> ,	"	144,000
5. - ,	15,750 gr.,		189,000 <i>padas</i> ,	"	84,000
				or	(288,000 N
6. - ,	5,375 gr., ⁵³		64,500 <i>padas</i> ,	"	576,000
7. - ,	812 gr.,		9,744 <i>padas</i> ,	"	[1,152,000]
8. - ,	890 gr.,		10,686 <i>padas</i> ,	"	[2,304,000]
9. - ,	192 gr.,		2,304 <i>padas</i> ,	"	[4,608,000]
10. - ,	1300 gr.,		15,672 <i>padas</i> ,	"	[9,216,000]
11. - ,	1316 gr.,		15,792 <i>padas</i> ,	"	[18,432,000]

⁴⁵ *Dvinaṭatir lakṣhāḥ abhōjānasahasārdhikāḥ.*

⁴⁶ *Ekā padakōṭi chaturāṣṭir lakṣhāḥ dvātriṃśac cha sahasāni.*

⁴⁷ Likewise also Nēmicandra in the *Pravachanasāroddhāra* § 92 v. 726: *pañhamāḥ āyāraṅgaḥ aṭṭhārasasahasapayaparimāṇaḥ | ēvaṃ sēsamgā vi dugunā dugupappamāṇaḥ ||*

⁴⁸ N at least has only "thousands."

⁴⁹ Accord. to Leumann *saṃkhejja* signifies merely an indefinite number that is still to be counted, and not always a large number.

⁵⁰ See *Bhagav.* 1, 377. This is true in the case of the prose; in verse we must reduce the number somewhat. The preliminary question is of course—What does the author understand by *pada*? [*Malayagiri* in the *Nandī-śikā* says p. 425 *yatrārthopalabdhis tat padam.—L.*] In this approximation of three *akṣaras* to a *pada* I have reckoned the single members of compounds as a single word, in so far as the compounds can lay claim to be considered as such.

⁵¹ See above, p. 250. The *grantha* enumeration is of secondary origin in comparison with the *pada* enumeration.

^{52a} So also in *niṣṭhahāḥya* *peṭh.* 1 (taken from the *Āchāra-niry.*). It must, however, be noted that the above number (18,000) is referred to the first *Śrutaskandha* only. *Malayagiri* says [*Nandī-śikā*, p. 425]: *atra para āha yath'Āchāre dvau śrutaskandhau pañchaviṃśatir adhyayanāni padāgrēpa chāṣṭādaśa pada-sahasāni tarhi yad bhānitāni nava dambhachāramāṇi aṭṭhārasa paya-sahasā vā itī tad virudhyatē; atra hi navabrahmacharyādyādhyayana-mātra ēvāṣṭādaśa-padasahasā-pramāṇa Āchāra uktō, 'smiṇ tv adhyayanē dvau śrutaskandhau pañchaviṃśatir adhyayanāni ētat samagrasy' Āchārasya parimāṇam uktam, aṣṭādaśa pada-sahasāni punaḥ prathamā-śrutaskandhasya navabrahmacharyādyādhyayanasya. vichitrārtha-nibaddhāni hi sūtrāṇi bhavanti, ata ēva chāṣṭāśāḥ samyagarthābhāgamō gurūpadēśatō bhavati nānyathā, āha cha chūṇikrit: dō *śrutaskandhā pañcāśam adhyayanāni*, *ēvaṃ āyāraṅgasahasya* (?) *āyārasa parimāṇam dhūnyam; aṭṭhārasa paya-sahasā puna padhama-suyāśandhasi navabrahmachāramāyasa parimāṇam; vichitta-attha-nibaddhāni ya sūtrāni, gurūvāśā ēvāṃ atthē jñāyavcō tī.* This view of the *Chūṇikrit* (translated by *Malayagiri* into Sanskrit) seems to be all the more right as the *Digambaras* ascribe also 18,000 *padas* to the *Āchāra* without acknowledging any second *Śrutaskandha*, see *Prof. Peterson's Second Report*, p. 134.—L.*

⁵³ Another statement 5,500 gr., or 4,155 gr.

In the case of *āṅgas* 1 and 5, the numbers above given are less, in the case of all the others, greater than the actual state of the case. In a majority of cases the difference is simply ridiculous. The statement in reference to *āṅga* 5 (84,000)⁵⁴ is not in harmony with the increase in 1—4 i.e. twice the number of the previous. We should expect that *āṅga* 5 should have preserved the same ratio, as is the case in N. This statement is in direct contradiction to those statements which are found in the MSS. of *āṅga* 5; according to which its extent is not 84,000 (and not 288,000, as is stated in N) but 184,000 *padas* (*Bhag.* 1, 377), which corresponds well enough to its actual extent: 15,750 *gr.* = 189,000 *padas*. The peculiar nature of our statement in reference [289] to 84,000 *padas* is, finally, rendered more apparent by the fact that it is found in § 84 of the first part of our *āṅga*, on the strength of which it has again found a place here.⁵⁵ In that § it is so free from suspicion that I consider it correct for that period, and find in this very circumstance a critical criterion or testimony that, at that time, the fifth *āṅga* had not yet reached its present extent.

As peculiar as the statements in reference to numbers of *padas* are those concerning the '3½ kṛtī' i. e. 35 millions, in *āṅga* 6. That all this is perfect nonsense, is perfectly apparent. See below. Finally there are several differences of a very surprising nature in the other statements which are not so readily set aside as incorrect or impossible, differences which exist partly in these statements themselves, partly in their relation to the actual facts. First, the difference in reference to the number of *ajjhayaṇas* in *āṅga* 6; according to A and Abhayad. there are 19 and such is the actual state of the case—but according to BCN⁵⁶ there are 29. Then as regards *āṅga* 8 the 10 *ajjh.* are wanting in N.⁵⁷ The number of the *vaggas* (7), of the *udd.* (10) and of the *samudd.* (10) is in N everywhere 8; likewise as regards *āṅga* 9 N has the number 3 as in the case of the *vaggas*, and in that of the *udd.* and *samudd.*; in the case of *āṅga* 10 N adds 45 *ajjh.* and in that of *āṅga* 11 likewise 2 *suyakh.* In reference then [290] to the actual facts, we must make the preliminary observation that the division into *uddēsagas* in the case of *āṅgas* 8—11, and that into *samuddēsagas* in general in all the *āṅgas*, is not denoted in the MSS.⁵⁸ The other differences refer chiefly to the fifth *āṅga* which has no division into *ajjhayaṇas*; in that *āṅga* they are called *śaya* (*śata*), and their number is not 100 but 41 or, including the sub-*śayas*, 138; likewise the existing text has only 1925 (not 10,000) *uddēsagas*. A special demarcation of *vāgaraṇa* sections is unknown.⁵⁹ What can possibly be the meaning of 36,000 *vāgaraṇas* and only 84,000 *padas*! (cf. *Bhag.* 1. 376). The differences in reference to *āṅgas* 8—11 are not less remarkable. As regards the *vaggas* (8), *āṅga* 8 agrees with N, but has, not 10 (cf. *āṅga* 3, 10), but 93 *ajjh.*;—*āṅga* 9 has likewise not 10 (cf. again *āṅga* 3, 10), but 33 *ajjh.*;—*āṅga* 10 has ten *dāras*; cf. the ten *ajjh.* in *āṅga* 3, 10, whereas we have here no information about *dāras* or *ajjh.*, and N, on the other hand, speaks of 45 *ajjh.*—*āṅga* 11 has in agreement with N the 2 *suyakh.*, which are not mentioned in the source of information before us. In the case of *āṅga* 12 there is no possibility of comparing the statements in question with the text, since there is no longer any such extant.—See below.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Or *śarva-mīlanēna* 1841 (v. 1. 1894) *granthas*!

⁵⁵ So also Abhayadēva, who shows that he is evidently embarrassed in his statement: *chaturāṣṭipadasahasrāpi padāgrāpē 'ti samavāyāpekahayā* ("in reference to § 84") *dviguṇatayā* (*tāyā?*) *iti* (2) *nātrayaṇāt* (2), *anyathā tad dviguṇatē dvē fakṣe* *ashtāṣṭiṭiḥ sahasrāpi cha bhavanti*. In the following *āṅga* he states the number of *padas* to be 576,000 i. e. twice that of those in *āṅga* 5, according to his computation.

⁵⁶ According to Leumann Nzd. has 19 and not 29.—Here again, as with *āṅga* 1, only the first *śrutaskandha* is intended by the assertion of there being 19 *ajjhayaṇas* and not 29. In the same way only Part I. of *āṅga* 11 has been known to the author of *āṅga* 3, 10 as has been shown above on p. 270.—L.

⁵⁷ According to Leumann this is not so in Nzd.

⁵⁸ This statement requires some modification; see the closing words of *āṅgas* 8—10 in Weber's Cat. II., 502 (8). 507 (9). 529 (10): *dasasū chēva divasēn uddisijjanti* . . .; *āṅga* 11 has in the place a reference to *āṅga* 1 (see *ibid.* 534) which, however, has the same bearing.—L.

⁵⁹ This demarcation, or the number 36,000 representing it, is also found in the table of contents of *āṅga* 5 preceding the statements in reference to the extent.

⁶⁰ I will note here merely the fact that in the section in reference to the twelfth *āṅga*, *Bhaddabhu* is mentioned by name, whom tradition proclaims to be the last teacher of this *āṅga* or of the fourteen *pūrvas*; see above, p. 214. It is furthermore stated that therein was contained a section in reference to *Bhaddabhu* and to his history.

The question now arises how are these differences to find a fitting solution? It is self-evident, that, so far as the extraordinary character [291] both of our information in regard to the number of padas, and of the *akkhāias* in *āṅga* 6 is concerned, they are a fabrication of the author; nor is it improbable that a similar explanation may hold good in the case of the special differences of detail. The carefulness of statement which we notice here, renders it, on the other hand, possible that the author has based his statements on those of his authorities, and that we have to deal with genuine discrepancies between two different texts. Abhayadēva declares here that he is unable to explain the contradiction⁶¹ in the case of *āṅgas* 8 and 9 and in the case of *āṅga* 10 all that he does is to admit the existence of the conflict.⁶² But in his commentary on *āṅga* 10 he adduces (1) a further case of divergence—an introduction at variance with the general character of the introductions in that it allots to the *āṅga* two *suṃyakkhaṇḍhas*, and (2) refers especially to the conflict between the *pūrvāchāryāḥ* and the *aidāhyugāḥ*. See below. Of primal importance for *āṅgas* 8 to 10 (11) is the fact that the statements in *āṅga* 3, 10 too render it [292] probable, that these *āṅgas* had then a text different from our own. The irreconcilability of title and contents show that in the case of *āṅga* 10 something must have occurred to cause the present condition of affairs.

As we have seen that there are important differences between the statements made here or in N. and the actual state of things in the eleven *āṅgas*, so far as **extent** and **division** are concerned, we now discover that the same holds good as regards the statements, now under examination, concerning the **contents**. These statements, which in N. are much more brief than those in *āṅga* 4, are, it must be said, of so general a character and so colourless that their real contents can only be discovered with difficulty. They appear in a form that is purely stereotyped (see the common introduction in *āṅgas* 2 to 5,⁶³ and in 6—9 and 11,⁶⁴) whereas there is no such similarity of contents between each of the single members of these two groups; and the statements in question are not in exact accordance with the contents of any single one. This latter remark holds good in the case of the special statements in reference to the contents of *āṅga* 10, to which we do not find any such stereotyped introduction. These special statements suit the name of the *āṅga*, but not its present contents. It is of great significance that the statements in *āṅga* 3, 10 (see above, p. 272) are essentially in accordance with these now under discussion. This agreement [293] makes it extremely probable that the contents of the tenth *āṅga*, as it then existed, was in harmony with these statements.

To the detailed consideration of the 12 *āṅgas* there is appended here, as in the *Nandī*, a passage on the entire *duvalasaṃgaṇaṃ gaṇipīḍagam*. This deals partly with the attacks, which it was subjected to in the past,⁶⁵ which it now experiences in the present and will experience in the future, partly with the devoted acquiescence which is its lot to meet with in these three periods and concludes with the declaration of its certain existence for ever: *na kayāi na āsi, na kayāi na tthi, na kayāi na bhavissati*.

The concluding portion of the fourth *āṅga* consists of frequent reference to the legendary hagiology and history of the Jains, genealogical enumerations (and others of different content) of parents, wives, etc. of the *kulakaras*, 24 *titthakaras*, 12 *chakkaṇḍis*, 9 Baladēvas, 9 Dasāras, 9 Vāsudēvas, partly in metrical form (*śloka* and *āryā*). Towards the end there is a transition to prophecy (construction in the future). Our information here varies in part very materially from that contained in Hēm. 26 fg. 691 fg. and is not preserved in the MSS. with any

⁶¹ On 8: *assa ajjayāsa tti prathamavargāpēkshayā 'va ghatatē, Namdyā tathai 'va vyākhyātātāt* (see below); *yathā (yach chē) 'ha pathyatē aatta vaggā ti tat parthamavargād anyavargāpēkshayā yatō 'tra sarvē 'py aatta vaggā Namdyān api tathā pathitāb: . . sarvāni (adhyayanāni) chai 'kavargagutāni yugapad uddisāyante, ato (tra) bhāṣitāb: aṭṭha udd'ā ity āli, iha cha da'o 'ddēsanakālā adhiyanta itī nā 'ayā 'bhīprāyan adhiḡachhāmāb:—* and on 9: *iḥā 'dhyayanasaṃmūhō vaggō, daśā 'dhyayanāni, vaggā cha yugapad ēvō 'padisāyātē, ity aṭṭha traya ēvō 'ddēsanakālā bhavanti ēvaṃ ēva cha Namdāy adhiyatē, iha tu drisīyatē: daśē 'ty, aṭṭhā 'bhīprāyō na jīyātē.*

⁶² *Yady api 'ha adhyayanānān daṭṭvād daśai 'vō 'ddēsanakālā bhavanti, tathā 'pi vāchanāntarāpēkshayā (cf. N) pañchachātvarīṣād itī sambhāvyantē itī paṇayāssam ity āli aviruddham (1).*

⁶³ *Samaya, lōya, jīva.*

⁶⁴ *Nayardān* etc. N limits herein its treatment of the subject entirely to this common introduction and gives nothing else in addition.

⁶⁵ According to Abh., attacks at the hands of Jamālī, Goabthāmāhila, etc., i.e. the representatives of the seven schisms.

great consistency. Hence it appears that our knowledge is not complete, but is derived from accounts of a partial nature which is in need of additional supplementary testimony. Some of the MSS. afford at one time generous information and at another limited data.

The survey of contents of *aṅga 4*, contained in the detailed account of the *aṅgas*, runs as follows: *sē kim tam samavāḥ? samavāḥ nam sasamayā sūijjanti* [294] *parasamayā s. jīva lōgalōgē sūijjanti*⁶⁶; *samavāḥnam ēgādiyaṇam ēgatthānam ēguttariyaparivādhiya*⁶⁷ (*duvālasaṃgassa ya gaṇipidagassa pallavagge samānugāijjai*)⁶⁸ *thānagassayassa*⁶⁹ *bārasavihavittarassa*⁷⁰ *suyanānassa jagajivahiya*⁷¹ *bhagavatō samāsēṇam samāyārē*⁷² *āhijjai*; *tattha ya nāpāvihappagārā jivājivā ya vānniyā*⁷³ *vittharēṇam, avarē vi ya bahuvihā visēṣā naraya-tiriya*⁷⁴ *maṇḍayasuragaṇaṇam āhār'-ussāsa-lēsa-ivāsa-samkhā-āyaya-ppamāṇa-uvavāya-chayāṇa-ogāhaṇ'-ōhi*⁷⁵ *vēyavāvihāṇa-uvāḍga*⁷⁶ *jōga-imdiya-kasāya*⁷⁷ *vivihā ya jivajōgi vikkhambh'-ussēhaparirayappamāṇam vidhivissā*⁷⁸ *ya, Maṇḍarādīṇam mahādharaṇam, kulagara-titthagara-gaṇaharaṇam samatta Bharahāhivāṇam*⁷⁹ *chakkaṇa chēva chakkahara-halaharaṇa ya, vāsāṇa*⁸⁰ *ya niggamā*⁸¹ *samāē, ētē annē ya ēvam-āi ettha*⁸² *vittharēṇam atthā samāsejjanti*⁸³

The commentary is by Abhayadēva.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

GUSTAVE GARREZ.

The year 1888 was darkened by the deaths of two great French oriental scholars,—Abel Bergaigne, and Pierre-Gustave Garrez. Neither could be spared, for each was a high authority in his own domain. Bergaigne's Vedic studies were cut short by a tragic accident which occurred while he was still in the active vigour of his maturity, and Garrez's death, as sudden as it was unexpected, has left a void which will be none the less felt, because his modesty prevented his name being widely known beyond the immediate circle of the *Société Asiatique*.

A short memoir of the career of the latter, from the pen of M. E. Senart has appeared in the pages of the *Journal Asiatique*, and a brief account of the salient facts of his life will no doubt be acceptable to the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.

He was born at Rome in the year 1834, was brought up in Paris, and as a young man saw military service in the Crimean war. He left the army in 1857, and abandoned himself to study with that inexhaustible energy, that *labor improbus*, which characterised all that he did, and which resulted in the acquisition of a vast

amount of learning of varied kinds. His bent was always towards foreign tongues, and he commenced with German and Italian. The perusal of Max Duncker's *Histoire de l'Antiquité* turned his attention to the East, and armed with Benfey's Manual, he commenced, unassisted, the study of Sanskrit. The range of his studies quickly extended. India led him to Iran, and Iran to the Semitic languages and civilisations of ancient Asia. He studied, in turn, Zend, Persian, Pahlavi, Armenian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac, without allowing the wide extent of his reading to interfere with its depth. In India, too, the boundaries of his researches approached nearer and nearer to the present day, and he made himself master of the Prakṛita, of the dialectic Sanskrit of Buddhism, and of the modern languages,—not only those of the Aryan stock, but also the Dravidian ones, and more especially Tamil.

All this time spent in the acquisition of learning gave him little leisure for the production of original compositions. Moreover, never satisfied with anything short of perfection, an unsparing and severe critic, he could not be prevailed upon to publish to others that with which he was not himself entirely satisfied. With such

⁶⁶ N has instead of *sūijjanti* everywhere *samāsejjanti* and, as in the case of 3, the order *jīvā . . . lōē . . . samāsa*.

⁶⁷ *parivādhiya* A.

⁶⁸ *pallavā avayavā, tatparimāṇam samānugiyatē pratipādyatē.*

⁶⁹ N is much better: *samavāḥ nam ēgā-ēguttariya thānagassayavivādhiyaṇam bhāvāṇam parūvaṇa āghavij-jati*; *duvālasaṃgassa ga' gassa pallavagge samāsejjai*. N omits all the following. As the words *duvā' gāijjai* interrupt in *aṅga 4* the connection, I have enclosed them in brackets.

⁷⁰ *bārasa* A.

⁷¹ *jiviyassa hi A.*

⁷² *yārī A.*

⁷³ *vijiyā A; varpitāb.*

⁷⁴ *naragatariya A.*

⁷⁵ *uggāhisōyahi A; avagāhaṇā, avadhi.*

⁷⁶ *uvāḍga A B C.*

⁷⁷ *kasāyā A B C; prathamā . . . lōpāb.*—So upāṅga 1, 183 presents *Arana-Achchaya tistī ya* (see p. 88, note 6 of my ed. of the text).—L.

⁷⁸ *viddhasēsa A.*

⁷⁹ *samāsa Bharatādhipānām.*

⁸⁰ *gamā ya BC.*

⁸¹ *ādi ttha A.*

⁸² So A, *samāsejjanti* BC *samāsejjanti*, *athavā samāsejjanti*.

severe self-criticism, there is the danger of writing too little, and into this danger Garrez fell. His ripe learning, his power for comparative philology, have been lost to the world. His two principal essays, the one on the *Bundehesh* of Justi (1869) and the other on Weber's *Hála* (1872), are monuments of erudition. He showed himself able to thread his way with equal ease amid the mazes of Zend and Pahlavi, Arabic and Armenian, Prākṛit and Sanskrit, ancient and modern India. His review of *Hála's Saptatīkā* is probably that which is best known in India, and its readers will remember with what sobriety, yet decision, he put forward theories then altogether new, but since in great measure confirmed, regarding the comparatively late development of the classical literature of India, and the previous existence of a literature couched in the popular dialects. Other shorter essays, published in the *Journale Asiatique*, and in the *Revue Critique*, need not be referred to here, though we may direct attention to his luminous criticism (*Rev. Crit.* March 1873) of the first volume of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar. The writer of these lines well remembers a pleasant afternoon spent at the rooms of the Société Asiatique in Paris, in the winter of 1886, and how delighted he was with the learning and the originality of some remarks on Hindi put forward by Garrez in the course of an ordinary conversation.

His private means were sufficient to render it unnecessary for him to submit to the drudgery of a professorship, and at the same time prevented his feeling the at times useful spur of necessity. Hence, beyond the range of his intimates, his name was as little known, as his writings were rare.

M. Senart's closing remarks deserve quoting in their original form, — "Cette vie se ferme sans avoir conquis dans le public la réputation légitimement due à tant de travail et de mérite. C'est une tristesse pour les amis de Garrez. Quant à lui, jamais une pareille préoccupation ne l'a effleuré. Il était aussi supérieur à la vanité qu'étranger à l'ambition. Sa noble carrière, toute pleine d'une activité sans agitation, quoique sans repos, gouvernée par une âme haute et sereine, éclairée par un esprit admirablement ferme et étendu, restera inoubliable à ses confrères et à ses amis; elle leur sera, mieux qu'un cher souvenir, un modèle fortifiant. Quelle récompense plus enviable pour un homme qui, avec la patrie, a surtout passionnément aimé deux choses; la science et l'amitié?"

G. A. G.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 31.

In the Tālgund stone inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha III., from Maistūr, published by me in this Journal, Vol. IV. p. 278 f. (see also *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 215), the date (line 8 ff.) is — Saka-varsha 950neya Vibhava-samvatsarada Pushya-śuddha-5-Sōmavārad=uttarāyana-samkrānti-andu, — "at the time of the Uttarāyana-Samkrānti of Monday,¹ the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of (the month) Pushya (i.e. Pausa) of the Vibhava samvatsara, which is the 950th Saka year." And the inscription goes on to record that, on this occasion, the Thirty-two-thousand (*Mahājanas*) of Sthānakundūr, an *agrahāra* that had existed from time immemorial, made a grant of twelve *mārus* (of land), by the measure of the staff called *gaḍimbada-gaḍe* of the god Prapamēśvara.

By the southern luni-solar system, the Vibhava samvatsara coincided with Saka-Samvat 951 current; i.e. with the given year 950 as an expired year. In this year the given tithi, Pausa sukla 5, began on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 1028, at about 56 *ghaṭis*; 42 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay); was current all through the Monday; and ended on the Tuesday, at about 1 *gh.* 7 *p.* And the Uttarāyana-Samkrānti, as represented by the sun's entrance into Makara, occurred on the Monday, at about 37 *gh.* 53 *p.* Accordingly, the English equivalent of the given date is Monday, 23rd December, A.D. 1028.

This date gives an instance of the custom to which I have drawn attention at page 260 above, of quoting, as the tithi of a samkrānti, the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the samkrānti. It is not a very pointed instance; because there was no other tithi, current or ended, on the day of this samkrānti. But there was no absolute necessity for the original to quote the fortnight and tithi at all; there are plenty of instances in which these details, and sometimes even the name of the month, are omitted, in connection with a samkrānti. And therefore this date is an instance of the custom in question; though doubtless we shall obtain more pointed instances hereafter.

In this instance we find that, though the samkrānti occurred more than three *ghaṭis* after sunset, its *pūnyakāla* was not deferred till the next day, but was taken to be on the day of the occurrence of the samkrānti.

J. F. FLEET.

¹ Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 201) has given 'Sunday'; but this is a mistake; the syllables *sōmavāra* are very distinct.

THE SIXTY-YEAR CYCLE OF JUPITER.

In order still further to facilitate the finding of the exact commencement (and end) of a Jupiter's year which may be mentioned in a Hindu date, I have constructed¹ the accompanying Tables from the data in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, *ante*, pp. 193-209, Tables 1 and 2 serve for the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* rule; Tables 3 and 4 for the *Jyōtistattva* rule.

In Table 1 the last two columns give the day of the Julian period for the commencement (or end) of a complete cycle of sixty years, counted from Vijaya as the first year of the cycle, without and with Bija; and the first column gives the European date for the day put down in the same line under the heading 'without Bija,' while the second and third columns give the expired (northern) Vikrama and Saka years to which that European date belongs. Table 2, on the other hand, gives the number of days for the commencement of every year within the sixty-year cycle, also without and with Bija. And all that is necessary to find the European date for the commencement of any year, is, to add up one set of figures from Table 1 and another set of figures from Table 2, and to convert the sum into the European date, and into hours and minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), as may be seen from the following example:—

According to *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XI. Plate xxxvii. 3, a stone inscription at Jaunpur is dated—

Jyē(jyai)shthē māse sitē pakṣe dvādasyā(śyā)-
ni=Budha-vāsare Plava-vatsare || Sam-
vat 1353 ||, —

corresponding to Wednesday, 16th May, A.D. 1296. The cycle of sixty years, of which the year Plava, which is here coupled with the Vikrama year 1353, forms part, must be the one which by Table 1 commenced in Vikrama 1344 expired; and we accordingly have, for the commencement of this year Plava, without Bija, —

by Table 1, commencement of
cycle, without Bija, for

V. 1344, 2191 424 3914

+ by Table 2, commencement of

Plava, without Bija, 2 888 2138

sum 2194 312 6052

i.e., the 13th September, A.D. 1295, 14 h. 31.5 m. after mean sunrise; and similarly, for the commencement of Plava, with Bija, —

by Table 1, 2191 459 6007

+ by Table 2, 2 888 2772

sum 2194 347 8779

i.e., the 18th October, A.D. 1295, 21 h. 4.2 m. after mean sunrise.

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of the same year by adding to the sum found, for the year without Bija 361 0267 days, and for the year with Bija 361 0347 days, as shown in my former article, thus:—

Commencement of Plava, with-

out Bija, 2194 312 6052
+ 361 0267

sum 2194 673 6319

i.e., the 8th September, A.D. 1269, 15 h. 9.9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava without Bija; and

Commencement of Plava, with

Bija, 2194 347 8779
+ 361 0347

sum 2194 708 9126

i.e., the 13th October, A.D. 1296, 21 h. 54.1 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava, with Bija.

To show how to find by the Tables the Jupiter's year current at any given moment, and, at the same time, to test once more the accuracy of the Tables, we will ask:—What year, without Bija, was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti of the expired Saka year 1713?

By the Tables given in my paper on the Sixty-Year Cycle, the day of the Julian period for the commencement of the solar year Saka 1713 expired, = Kaliyuga 4892 expired, is—

2375 309 4392 (Mēsha-Samkrānti).

Deduct next

lower complete

cycle, without

Bija, in Table

1, 2364 717 2175

remainder 10 592 2217;

deduct next

lower figure,

without Bija,

in Table 2, 10 469 7749 (commencement of Dundubhi).

remainder 122 4468.

Accordingly, by the Tables, the year without Bija, current at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti of Saka 1713 expired, was Dundubhi, and of this year there had elapsed, at the same moment, 122 4468 days = 122 days, 10 h. 43.4 m. of solar time. Now, by a MS. calendar for Saka 1713 expired, which is in the Royal Library at Berlin, the Jupiter's year current at the commencement of the year was Dundubhi, as found above; and

¹ The construction of these Tables has to some extent been suggested to me by the general practice of Dr. Schram's *Hilfsstafeln für Chronologie*, and by some MS.

Tables for the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* rule, without Bija, constructed on similar principles, though without reference to the Julian period, by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

since of this year there are stated to have elapsed, at the time of the Mēsha-Samkrānti, 4 months, 2 days, 6 dandas = 122 days, 2 h. 24 m. of Jupiter's own time, which are equal to about 122 days 10 h. 45·4 m. of solar time, the result obtained by the Tables for the actual commencement of the year Dundubhi differs from the statement in the MS. calendar by about two minutes.

Owing to the unequal length of the Jovian years, the Jyōtistattva rule requires another treatment, and the arrangement of Table 3 and 4 will therefore be found to differ considerably from that of Tables 1 and 2. Here, Table 3 gives in the last column the day of the Julian period for the end of the Jovian year, the number and name of which are given in the column immediately preceding the last. The first column gives the European date for the day of the Julian period put down at the end of the same line, the third column the expired solar Saka year in which that European date falls, and the second column the expired (northern) Vikrama year which approximately corresponds to that Saka year. It should be particularly noted that the Jovian years are here counted as shown in the auxiliary Table at the foot of Table 3. Table 4 gives the number of days for the commencement of a series of Jovian years, the numbers of which must not be confounded with the number of the years in Table 3. The use of the two Tables will appear from the following examples:—

According to Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS.* I. O., p. 23, a MS. of the *Kāṇḍanukramanī-vivaraṇa* is dated in the Vikrama year 1650, in the year Subhakṛit. The year Subhakṛit, — by the auxiliary Table the 36th year of a cycle, — which is here coupled with Vikrama 1650, must have followed upon the year 29, Manmatha, which in Table 3 is coupled with Vikrama 1644; and it is clear that, to find the day of the Julian period for the beginning of Subhakṛit, we must add, to the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the said year Manmatha, from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (36 — 29 =) 7th year, thus:—

Table 3, V. 1644, end of year	
29	2300 798-6897
+ Table 4, commencement of	
year 7	2 165-8379
sum, commencement of year 36	
(Subhakṛit)	2302 964-5276
i.e., the 4th March, A.D. 1593, 12 h. 39·7 m. after mean sunrise.	

Above we have seen that an inscription at Jaunpur is dated in the Vikrama year 1353, in the year Plava. In Table 3 we find, in a line with

Vikrama 1303, the day of the Julian period for the end of the year Sādhāraṇa, the 44th year of a cycle. The year Plava of our date is the 35th year of a cycle, and, coupled as it is with Vikrama 1353, it is clear that Plava does not fall in the same cycle with the year 44, Sādhāraṇa, of Table 3, but belongs to the next cycle. To find the commencement of Plava, we must therefore take from Table 3 the day of the Julian period put down for the end of the year 44, Sādhāraṇa, in a line with Vikrama 1303, and must add to it, from Table 4, the number of days for the commencement of the (16 + 35 =) 51st year, thus:—

Table 3, V. 1303, end of year	
44	2176 245-8692
+ Table 4, commencement of	
year 51	18 048-6490
sum, commencement of year	
95 = 60 + 35 (Plava)	2194 294-5182
i.e., the 26th August, A.D. 1295, 12 h. 26·2 m. after mean sunrise.	

Similarly, if we had to find the commencement of the year Khara, the 25th year of a cycle, which in Table 3 is coupled with Saka 912, we should start from the day of the Julian period put down in Table 3 for the end of the 59th cycle-year Krōdhana, in a line with Saka 827, and should add to it from Table 4 the number of days for the commencement of the (1 + 60 + 25 =) 86th year, because here the difference of 85 solar years between Saka 827 and Saka 912 would show us that there lies a complete cycle of 60 years between the end of the year 59, Krōdhana, which we know from Table 3, and the commencement of the year 25, Khara, which we are to find. Our calculation would accordingly stand thus:—

Table 3, Saka 827, end of year	
59	2051 693-0488
+ Table 4, commencement of	
year 86	30 682-7032
sum, commencement of year	
145 = 60 + 60 + 25 (Khara)	2082 375-7520
i.e., the 26th March, A.D. 989, 18 h. 2·9 m. after mean sunrise.	

Having found the commencement of a year, we find the end of it by adding 360-9730 days. But the end of the years actually put down in Table 3 must always be ascertained from that Table itself. Thus, in the case of our two first examples, we find:—

Commencement of Subhakṛit	2302 964-5276
+ 360-9730	
sum	2303 325-5006
i.e., the 28th February, A.D. 1594, 12 h. 0·9 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Subhakṛit; and,	

TABLE I.

Surya-Siddhanta Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the commencement of a complete Cycle of Sixty Years,
counted from Vijaya as the first year of the Cycle.

A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Saka expired.	Without Bijā.	With Bijā.
O.S. 101, September 1 ...	158	23	1758 192·3261	1758 218·0194
160, December 21 ...	217	82	1779 853·9294	1779 880·0985
220, April 12	277	142	1801 515·5327	1801 542·1776
279, August 3	336	201	1823 177·1359	1823 204·2566
338, November 22 ...	395	260	1844 838·7392	1844 866·3357
398, March 14.....	455	320	1866 500·3424	1866 528·4148
457, July 3	514	379	1888 161·9457	1888 190·4938
516, October 23	573	438	1909 823·5490	1909 852·5729
576, February 13.....	632	497	1931 485·1522	1931 514·6519
635, June 4	692	557	1953 146·7555	1953 176·7310
694, September 24 ...	751	616	1974 808·3588	1974 838·8101
754, January 13	810	675	1996 469·9620	1996 500·8891
813, May 5	870	735	2018 131·5653	2018 162·9682
872, August 25.....	929	794	2039 793·1685	2039 825·0473
931, December 15 ...	988	853	2061 454·7718	2061 487·1263
991, April 6	1048	913	2083 116·3751	2083 149·2054
1050, July 26	1107	972	2104 777·9783	2104 811·2845
1109, November 15 ...	1166	1031	2126 439·5816	2126 473·3635
1169, March 7.....	1226	1091	2148 101·1848	2148 135·4426
1228, June 26.....	1285	1150	2169 762·7881	2169 797·5216
1287, October 17	1344	1209	2191 424·3914	2191 459·6007
1347, February 5	1403	1268	2213 085·9946	2213 121·6798
1406, May 28	1463	1328	2234 747·5979	2234 783·7588
1465, September 17 ...	1522	1387	2256 409·2012	2256 445·8379
1525, January 6.....	1581	1446	2278 070·8044	2278 107·9170
1584, April 28.....	1641	1506	2299 732·4077	2299 769·9960
1643, August 19.....	1700	1565	2321 394·0109	2321 432·0751
1702, December 8	1759	1624	2343 055·6142	2343 094·1542
N.S. 1762, April 10.....	1819	1684	2364 717·2175	2364 756·2332
1821, July 31	1878	1743	2386 378·8207	2386 418·3123
1880, November 20 ...	1937	1802	2408 040·4240	2408 080·3913

TABLE 2.

Sūrya-Siddhānta Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of every year within the Cycle.

No.	Year.	Without Bija.	With Bija.	No.	Year.	Without Bija.	With Bija.
1	Vijaya	000·0000	000·0000	31	Rudhirōdgārin ...	10830·8016	10831·0395
2	Jaya	361·0267	361·0347	32	Raktāksha	11191·8284	11192·0742
3	Manmatha	722·0534	722·0693	33	Krōdhana	11552·8551	11553·1088
4	Durmukha	1083·0802	1083·1040	34	Kshaya	11913·8818	11914·1435
5	Hēmalamba	1444·1069	1444·1386	35	Prabhava	12274·9085	12275·1781
6	Vilamba	1805·1336	1805·1733	36	Vibhava	12635·9352	12636·2128
7	Vikārin	2166·1603	2166·2079	37	Sukla	12996·9620	12997·2474
8	Sarvarin	2527·1870	2527·2426	38	Pramōda	13357·9887	13358·2821
9	Plava	2888·2138	2888·2772	39	Prajāpati	13719·0154	13719·3167
10	Subhakrit	3249·2405	3249·3119	40	Angiras	14080·0421	14080·3514
11	Sōbhana	3610·2672	3610·3465	41	Śrīmukha	14441·0688	14441·3860
12	Krōdhin	3971·2939	3971·3812	42	Bhāva	14802·0956	14802·4207
13	Viśvāvasu	4332·3207	4332·4158	43	Yuvan	15163·1223	15163·4553
14	Parābhava	4693·3474	4693·4505	44	Dhātṛi	15524·1490	15524·4900
15	Plavaṅga	5054·3741	5054·4851	45	Isvara	15885·1757	15885·5246
16	Kilaka	5415·4008	5415·5198	46	Bahudhānya	16246·2024	16246·5593
17	Saumya	5776·4275	5776·5544	47	Pramāthin	16607·2292	16607·5939
18	Sādhāraṇa	6137·4543	6137·5891	48	Vikrama	16968·2559	16968·6286
19	Virōdhakrit	6498·4810	6498·6237	49	Bhṛīṣya	17329·2826	17329·6633
20	Paridhāvin	6859·5077	6859·6584	50	Chitrabhānu	17690·3093	17690·6979
21	Pramādin	7220·5344	7220·6930	51	Subhānu	18051·3361	18051·7326
22	Ānanda	7581·5611	7581·7277	52	Tāraṇa	18412·3628	18412·7672
23	Rākshasa	7942·5879	7942·7623	53	Pārthiva	18773·3895	18773·8019
24	Anala	8303·6146	8303·7970	54	Vyaya	19134·4162	19134·8365
25	Pīṅgala	8664·6413	8664·8316	55	Sarvajit	19495·4429	19495·8712
26	Kālayukta	9025·6680	9025·8663	56	Sarvadhārin	19856·4697	19856·9058
27	Siddhārthin	9386·6947	9386·9009	57	Virōdhin	20217·4964	20217·9405
28	Raudra	9747·7215	9747·9356	58	Vikṛita	20578·5231	20578·9751
29	Durmati	10108·7482	10108·9702	59	Khara	20939·5498	20940·0098
30	Dundubhi	10469·7749	10470·0049	60	Nandana	21300·5765	21301·0444

TABLE 3.

Jyōtistattva Rule.

Day of Julian Period for the end of the Jovian year which precedes an Expunged Year.

A.D.	Vikrama expired.	Śaka expired.	End of year.		Day of Julian Period.
			No.	Name.	
O.S. 138, March 18.....	195	60	3	Śukla	1771 539·4460
223, March 20.....	280	145	29	Manmatha	1802 587·4079
309, March 17	366	231	56	Dundubhi.....	1833 996·3427
394, March 19.....	451	316	22	Sarvadhārin.....	1865 044·3046
479, March 21.....	536	401	48	Ānanda.....	1896 092·2665
564, March 22.....	621	486	14	Vikrama	1927 140·2283
649, March 24.....	706	571	40	Parābhava	1958 188·1902
735, March 22.....	792	657	7	Śrīmukha.....	1989 597·1250
820, March 23.....	877	742	33	Vikārin.....	2020 645·0869
905, March 25.....	962	827	59	Krōdhana.....	2051 693·0488
990, March 27.....	1047	912	25	Khara	2082 741·0107
1076, March 23.....	1133	998	52	Kālayukta	2114 149·9455
1161, March 25.....	1218	1083	18	Tāraṇa	2145 197·9074
1246, March 27.....	1303	1168	44	Sādhāraṇa	2176 245·8692
1331, March 29.....	1388	1253	10	Dhātṛi	2207 293·8311
1417, March 26.....	1474	1339	37	Sōbhana	2238 702·7660
1502, March 28.....	1559	1424	3	Śukla	2269 750·7278
1587, March 30.....	1644	1509	29	Manmatha	2300 798·6397
1672, March 31.....	1729	1594	55	Durmati	2331 846·6516
N.S. 1757, April 13	1814	1679	21	Sarvajit	2362 894·6134
1843, April 12	1900	1765	48	Ānanda	2394 303·5483

The Sixty-Year Cycle.

1. Prabhava.	11. Śvara.	21. Sarvajit.	31. Hēmalamba.	41. Plavaṅga.	51. Piṅgala.
2. Vibhava.	12. Bahudhānya.	22. Sarvadhārin.	32. Vilamba.	42. Kṛlaka.	52. Kālayukta.
3. Śukla.	13. Pramāthin.	23. Virōdhin.	33. Vikārin.	43. Saumya.	53. Siddhārthin.
4. Pramōda.	14. Vikrama.	24. Vikṛita.	34. Śarvarin.	44. Sādhāraṇa.	54. Raudra.
5. Prajāpati.	15. Bhṛīya.	25. Khara.	35. Plava.	45. Virōdhakṛit.	55. Durmati.
6. Aṅgiras.	16. Chitrabhānu.	26. Naudana.	36. Śubhakṛit.	46. Paridhāvin.	56. Dundubhi.
7. Śrīmukha.	17. Subhānu.	27. Vijaya.	37. Sōbhana.	47. Pramādin.	57. Budhirōdgāris.
8. Bhāva.	18. Tāraṇa.	28. Jaya.	38. Krōdhin.	48. Ānanda.	58. Raktāksha.
9. Yuvan.	19. Pārthiva.	29. Manmatha.	39. Viśvāvasu.	49. Rākshasa.	59. Krōdhana.
10. Dhātṛi.	20. Vyaya.	30. Durmukha.	40. Parābhava.	50. Anala.	60. Kshaya.

TABLE 4.

Jyötistattva Rule.

Number of days for the commencement of Jovian years.

Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.	Year.	Days.
1	000·0000	30	10 468·2164	59	20 936·4328
2	360·9730	31	10 829·1894	60	21 297·4058
3	721·9460	32	11 190·1623	61	21 658·3787
4	1082·9139	33	11 551·1353	62	22 019·3517
5	1443·8919	34	11 912·1083	63	22 380·3247
6	1804·8649	35	12 273·0813	64	22 741·2977
7	2165·8379	36	12 634·0543	65	23 102·2707
8	2526·8109	37	12 995·0272	66	23 463·2436
9	2887·7838	38	13 356·0002	67	23 824·2166
10	3248·7568	39	13 716·9732	68	24 185·1896
11	3609·7298	40	14 077·9462	69	24 546·1626
12	3970·7028	41	14 438·9192	70	24 907·1356
13	4331·6757	42	14 799·8921	71	25 268·1085
14	4692·6487	43	15 160·8651	72	25 629·0815
15	5053·6217	44	15 521·8381	73	25 990·0545
16	5414·5947	45	15 882·8111	74	26 351·0275
17	5775·5677	46	16 243·7841	75	26 712·0004
18	6136·5406	47	16 604·7570	76	27 072·9734
19	6497·5136	48	16 965·7300	77	27 433·9464
20	6858·4866	49	17 326·7030	78	27 794·9194
21	7219·4596	50	17 687·6760	79	28 155·8924
22	7580·4326	51	18 048·6490	80	28 516·8653
23	7941·4055	52	18 409·6219	81	28 877·8383
24	8302·3785	53	18 770·5949	82	29 238·8113
25	8663·3515	54	19 131·5679	83	29 599·7843
26	9024·3245	55	19 492·5409	84	29 960·7573
27	9385·2975	56	19 853·5138	85	30 321·7302
28	9746·2704	57	20 214·4868	86	30 682·7032
29	10 107·2434	58	20 575·4598	87	31 043·6762

Commencement of Plava . . .	2194	294-5182
	+	360-9730
sum	2194	655-4912

i.e., the 21st August, A.D. 1296, 11 h. 47.3 m. after mean sunrise, — end of Plava.

But the year Khara of the third example ended as put down in Table 3, on the day of the Julian period 2082 741-0107, i.e., on the 27th March, A.D. 990, 0 h. 15.4 m. after mean sunrise.

Finally, to show here also how to find by the Tables Jupiter's year current at any given moment, we will ask: What year was current, and what portion of that year had elapsed, on the 30th September, A.D. 1889, 8 hours after mean sunrise?

Expressed in days of the Julian period, the 30th September, A.D. 1889, new style, 8 hours after mean sunrise, is —

	2411	276-3333.
Table 3,	— 2394	303-5483 = end of year 48.
	remainder	16 972-7850;
Table 4,	— 16	965-7300 = commencement of year 48.
	remainder	7-0550; sum 96 = 60 + 36

(Subhakrit).

Accordingly, the current year is Subhakrit, and at the given moment there had elapsed of that year 7-0550 days = 7 days, 1 hour, 19.2 minutes.

F. KIELHOEN.

Göttingen.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

RUSTIC CUSTOMS IN OUDH.

LAKHIA BHUT.

Lakhia Bhut, is the name of a festival which is, I hear, of Gurkha origin, and is held at the planting of the paddy during the monsoons.

Two men, masked, and with horns tied to their heads, are yoked to a plough. Two rows of men, facing each other, walk sideways behind them, advancing towards and retreating from each other, while imitating the planting of the paddy. When they meet a pool of water, the 'oxen' drop

down on their hands and knees and are freely bathed in it.

The procession is followed by a crowd, with music and songs, and the Lakhia Bhut dancing wildly in the midst. The bhut is dressed up in a woman's dress, wears a large mask, and flowing hair made of the tail of the *chdwar gae* (yak).

Query.—Who or what is the "Lakhia Bhut"?

Lucknow.

G. H. R.

BOOK NOTICE.

PHILOSOPHISCHE HYMNEN AUS DER RIG- UND ATHARVA-VEDA-SAMHITA, VERGlichen MIT DEN PHILOSOPHIEN DER ALTEN Upanishads von Dr. Lucian Scherman; Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner. 1897; 8vo. pp. vii., 96.

In 1883 the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich offered a prize for an investigation into the philosophic hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-Veda-Samhita, with regard to themselves, and in relation to the philosophy of the older Upanishads. The prize was won by Dr. Scherman in 1885, and his essay, revised and corrected, has since been published. The author first gives a revised translation of six hymns or portions of hymns of the *Rik-Samhita*, and of thirteen of the *Atharva-Samhita*. Each translation is supplied with copious notes, and (when necessary) with a short paraphrase or interpretation of its contents, and of their philosophic import. It is then, in each case, followed by a comparison of similar tenets put forward by the older Upanishads. The author finally sums up, in seven pages of concluding remarks, the principal points of connexion between the hymns and the Upanishads.

These are: (1) The primitive condition of All is a general denial of all existence and non-

existence, while, however, simultaneously in this absolute "Nothing" a Primitive Being is involved, which out of the non-existing (as out of one of its own limbs) causes the Universe to proceed.

(2) The main factors, which the Primitive Being used for the development of the world, are the abstracts, *Tapas*, *Kama*, and *Manas*, i.e., the Working of the Spirit, the Will, and Absolute Thought, of which the last two work reciprocally. *Tapas* eventually became identified with (the neuter) *Brahman*.

(3) The act of creation is similarly explained in the hymns and in the Upanishads. With the help of *Tapas* (i.e. *Brahman*), *Manas*, and *Kama*, the universe arises in a perpetual order of development.

(4) With the recognition of the impossibility of a clear explanation of the development of the world, the way is opened for the confession that the soul of man is not able to solve such questions.

The above does not pretend to do more than indicate the direction of the conclusions arrived at by the author in his very interesting and learned paper to which the reader must be referred for further particulars.

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

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ERRATA IN VOL. XVIII.

- p. 30 b, No. 21, line 7-8, for *Sravana*, read *Srāvāna*; and line 8, for *pakshē=valakshē*, read *pakshē valakshē*.
- p. 35, lines 1 and 2 from the bottom, for *dhdtri-yolu*, read *dhdtriyoḷu*; and for *gudi-gereyolu*, read *gudigereyolu*.
- p. 40, Text line 38, for *umbaliy* read *umbaliy*; and in line 42, for *mishtāyām*, read *mishthāyām*.
- p. 63 a, line 36, for *nirvana*, read *nirvāna*.
- p. 73, line 1, for *Kaṇṭakōṭsa*, read *Kaṇṭakōṭsa*.
- " line 9, for (thus), read (thus).
- " line 10, for country, read country.
- p. 75, line 15, *dele the semicolon after them*.
- p. 76, line 3 from the bottom, for *māsaīm*, read *māsām*.
- p. 81, note 1, for meaning, read meanings.
- p. 82, line 11, for four-months, read four-months.
- p. 83, Text line 8, for *anuśāsan*, read *anuśāsan(t)*.
- " note 15, for *apāṭā*, read *āpāṭā*.
- p. 85, note 33, at the end of the note add the words, See Vol. VI. p. 212, note, where it is said that it means Brāhmans who had not been fed before, and were not to be fed again.
- p. 94 a, line 24, for *śrīma* [ch*], read *śrīma*[ch*].
- p. 95 a, line 29-30, read Also, not one of the three lithographs of these inscriptions &c.
- p. 96 a, line 35, for the colon after *Siddhānta*, substitute a full-stop.
- p. 101, line 32, insert a comma after *Chakradhara*.
- p. 102, note to verse 299, read of Irānian origin, the term *yamusha* might &c. The sentence, as it stands, has been wrongly divided by the substitution of a full-stop after origin.
- p. 112, Text line 6, for *Chāmu*[m*]-ḍa, read *Chāmu*[m*]ḍa-.
- p. 113, Text line 23, for *Vāmanasthāt-śrīka*, read *Vāmanasthāt-śrīka*.
- p. 130, Text line 7, for *nilin-ānanāḥ* I, read *nilin-ānanāḥ* II.
- p. 136, G. line 1, for 21" by 1/4", read 21" by 16 1/4"
- p. 146, note 27, for see note 19 above, read see note 20 above.
- p. 171, note 50, for *paramamahāśvara*, read *paramamahāśvara*; and for *paramavaishanava*, read *paramavaishanava*. In *Vā-sudēva-nāyaka*, *dele the hyphen*.
- p. 200, line 1, for 5-89 m., read 58-9 m.
- p. 267, note 22, for *śatru-mardanaḥ*, read *śakti-sampannaḥ*.
- p. 268, Text line 15, for *-āna danaḥ*²³, read *-ānadanaḥ*²³.
- p. 269, l. 10, for four-toothed, read four-tusked.
- " l. 30, for who destroys his foes &c., read who is endowed with bravery and energy and the (royal) powers.
- p. 270, l. 14, for *Parāsara* read *Parāśara*; and at the end of the line insert ", to mark the end of the donor's speech.
- pp. 277-278-279, for *An-Nasir-li-dīn Allah*, wherever the words occur, read *An-Nāsir-li-dīn Allah*.
- pp. 277-8, for Ch. D. Fachu, wherever the words occur, read Ch. D. Fraehn.
- p. 278 b, lines 33, 34, for *Khalifas Mustafi B'illah*, *Muta B'illah*, and *Tāi-B'illah*, read *Khalifas Mustakfi-B'illah*, *Muti-L'illah* and *Tāi-L'illah*.
- p. 279 a, line 13, for from *Al-Kasar*, read at *Kazan*.
- p. 279 b, line 20, for *J. Gotwald*, read *J. Gottwaldt*.
- p. 280 a, line 1, for *Miltaurovs*, read *Melitaurovs*.
- p. 280 a, line 3, for *Miltaurov* was court captain, read *Melitaurov* was court chaplain.
- p. 280 a, line 14 from bottom, for *Balabhar*, read *Balawar*.
- p. 280 a, line 4 from bottom, for *Wrestler*, read *Hermit*.
- p. 280 b, line 30, for *Taipna*, read *Taifur*.
- p. 281 a, line 12, for *Aḥmad-Ibn-Ali-Karim*, read *Aḥmad-Ibn-Abi-Karim*.
- p. 281 a, line 21, for worshipper of *Nabigi*, read admirer of *Nābiga*.
- p. 281 a, line 22, for *Abu'l-Kabī-Muḥammad-ibn al-Lais*, read *Abu'r-Rabī-Muḥammad-ibn al-Lais*.
- p. 281, for *mu'allah*, wherever the word occurs, read *mu'allaka*.
- p. 282 b, line 16 from bottom, for *Rudguzi*, read *Rubguzi*.
- p. 282 b, line 6 from bottom, for *Khozudeni*, read *Khojandi*.
- p. 282 b, line 4 from bottom, for *Ta'ash-Shah-nāma*, read *Ta'ashuk-nāma*.
- p. 283 a, line 4, for *Majālis-au-nafaris*, read *Majālis-an-nafais*.
- p. 283 a, line 19, for *Hāji Bakhāsh*, read *Hāji Baktāsh*.
- p. 283 a, line 22 from bottom, for *Ilderino Bayazid*, read *Ilderim Bayazid*.
- p. 283 a, line 15 from bottom, for *Mustafa Jalālgāda*, read *Mustafa Jalālzādā*.
- p. 283 a, line 7, from bottom, for *Wusrat-nāmā*, read *Nusrat-nāmā*.
- p. 284 a, line 19 from bottom, for *Abn-Obaid-al-Kārim-Ibn-Sallām*, read *Abu-Ubed-al-Qāsim-Ibn-Sallām*.
- p. 284 a, line 16 from bottom, for *Mikhi*, read *Makki*.
- p. 284 a, line 15 from bottom, for *Rajab Isfahāni*, read *Raghib Isfahāni*.
- p. 358, note 43, for *avāṭdar-ātri*, read *avāṭdār-ātri*.



RECAPITULAZIONE

Il primo capitolo tratta della storia della lingua italiana, dalla sua origine fino ai tempi moderni. Si discute l'influenza delle lingue latine e greche, e come queste si sono fuse per formare l'italiano moderno. Si menzionano anche i dialetti e come sono nati.

Il secondo capitolo riguarda la grammatica italiana, in particolare la sintassi e la morfologia. Si spiegano le regole per costruire frasi corrette e come i verbi si coniugano.

Il terzo capitolo si occupa della lessica, ovvero delle parole e dei loro significati. Si discute come le parole cambiano nel tempo e come si formano nuovi termini.

Il quarto capitolo tratta della prosa e della poesia. Si analizzano le caratteristiche di diversi generi letterari e si discutono le tecniche di scrittura.

Il quinto capitolo riguarda la critica letteraria, ovvero come si analizza e si interpreta la letteratura. Si discutono i metodi di analisi e i criteri di valutazione.

Il sesto capitolo tratta della storia della letteratura italiana, dalla prima letteratura fino ai tempi moderni. Si menzionano i principali autori e le loro opere.

Il settimo capitolo riguarda la lingua e la cultura contemporanea. Si discute l'uso della lingua nella vita quotidiana e come la cultura influisce sulla lingua.

Il capitolo finale tratta della lingua e della cultura in futuro. Si discutono le tendenze attuali e le previsioni per il futuro della lingua italiana.

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